A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

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BOOK VI.

THE WAR OF BENGAL.

THE scope of our narrative now calls us from the coast of Coromandel to relate the calamities which at this time befel the English settlements in Bengal; previous to which it is requisite to investigate the rise and progress of the English commerce in the province, and to give some portion of the history of the Mahomedan government. 1756

BENGAL is the easternmost of the provinces which compose the empire of the Great Mogul. It lies between the degrees 26. 30. and 21. 30. of north latitude, and extends from the 86th to the 97th degree of longitude, computing from the meridian of London. Its area is nearly 21 square degrees.

The GANGES, from its irruption through the mountains of the frontier, flows for 300 miles to the south-east, when it receives the Jumna at Allahabad. From hence its course continues 300 miles almost directly east, when having received seven large rivers, and more of inferior note, it enters the province of Bengal, according to

the

1756 the ancient definition, in the latitude of 25. 10. where its current on the right hand washes the foot of a mountain called Tacriagully, from whence it strikes to the S E, until it reacheth the sea. A hundred miles below Tacriagully it sends off an arm to the south, which is called the river of *Cossimbuzar*; and 50 miles lower, another, called the *Felingeer*, which, after flowing about 40 miles to the SW, unites with the other at a town called Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of these two streams is sometimes called the *little Ganges*, but more commonly the *river Hughley*, which after flowing 120 miles of latitude in a course which does not verge more than one point to the westward of the south, gains the sea in the latitude of 21. 30. at the island of *Sagore*. The main body of the Ganges, which for distinction is called the *great Ganges*, continues from the commencement of the river of Cossimbuzar, receiving a multitude of streams from the left, until it reacheth the latitude of 22. 45. where its waters are met by those of another river even larger than itself, called the *Baramputrah*, which rises on the eastern side of the vast mountains that send forth the Ganges to the west. The conflux of these two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands between their junction and the open sea, which their waters, through several extensive channels reach about 35 miles lower down, in the latitude of 22. 10. *Tacriagully* is the termination of a vast range of mountains, which accompanies the course of the Ganges from the west: and about 50 miles west of Tacriagully, where they begin to form the north boundary of Bengal on this side the river, another range strikes from them to the south, but in a curve swelling to the west ward, which terminates within sight of the sea, at the Nelligree hills, 30 miles inland from the town of Ballasore, in the latitude of 21. 30. Several districts belonging to Bengal lie interspersed within these mountains, but none beyond them; for to the westward they extend several degrees, and are in some parts impassable, as far as the province of *Berar* in the Decan; to the north they divide Bengal from the southern division of BEHAR, and to the south, seem the natural separation of Bengal from ORIXA, which nevertheless has

acquired a tract of country within them extending 20 miles along 1756
the sea-coasts from Ballasore to the river of Pipley, which disembogues opposite to the Island of Sagore. On the eastern side of the Ganges, the territory of Bengal extends to the north as far as the latitude of 26. 30. where it is bounded by the foot of the first range of mountains approaching Thibet. By the acquisition of a country, called *Purnea*, the territory on this side the river extends 20 miles more to the west than Tacriagully on the other; and a line nearly north and south, from the northern mountains to the Ganges, marks the boundary between Purnea and the province of Behar. From this line the territory of Bengal extends 180 miles to the eastward as far as Rangamatty, a town belonging to the king of Assam, situated in the latitude of 26. 10. on the river Baramputrah. The course of this river from Rangamatty to the sea seems the natural boundary of Bengal to the east; but considerable districts have been acquired on the other side of it, which will be described as occasion requires; and at the upper part of the sea-coast which bounds the bay of Bengal to the east, the province of Chittigan has been wrested from the kingdom of Aracan.

The sea-coast between the mouths of the river Hughley and the Great Ganges, extends 180 miles, and the whole tract is a dreary unhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible from the sea to ships of burden; and for several miles inward, the land is intersected by numerous channels, which derive from both rivers, and disembogue by many mouths into the sea. The islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied by deer and tygers.

The triangle included by the Cossimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south, as well as a large tract on either hand and to the north of this Delta, is as level as the sandy deserts of Africa, or Arabia; and, like some of the countries on the banks of the river of Amazons, no where produces a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould lying on a deep sand, which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of this im-

mense

1756 mense plain as are not watered by the Ganges and its branches, are fertilized by many other streams from the mountains, and for the space of three months, from May to August, when the sun is mostly in the zenith, heavy rains fall every day.

Hence the luxuriance of the soil supplies the subsistance of the inhabitants with less labour than any other country in the world. Rice, which makes the greatest part of their food, is produced in such plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often sold on the spot at the rate of two pounds for a farthing : a number of other arable grains, and a still greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices of their diet, are raised, as wanted, with equal ease : sugar, although requiring a more attentive cultivation, thrives every where : although their kine are of a mean race, and give little milk, yet the defect of exuberance is supplied by the multitude of the animals : the casts who eat fish, find them swarming in all the streams and ponds of the country, and salt is produced in abundance in the islands near the sea. Hence in spite of despotism the province is extremely populous : and the vacation from agriculture leaves a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom ; so that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country throughout the empire, and cousequently at much cheaper rates. The greatest part of these manufactures, and of the raw silk, is exported ; and Europe receives the largest share ; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the empire, and other countries ; to which they likewise send rice, sugar, beetle-nut, ginger, long-pepper, turmerick, and a variety of other drugs and productions of the soil. Their real wants from abroad are only the metals ; but since Europe has opened a trade to India, they have consumed large quantities of woollen manufactures, and require arms, and a variety of mechanical implements better than they can make themselves, some from fancy, but the greatest part for use. The abundance of advantages peculiar to this country have induced the eastern world to call it the paradise of India ; and the western, without hyperbole, the rich kingdom of Bengal. But these ad-

vantages,

vantages, through a long course of generations, have concurred 1756
with the languor peculiar to the unelastic atmosphere of the climate, to debase all the essential qualities of the human race, and notwithstanding the general effeminacy of character which is visible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are still of weaker frame and more enervated disposition than those of any other province: bodily strength, courage, and fortitude are unknown: even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a stupidity which neither wishes nor seems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity. All those of the better casts, who are not fixed to the loom, are bred to the details of traffic and money, in which their patience and perseverance are as great as their detestation of danger, and aversion to bodily fatigue; and it is common to see the accounts of a huckster in his stall, who does not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a considerable merchant in Europe.

The natives of Bengal derive their religion from a code called the Shaster, which they assert to be the genuine scripture of Bramah, in preference to the Vidam, of which the followers assert the contrary, whilst neither understand the language of the original text, which is called the Shanscrit: the very disuse of this language is of the most remote antiquity; it is preserved only by the Bramins, and understood but by very few even of them. The two codes of the Shaster and Vidam divide almost equally the whole body of the Indian religion throughout Indostan. The followers of the Shaster are distinguished by the name of GENTOOS.

The language as well as the written character of Bengal are peculiar to the natives, and not used in any other province, and both seem to be base derivations from the Shanscrit.

It appears from the history of Feritsha that the sovereignty of the Mahomedans was established in Bengal about the year 1200, during 1200
the reign of Scheabbedin, the Gauride. At this time the capital was *Lucknouti*, an immense city, to which the natives attributed great antiquity: it was situated on the right side of the Ganges, about

1756 about 20 miles north of the island of Cossibuzar, and about the same distance to the south of Maulda. From the reign of Scheab-
1399 bedin to the invasion of Tamerlane in 1399, the country during two centuries is always supposed annexed to the empire of Delhi, although its governors sometimes affected royalty; and the province, during this period, has more than once been conferred on princes of the royal blood who stood nearest the throne. The confusions in the empire, which followed the invasion of Tamerlane, gave the rulers of Bengal better opportunity to assert and maintain inde-
1447 pendence. In 1447 they appear assuming the stile and dignity of
1494 kings, and in 1494, Sultan Alla ul dien, as monarch of Bengal, makes peace on equal terms with Sultan Secunder emperor of Delhi. From this time the continual convulsions of the throne, until it was seized by the intrepid hand of Baber, left the Sultans of Bengal without the apprehension of controul from the transitory sovereigns who stiled themselves emperors, and even Baber, until his death, in
1530 1530, had too much to do in confirming his authority in other parts
1534 of Indostan to look to Bengal: but in 1534 the reigning Sultan was expelled by the famous adventurer Shere Cawn, who himself
1539 in 1539 quitted the province on the approach of the emperor Homaion son of Baber. This is the first establishment made by the house of Tamerlane in the province, but it was of short duration; for Shere Cawn defeated Homaion on his return to Agra, immediately after which he recovered the dominion of Bengal, and armed by the means it afforded, drove Homaion out of Indostan into Persia,
1542 1545 and assumed the throne of Delhi in 1542. He died in 1545;
1552 his son and successor Selim in 1552; and during their reigns no commotions appear in Bengal; but during the three abrupt suc-
1555 cessions after Selim, until Homaion recovered Delhi in 1555, Bengal was continually disputed, and by several competitions. Homaion
1556 died in 1556, the year after he was reinthroned, and strong rebellions in the intermediate countries kept Bengal independant of
1575 Delhi until the year 1575, when the generals of Acbar reduced the province, and a part of Orixa, after which Bengal remained in sub-
1624 jection until 1624, when it was wrested from the empire by Shaw

Jehan

Jehan in rebellion against his father the emperor Jehanguire; but it 1756
was recovered the next year. Shaw Jehan succeeded to the throne
in 1627, and in 1638 sent his son Sujah to command in Bengal. 1627 1638
Sujah continued lord of the province until 1661, when he was 1661
driven to take refuge in Arracan by Emir Jumla the vizir of his brother Aurunzebe, who had confined their father Shaw Jehan, and ascended his throne. From this time until a revolution which has happened in our days, Bengal continued in uninterrupted submission to the authority of the great Mogul.

The peculiar patience of the *Gentoos* in Bengal, their affection to business, and the cheapness of all productions either of commerce or necessity, had concurred to render the details of the revenue the most minute, voluminous, and complicated system of accounts which exist in the universe, insomuch that the emperor Jehanguire, although the Mahomedans had then been sovereigns of the country for three centuries, says in his note book, that the application of ten years was necessary to acquire a competent notion of them. The military pride of the Mahomedans, their indolence and sensuality, their ignorance of the language, and the inferiority of their numbers, rendered them inadequate to a task they detested, and obliged them, however unwilling, to leave the collection of the revenues, as they found it, with the *Gentoos*, and the same insufficiencies reduced them to continue the *Rajahs* or princes, amongst whom the country was divided, in the superintendance of the municipal regulations of their respective districts, subject to regulated tributes, and the arbitrary fines and extortions of victorious authority. The greatest part of Bengal remains at this day under the intermediate jurisdiction of these Rajahs, several of whom are descended from ancestors who ruled the same districts before the Mahomedan conquest.

The Portugueze appear in Bengal before the present dynasty of
Moguls; for an armament was sent by the viceroy of Goa in 1534 1534
to assist the reigning Sultan against the invader Shere Cawn. This nation, however, never established regular governments or garrisons in the province, as in most other parts of India. But different bands

1756 at different times took up their residence on the sea-coasts of Balasore and Arracan, and in several habitable islands, which lye in the mouths of the great and lesser Ganges, where, living without law, and with much superstition, some hired themselves as soldiers to the governors of the neighbouring districts, whilst others equipt boats and armed vessels, and plundered in the rivers all who were not able to resist them. The Dutch settled in Bengal about the year
1625 1625.

The trade of this country was opened to the English by means of
1636 a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the emperor Shaw Jehan, whom he cured, and the emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province, and to carry them by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered: on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an ample stipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the company in
1640 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courtesy, and assisted in their mercantile transactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade.

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indostan, arise much more from the commodities which they purchase in that country, than from those which they send thither, and the most valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe consists of silk and cotton manufactures; the weaver of which is an Indian, living and working with his wife and several children in a hut, which scarcely affords him shelter from the sun and rain: his natural indolence

however

however is satisfied in procuring by his daily labour, his daily bread; 1756
and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the district to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor; so that the chapman who sets him to work, finds him destitute of every thing but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furnish him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchase materials, and to subsist him until his work is finished; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the cost of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to sell, of which, by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the necessity of the purchaser to buy. Now the navigation to India is so very expensive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protractions of the voyage; and loss, instead of profit, would ensue, if ships were sent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival; for either they would not find these cargoes provided, and must wait for them at a great expence; or if ready, would be obliged to purchase them too dearly. Hence has arisen the necessity of establishing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ships, the cargoes intended to be returned in them.

The English company, either in the first voyage or soon after, built a factory at Hughley, the principal port of the province, lying about one hundred miles from the sea on the river to which it gives its name, and which is the western arm of the ganges; but the officers of the government superintended the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled or might be converted into a station of defence; the Mogul empire, at that time, disdaining to allow in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any other sovereignty than its own: for whatsoever forts the Portugueze or other Europeans possessed on the sea-coasts of Indostan, the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, were either wrested or purchased from princes at that time not conquered by the Mogul, in

1756. whose territory no European power had hitherto been suffered to erect a single bastion.

1640

1680 Not permitted to have fortifications, the English were likewise prohibited from entertaining a military force sufficient to give umbrage to the government, but were allowed to maintain an ensign and 30 men to do honour to the principal agents; who, thus confined to commercial views, applied themselves with much industry to promote their own and the company's interests in trade. Englishmen were sent from Hughley to those parts of the province in which the most valuable commodities were produced: but as the number of factors employed by the company did not suffice to superintend in different places, the provision of such quantities of goods as were annually demanded, the greatest part of the purchases was managed at Hughley, where the principal agents contracted with merchants of the country, who, on receiving about one half of the value beforehand, obliged themselves under pecuniary penalties to deliver at fixed periods the goods for which they had contracted. The company being by these dispositions invested with a right in all the goods for which they had contracted, even before these goods were manufactured, gave the name of Investment to all their purchases in India.

These were the only methods of carrying on the trade with reasonable expectation of profit; but they rendered the English entirely dependant on the government of Bengal, who, either by seizing the goods which were provided, or by prohibiting them from being carried to the principal residence, from whence they were to be shipped, might at any time subject the company's estate to great detriment and loss: and of these risques the company were so apprehensive, that they kept their factories in Bengal dependant on the Presidency of Madrass; where they had a fort and garrison, to which, in cases of sudden emergency, the agents in Bengal were to apply for advice and assistance.

Their trade, however, was carried on for some time without interruption, and with much success; but in a few years, when they had erected costly buildings, had accumulated large quantities

of

of English commodities, and had given large credits in the province, 1756
the government, deeming them as it were fettered to the shore,
changed its conduct towards them. The patents granted to 1640 to
Boughton, as well as the other stipulations which had induced them 1680
to settle in the province, were either disavowed, or construed in contradiction to their meaning : the same customs were levied from them, as from other merchants : the Nabob affected to arbitrate between the company and such of the natives, who, in order to evade the payment of their debts, thought proper to purchase his protection ; and even vagabond Englishmen, offending against the company's privileges, were encouraged to take refuge in his court, and to disavow the authority of their countrymen. In a word, every pretext which might bring the English affairs under his cognizance was practised, in order to subject them to fines and exactions. If the settlements hesitated, or refused to comply with the Nabob's demands, their trade, throughout the province, was immediately stopped.

For these evils there were but two remedies, war, or retreat : both worse than the mischief ; for although the government annually repeated its exactions, the advantages of the Bengal trade, whilst new, were such as rendered it more prudent to acquiesce, than by defiance to risque the whole of the company's stock and concerns in the province ; and for forty years the English attempted no military resistance.

At length, finding these impositions extravagantly increased, because they had only been opposed by embassies and petitions ; and having the same causes of complaint against the Mogul's government at Surat ; the company, in the year 1685, determined to try 1685
what condescensions the effect of arms might produce ; and with the approbation of King James the second, fitted out two fleets ; one of which was ordered to cruize at the bar of Surat, on all vessels belonging to the Mogul's subjects : the other was designed not only to commit hostilities by sea at the mouths of the Ganges, but carried likewise 600 regular troops, in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land. The agents at Hughley received previous notice

of

1756 of these intentions, and were instructed to call in all their factors
1685 and concerns, that all the English subjects and property might be in readiness to repair on board the ships, as soon as they should arrive in the road of Ballasore, from whence it was intended that they should proceed and surprize the city of Chittigan, on the opposite shore, where they were immediately to fortify themselves.

The conduct of this war was entrusted to Job Chanock, the company's principal agent at Hughley, a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge of a government from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having not long before been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob. One vessel of the fleet was lost; the largest ship, with another, were not able to make their passage, and the rest did not
1686 arrive before the month of October, 1686; by which time, a body of the Nabob's troops, probably from some suspicions of the intended hostilities, had surrounded the factory at Hughley. Chanock, therefore, on the arrival of the ships, ordered the troops, about 460 men, to come up the river to his assistance, gave battle, and drove the enemy out of the town. A truce ensued, during which all the company's effects were shipped; by which time, the governor of Hughley having received considerable reinforcements, both sides were equally willing and ready to renew hostilities. The Moors were again discomfited: but, nevertheless, prepared to blockade the factory again; to avoid which, Chanock, on the 15th of December, took the field, and marching down the western bank of the river, burned and destroyed all the magazines of salt, and granaries of rice, which he found in his way between Hughley and the island of Ingelee, which lies at the mouth of the river, near the western shore. On this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy in the province, he pitched his camp, in the month of April, whilst the ships anchored in the main stream. The Moors suffered them to remain here without molestation for three months, during which sickness swept away 300 Europeans, which was two-thirds of the whole force.

In the mean time, the fleet sent to Surat had been much more 1756
successful, having taken from the Mogul's subjects, cargoes, which 1686
were valued at a million of sterling money. These losses deterred
the merchants at Surat from making preparations for future voyages;
the manufacturers and mechanics, left without employment, complained loudly of famine; and the emperor's revenues were considerably diminished: upon which Aurengzebe sent one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the English complaints, and to mitigate the oppressions they had suffered. Orders of the same purport were likewise sent to the Nabob of Bengal, and arrived very fortunately for the English troops at Ingelee, when, reduced to only 100 men capable of bearing arms, they were surrounded by 10,000 foot, and 3000 horse. Hostilities ceased, and by a treaty
signed the 16th of August, 1687, it was stipulated, that the Eng- 1687
lish should not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewise erect docks and magazines at *Ulabarea*, a village situated on the western bank, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river.

However Chanock had not faith enough in the treaty to return to Hughley without the ships, and the Moors distrusted the English too much to suffer them to appear there with such an advantage. He therefore remained three months at Ulabarea, during which the place was found to be so improper for the purposes which had induced him to ask it, that he desired and obtained leave to remove to Soota-nutty, a town about 40 miles higher up, and on the other side of the river, where the factors and soldiery lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Mean while the war at Surat broke out afresh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee; but gave up the English trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the same time demanded a very large sum, as a recompence for the damage which his country had sustained by the late hostilities. Chanock being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of the council to Dacca, to try if he might be softened by submissions. Soon after their departure,

1756 ture, the power of the settlement was translated from Mr. Chanock
1688 to Heath, a commander of one of the company's ships, a man of courage, but of a variable disposition, not far removed from craziness; who, soon after his arrival at Soota-nutty, ordered all the English to repair on board the ships, and proceeded with them to the road of Ballasore, where the governor of the town offered to treat with him in behalf of the Nabob, and finding that this proposal was not received with cordiality, detained two of the company's agents residing in the factory of Ballasore, as hostages against any violence: notwithstanding which, and that the two English deputies were still at Dacca, as well as two other factors in other parts of the province, Heath landed with a crew of sailors, and attacked the town, which had no defences. This outrage was committed on the very day that the governor received a copy of the treaty which the Nabob had made with the two deputies at Dacca; by which it was stipulated, that the English ships should attack the king of Arracan. Heath pretended to acquiesce to these terms, hoping that his professions might facilitate his intentions of surprizing Chittigan, where the fleet arrived on the 17th of January,
1689 1689; but finding the works, as well as the garrison, much stronger than he expected, Heath, as if he had come with no other purpose, offered, as he had promised, to join the Nabob against the king of Arracan; but soon after changing his mind again, he sailed to the river which leads to the capital of that country, where he proffered his service to the king against the Nabob, insisting, however, that their first attempt should be against Chittigan. But, not being of a temper to bear the delays of an Indian administration, he as suddenly took disgust against this ally; and on the 13th of February, sailed away with the fleet and the company's agents across the bay of Bengal to Madrass, where they arrived on the 15th of March. Here he apologized for his conduct by saying, that nothing but lies had been told on all sides.

Nevertheless, this conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected from measures dictated by the most prudent councils: for the Nabob imagined

that

that the contempt and disrespect with which Heath had treated him, 1756
proceeded from a resolution which the English had taken, to
abandon the trade of Bengal; and fearing to be called to a severe 1689
account by the emperor Aurengzebe, for forcing them to quit the province, he immediately sent letters to Madrass requesting them to return, and promising all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cause of the late contentions. Such a condescension was thought a sufficient warrant of the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Chanock, therefore, with his factors and thirty soldiers, sailed from Madrass, and arrived in the month of July at Soota-nutty; where, in consequence of the Nabob's orders, the government of Hughley received them with civility.

The next year they received a phirmaund or patent from Aureng- 1690
zebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually the sum of 3000 rupees. The great advantages intended by this favour, depended however more on the temper of the Nabob than on the will of the emperor; for the English had more than once before received such mandates, and found them of little use; and the remembrance of former evils continued to raise solicitude, even when no immediate causes of apprehension subsisted.

The right of jurisdiction over the Indian inhabitants, whom the residence and commerce of the English continually attracted to Soota-nutty, became every day more necessary, to prevent perpetual litigations with those, who although employed by the English, might at any time defy them in the courts of the government, in which the merchants of the settlement would be more cautious of seeking protection, if the company had power to stop their families and attach their effects: but this right of jurisdiction could not be purchased, even at Delhi, without the consent of the Nabob; it was equally necessary that the company should have a fort to protect their valuable effects against sudden violence; but even proffers of money, repeated for five years successively could not prevail on the Nabob, to allow these privileges; and they were despaired of,

 when

1756 when some unexpected events enabled the company to obtain them.

1690
1696 In 1696, the Rajahs on the western side of the river Hughley, took up arms: they were headed by him of Burdawan, whose territory extends along the western side of the river, from Nuddeah to the island of Ingelee, and who likewise possessed a considerable district on the other shore, contiguous to Calcutta; so that the English, French, and Dutch companies, had each their principal settlement within his jurisdiction. The greatest part of the Nabob's army being near the court at Dacca, the rebels made great progress before a force sufficient to oppose them could assemble: and in the mean time they took Hughley, plundered Muxadavad, in the island of Cossimbuzar, and from thence proceeded to Rajahmahal. On the breaking out of this war, the three European settlements augmented their soldiery, and declared for the Nabob; of whom they at the same time requested permission to put their factories in a state of defence against an enemy, whose resentment they must incur by their attachment to his government. The Nabob ordered them in general terms to defend themselves; and they taking for granted, what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories: the Dutch about a mile to the south of Hughley; the French two miles lower down the river, at Chandernagore; and the English at Calcutta, a small town contiguous to Soota-nutty, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, and they were the first which the Mogul government suffered foreigners to build in any part of the empire. An English sloop prevented the Rajah from taking the fort of Tannah; and the garrison of Calcutta, consisting of fifty men, beat a body of his troops within sight of the town. The Dutch assisted the Nabob's troops to retake Hughley. The French did little, but appeared in arms, and fortified themselves, better than either of the other two.

The news of this rebellion alarmed Aurengzebe himself so much that he sent one of his grandsons, Azim-al-Shan, with an army,

to

to superintend the three governments of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa. 1756
This prince was son of Mahomed Mauzm, who reigned after
his father Aurengzebe, with the title of Behader Shah; and 1696
Azim-al-Shan himself seems likewise, even at this distant period, to have had an eye to the throne: for he came into Bengal with a resolution to amass money by every means. This avaricious disposition the English plied with presents, which in 1698 obtained 1698
his permission to purchase from the Zemindar, or Indian proprietor, the towns of Soota-nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their districts, extending about three miles along the eastern bank of the river Hughley, and about one mile inland: the prince, however, reserved the annual fine of 1195 rupees, which this ground used to pay to the Nabob of the province. But at this time, when the English settlements seemed on the point of emerging from continued difficulties to a state of prosperity, the erection of a new East India company, in opposition to the old, renewed all their former evils. The new company established their factory at Hughley, and the competition between the respective agents was carried on with the same animosity as exasperated their principals in England, which exposed the concerns of both to the impositions of the Nabob, and of the merchants of Bengal, who took every advantage of this rivality. However, the spirit of commerce, which knows no resentments that are prejudicial to its interest, soon reconciled the contending parties in England, and produced a coalition, of which the preliminaries were adjusted in 1698; but the final union did not take place till seven years after: this time being necessary to blend the different concerns of both companies into one common stock.

In the mean time, the settlement of Calcutta had attracted such a number of inhabitants, as excited the jealousy of the governor of Hughley, who, pretending that he should be punished for suffering so many of the Mogul's subjects to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction, threatened to send a *Cadi*, or Mahomedan judge, and officers of the police, to administer justice amongst the natives living under the English flag. The measure would have

1756 renewed the same inconveniencies, which had forced the English to quit Hughley : it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azim-al-Shan, who forbad the governor of Hughley from proceeding in his intentions. By this constant attention to money, Azim-al-Shan in three years amassed three millions of pounds sterling, which he carried with him out of the province : but he left behind him his son Furrukshir to get more ; who, in 1713, gained the throne, after his father had perished in disputing it with his brothers.

The union of the two companies, by augmenting the stock, increased the trade, and enlarged the views of the direction : who, at the same time, warned by the late examination of the company's affairs in parliament, exerted themselves with zeal and intelligence, in order to confound the clamours of those who exclaimed against the institution of an East India company, as a monopoly detrimental to the mercantile interests of the nation. The commerce of Bengal more especially became the object of their attention : the subordinate factories of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, and Ballasore, which had been abandoned, were now resettled : the exports and imports were doubled in value and in quantity ; and the garrison of Calcutta was augmented to 300 men : all which the government of Bengal, contrary to its usual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour. This was the longest term of repose from vexations, which the English had experienced since their first establishment in the province ; and the increasing importance of the colony induced the company in 1707 to withdraw the settlements in it, from their former dependance on Madrass, and to declare Calcutta a presidency accountable only to the direction in England.

But the nabob Jaffier Khan, who at this time was appointed to rule Bengal, did not suffer the English to remain any longer in this state of ease and independence : and the respite which they had lately enjoyed served only to convince him, that, as being better able,

able, they ought the more readily to comply with his demands. 1756
Having removed the seat of government from Dacca to Muxadavad, in the center of the province, he was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs; and to discover pretexts and means of distressing them, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurengzebe and Azim-al-Shan. Every year of his administration was marked by extraordinary and increasing extortions, not only from the Europeans, but from all ranks of people in the province: at the same time he was as much dreaded for his abilities as detested for his iniquities: and the presidency of
Calcutta, not seeing any better resource, proposed in the year 1713, 1713
to the company in England, that an embassy of complaint, supported by a valuable present, should be sent to the great Mogul at Delhi; to which the company readily acquiesced, directing the presidencies of Bombay and Madrass to join their grievances in the same petition with those of Bengal. The nomination of the embassadors was left to Mr. Hedges the governor of Calcutta, who chose John Surman and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors in the service there: joining to them an Armenian, named Serhaud, who had for many years been the principal merchant in the settlement.

It does not appear, that the presidency had any other lights to direct their proceedings and expectations at Delhi, excepting such as they received from this Armenian, who had never been there; but who was very solicitous to be admitted into this honourable commission, in hopes of getting a great deal of money by the goods he should carry free of charges in the train of the embassy. The presents designed for the Mogul and his officers consisted of curious glass ware, clockwork, toys, brocades, and the finest manufactures of woollen cloths and silks, valued altogether at 30,000 pounds; which Serhaud, in his letters to Delhi, magnified to 100,000, and gave such a description of the rarities which were coming, that the mogul Furrukshir ordered the embassy to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through whose territories it might pass. The train proceeded on the Ganges from Calcutta to Patna, the

capital

1756 capital of Behar, and from hence by land to Delhi, where they arrived on the 8th of July 1715, after a march of three months. The
1715 famous Hossan Ally, who afterwards deposed four, and created five emperors of Indostan, was at this time Vizir, dreaded by his sovereign, and mortally hated by Caundorah, who was in full possession of the emperor's favour. The English, by their previous correspondence to Delhi, had chosen Caundorah for the patron of their petitions, to which the rivality between these lords was likely to prove no little detriment; for the one only could persuade the emperor to grant, what the other alone had the power of carrying into execution. Jaffier, the Nabob of Bengal, had from the beginning regarded the embassy with detestation, as the strongest imputation against the integrity of his own conduct, and would probably have counteracted it, both by representations and money, if he had not wanted all his influence at Delhi to promote the success of greater views; for he had for some years been soliciting the annexion of the provinces of Behar and Orixa to the government of Bengal, and the succession to this vast viceroyalty, in his family. Nevertheless his emissaries privately spread their specious objections amongst his friends: which with the desire of Hossan Ally to thwart Caundorah, would probably have soon produced the dismission of the embassadors with civil and insignificant answers, if an accident, which on a less important occasion would have been too mean to merit historical notice, had not placed them at once in a high degree of favour with the emperor himself; whom not all the vigilance of a mogul's seraglio had been able to preserve from the contagion of a distemper, which its institutions seem so well calculated to prevent.

The Mogul, despairing of the skill of his own empiricks, was advised by Caundorah to employ the surgeon of the English embassy, named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured; and, in gratitude for this service, promised to grant the embassadors any indulgences, which might be consistent with the dignity of his government. Soon after his recovery succeeded the festival of his marriage with the daughter of Jasseing, the principal

Rajah of the Rajpoot nation; which interrupted all other business, 1756
and obliged the embassadors to wait six months before they could gain permission to present their petition.

It was delivered in the month of January of the next year 1716, 1716
and contained a variety of requests; "That the cargoes of English "ships, which might be wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should not "in future be plundered: that a stipulated sum, paid annually to "the government of Surat, should exempt the English trade at "that port from the Mogul's duties, and from the visitations of his "officers, who had continually extorted more than they were "authorized to demand: that the rupees coined in the mints of "Bombay and Madrass should pass in the receipt of the Mogul's "revenue: that three villages, contiguous to Madrass, which had "formerly been granted, and were afterwards taken back by the "government of Arcot, might be restored to the company in perpetuity, subject to the payment of the former fine: that the "island of Diu near the port of Masulipatnam might be given to "the company, paying for it an annual rent of 7000 pagodas." In behalf of the presidency of Calcutta, the petition represented all the impositions of the Nabob of Bengal, and proposed, "that they "should be obviated by positive orders, that all persons, whether "Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to "the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta "on the first demand: that the officers of the mint at Muxadavad "should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week "for the coinage of the company's money: and that a passport, or "*dustuck* signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the "goods it specified from being visited or stopped by the officers of "the Bengal government on any pretence whatsoever;" and in order to maintain these excellent privileges, if granted, even in defiance of the Nabob himself, it was requested, "that the English "might purchase the lordship of thirty-seven towns, with the same "immunities as Azim-al-Shan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, "Soota-nutty, and Govindpore."

Caundorah,

1756. Caundorah, although he meant the embassy well, advised them to act as if they had no other reliance than on the Vizir; and the emperor, with the same caution, professed indeed a general approbation of the petition, but directed the several articles to be discussed by the different officers of the state, to the cognizance of which they were deemed to belong. This subjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizir; who, not without candour, disputed all the material articles, and readily allowed those of less consequence: a second petition was therefore presented to the emperor, in consequence of which some more points were given up by the Vizir; and then a third; which, being received with the same favour as the other two, induced him to give up the rest of his objections. But, to the great disappointment of the embassadors, the mandates were issued, not under the Mogul's but under the seal of the Vizir; which, although carrying great authority in the provinces near the capital, was likely to be little respected by the distant viceroys, to whom these mandates were addressed. To increase their difficulties, the Armenian Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in some irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations; and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheless Messrs. Stephenson and Surman with great steadiness and spirit returned the mandates, and determined to wait until they should obtain patents under the seal of the Mogul.

These procrastinations had already led the embassy to the month of April of 1716, when the emperor took the field, and marched towards Lahore against the Sykes, a nation of Indians lately reared to power, and bearing mortal enmity to the Mahomedans. The embassadors followed the camp. The campaign was tedious, though successful, and, amongst other events, produced a quarrel between the troops of the Vizir and Caundorah, which rendered their dissension utterly irreconcileable. Their jealousies, after the return of the army to Delhi, continued to protract the admission of the claim made by the embassadors; who, having wasted fourteen months without the least progress, began to despair of success, when

when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the seraglio, who promised on this condition to procure the patents in the form they desired, and without delay. So much money had already been spent, that the embassadors thought it would be trivial not to risk this sum as the last experiment, although they much doubted the effect. But, to their surprize, as soon as the money was paid, the Vizir and all his dependents appeared as much inclined, as they had hitherto been averse, to promote their requests; and soon after thirty-four patents, including the different subjects of the petition, were issued in the Mogul's name, and signed with his seal. They were delivered to the embassadors before they had discovered the real cause of their unexpected success; which, however, was explained to them before they left Delhi, by one of Caundorah's officers. In the year 1686, a little while before the fleet sent from England began to take the ships belonging to the Moors, the English agents at Surat retired to Bombay: they returned after the peace; but a little before the present patents were issued, the presidency of Bombay had again withdrawn the factory of Surat, as a residence not worth maintaining, unless the trade could be freed from the impositions to which it had of late years been subject. The government of Surat, reasoning from former experience, took the alarm, and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England to commit hostilities, as in the year 1687, which would have been attended with the same success; for many ships of value belonging to the Mogul's subjects were at sea. The eunuch, to whom the embassadors had given the bribe, was the intimate correspondent and friend of the Nabob of Guzurat, who had desired him to represent to the Vizir, that it was better to satisfy the English by granting their petitions, than by a refusal to expose the trade of Surat to their reprisals. To this advice the Vizir immediately acquiesced, and from that hour changed his conduct towards the embassadors: the eunuch being early in the secret, and foreseeing the change that would shortly ensue, determined to reap some advantage from his intelligence, and imposed himself on the

1756 1716

1756 embassadors as the author of the benefits which it was not in his
1717 power to prevent. The embassadors having thus accomplished their commission, took leave of the emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival at Delhi. The patents addressed to the Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob of Guzurat, took effect as soon as they were published, because they afforded no political pretext of opposition, as adding nothing to the military strength of the company's settlements in either of these soubahships, although to their commercial advantages. But the thirty-seven towns which they were permitted to purchase in Bengal would give them a district extending ten miles south of Calcutta along the banks on each side the river Hughley, of which the passage in this extent might be easily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts; at the same time that the revenue of the tract would defray the expence: and it was supposed that a great number of weavers might be established in it, who would be immediately subject to the company's jurisdiction. The shrewdness of the Nabob Jaffier, exasperated by his grudge to the embassy in general, saw the consequences of this grant with indignation; but, not daring openly to dispute the Mogul's order, he deterred the holders of the land with secret threats of vengeance from parting with their ground on any terms of compensation which might be proffered to them: and the English government confiding too much in the sanction of the Mogul's authority, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nabob to their own views; and thus the most important concession which had been obtained by the embassy, was entirely frustrated. However, Jaffier admitted the privilege of the dustucks, which, being recognized throughout the province, greatly facilitated the circulation of the company's trade; which now no longer paid customs, nor was liable to be stopped by the officers of the government; and this immunity was still more beneficial, because the other European colonies were not entitled to it; nor indeed, any of the natives excepting two or three principal merchants, who purchased it at a high rate of the Nabob.

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The company, confining themselves entirely to the trade between India and Europe, had, not unwisely, relinquished to their agents that which is carried on from one part of India to another: but the impositions of the government had hitherto prevented their agents from reaping any considerable advantages from this indulgence: and to promote their profits, the company, soon after the embassy, allowed all those who served them under covenants, to make use of their dustucks for such commodities as belonged to themselves; but forbid, under severe penalties, the prostitution or extension of this privilege to any others. A question now arose, whether the company's agents were entitled to trade from one part of the province to another, in such commodities as were the produce of Bengal. The Mogul's patent implied no restrictions. But they could not be ignorant of the intentions of Delhi concerning this privilege; for when the embassadors proposed to Caundorah that it should extend to all kinds of commodities, he replied with emotion "The Sea!" And the Nabob Jaffier openly treated the pretension with the same indignation as he had secretly felt against the ceded lands, declaring that he would not suffer the dustucks to protect any goods, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported, by sea; alleging, that as the salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, together with some other articles of general consumption, were either farmed out in monopolies, or taxed at excessive rates, the detriment to the revenues would be as great as the advantages to the company's agents, if they were permitted to trade in these articles, free of the customs and rents which were paid by the natives who dealt in them. 1756

Convinced as much by the reasoning, as deterred by the power, of the Nabob, the agents receded from their pretension, and applied themselves to make the most advantage of those privileges which were not contested. Success produced new adventures; and the superior skill of our countrymen in navigation, induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians and Indians, to freight most of the goods which they exported to foreign markets, on the shipping belonging to the colony, which, in ten years after

1756 the embassy, amounted to 10,000 tons; and many private fortunes were acquired, without injuring the company's trade, or subjecting their estate to disputes with the government. The presidency, nevertheless, found it their interest from time to time to sooth the Nabob with presents, in order to promote the increase of the company's investment, and to facilitate the course of their business at the subordinate factories: but the people of all denominations residing in Calcutta, enjoyed, after the return of the embassy, a degree of independence and freedom unknown to all the other inhabitants of Bengal: who, on the contrary, were oppressed every year with increasing vexations by the rapacity of the Nabob.

1718 In 1718, the year after the embassy, Jaffier received from Delhi the patents he had long solicited, annexing the provinces of BEHAR and ORIXA to his government of Bengal and the reversion of the whole to his heir.

The Ganges, in a course which tends with little deviation from the west to the east point of the compass, flows through the whole province of BEHAR, and divides it into two regions. The southern extends about 220 miles, from the river *Caramnassa* to *Tacriagully*, and is skirted to the south by the chain of mountains which on this side accompanies the course of the Ganges; and several districts belonging to the province are included within the mountains themselves, but none recede more than 60 miles from the river. The river *Dewah*, which is likewise called the *Gogra*, joins the Ganges on its northern shore, 180 miles to the west of Tacriagully. That river for a long way before the junction tends to the W. N. W. and 40 miles of the lower part of its channel forms part of the western boundary of the northern division of Behar, which extends to the east 180 miles, to the line we have noted as the limit of Purniah, and recedes from the Ganges and Dewah 90 miles to the north; where forests at the foot of the range of mountains, which bound the country of *Napal*, continue with the mountains to the eastward far beyond Rangamati, and form the northern boundaries of Behar, Bengal, and Assam. The area of Behar compriseth 9 square degrees. The capital, Patna, stands on the southern bank of

of the Ganges, 130 miles to the west of Tacriagully. There are many manufactures in this province, although nothing near so many as in Bengal, to which it is likewise much inferior in fertility; but it produces a great quantity of saltpetre, and of the best opium in India. 1756 1718

ORIXA is the most northern country on the east side of the promontory of Indostan. The river Pipley coming from the N. W. disembogues, as we have said, in the latitude of 22. 25, opposite to the island of Sagore. The channel of this river, for 40 miles from its mouth, and an imaginary line 20 miles farther to the west, to the foot of the Nelligreen hills, before they curve to the east behind Ballasore, divide Orixa from Bengal. Southward it extends along the sea coast to the latitude of 20. 10. within six miles of Gangam, which terminates the province of CHICACOLE in the Decan. To the westward Orixa is separated from the province of BEHAR by a vast tract of mountains hitherto unexplored. The interior of the province is the strongest and best soil in the empire; but from the want of good sea-ports, there are few manufactures, and very little circulation of gold and silver, in the country. Catteck, the capital, is situated in the latitude of 21. 23. and fifty miles from the sea.

Jaffier had no sons, but before his arrival in Bengal had given his only daughter in marriage to Sujah Khan, a lord of distinction, who accompanied him into the province. Of this marriage were born two sons, both of whom were arrived at man's estate, when the commission appointing their father Sujah to succeed Jaffier was sent from Delhi. Sujah, although humane, was indolent and voluptuous, and his father in law, being desirous to break him to business, sent him soon after the patents were received, to govern the province of Orixa.

A few months after his arrival at Catteck, two brothers, natives of Tartary, came to his court with strong recommendations from Delhi, in compliance with which Sujah received them into his service: appointing the elder, Hodgee Hamed, to attend his person as a domestic, and the other, Allaverdy, to command a troop of horse. They were both employed according to their talents.

For

1756. For the elder was calm, supple, wily, provident, but void of natural courage: the younger, stern, active, intrepid, sagacious, but too high-minded to submit to the compliances necessary in an Asiatic court. Conviction of the assistance which each might derive from the qualities of the other, cemented them as much as the relation of blood, in the most inviolable friendship. This powerful and uncommon union seemed to command fortune; for in a few years they raised themselves to the highest offices in Sujah's court and army; Hodgee Hamed becoming his prime minister, and Allaverdy the general of his troops. The Nabob Jaffier foresaw and dreaded the consequences of their influence: but the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions necessary to extricate his successor from the toils into which
1725 he had been led; and in 1725 Jaffier died, to the great joy of the province; but of none more than the two brothers, to whose ambition his death opened more extensive prospects. They accompanied Sujah to Muxadavad, and partook of the increase of his power, administering the same employments in the general government of the Subahship, as they had held in the province of Orixa.

1729 In 1729 Sujah appointed Allaverdy to govern Behar, in which station he had frequent opportunities of exerting his military talents, as well as his political abilities; being constantly in arms against the Indian chiefs on both sides the Ganges, who had never been reduced to a settled dependance on the Moorish government. However, after many fights, intrigues, and assassinations, all submitted, and afterwards continued in obedience to Allaverdy; who now feeling his strength, gave scope to his ambition, which, as usual, obliterated every sentiment of gratitude to the creator of his fortunes.

In the mean time Hodgee maintained his influence over the Nabob by an obsequiousness which prevented all suspicions, and remitted large sums to his brother, which were sent to Delhi, and in
1736 1736 procured a commission from thence appointing Allaverdy, Nabob of Behar, free from any dependance on the government of Bengal: but as there was no immediate occasion to proclaim this title, of which he

already

already enjoyed most of the advantages, the brothers agreed that it should be kept secret, until there should be a necessity of asserting it publickly. However, such a transaction could not be entirely concealed; and the first informations leading to farther investigations, Sujah, although unwillingly, was at length convinced of the treacherous ingratitude of his favourites. 1756

He was meditating revenge, when the approach of Nadir Shah struck all the provinces of the empire with consternation, and kept all their rulers in suspense how far the storm would reach: and in 1739, before the Persians left Delhi, Sujah died. 1739

The succession devolved to his only surviving son Suffraze Khan, a man of mean abilities, and governed only by his vices. He, however, bore the strongest resentment against the two brothers; but the fear of Allaverdy restrained him from taking away the life of Hodgee, who was in his power: and Allaverdy, trembling for the safety of his brother, refrained from committing any hostilities, but improved his army.

The profligacy of Suffraze Khan increased with the means of indulgence and his debaucheries went to an excess that disordered his understanding. There was, amongst the officers of the court, an old Gentoo of distinction, named Allumchund, whom the late Nabob used to consult with confidence; relying on which, Allumchund ventured, in a private conference, to warn Suffraze Khan of the dangerous consequences of his intemperance; but Suffraze Khan answered him with ignominious abuse and invectives. No one after this ventured to shew any disapprobation of his inclinations; and, left to himself, he soon after committed a more extravagant outrage. 1740

There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad, whose head, Juggutseat, had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most parts of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances; from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled; and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the administration; for by

1756 by answering to the treasury, as security for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all 1740 the details of the revenues ; and the great circulation of wealth, which he commanded, rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expence. His eldest son, soon after the disgrace of Allumchund, married a woman of exquisite beauty, the report of which alone inflamed the curiosity of the Nabob so much, that he insisted on seeing her, although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family, by shewing a wife, unveiled, to a stranger. Neither the remonstrances of the father, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed to divert the Nabob from this insolent and futile resolution. The young woman was sent to the palace in the evening ; and, after staying there a short space, returned, unviolated indeed, but dishonoured, to her husband.

Hodgee, who had been lurking for some such occasions of conspiracy, now began to move ; and made overtures to Juggetseat and Allumchund, who received them with eagerness. Secret meetings were concerted, in which it was agreed, that as soon as Hodgee could be placed out of the reach of danger, Allaverdy should invade Bengal, and, if successful, take the Nabobship. But the first difficulty seemed insurmountable, as nothing could be more contrary to the security of the Nabob than the release of such a pledge as Hodgee, and it was impossible that he could be removed out of the province without the Nabob's consent ; which nevertheless was at length obtained, by the intercession, it is said, of some of the principal officers of the Durbar, whom Hodgee had gained over and admitted into the secret of his conspiracy. The Nabob, at the audience of taking leave, treated Hodgee with scoff and mockery. The conveyances for his departure having for some time been held in readiness, he proceeded immediately on his journey to Patna ; and as soon as he arrived there, Allaverdy, giving out that he was dishonoured by the ignominious manner in which his brother had been turned out of the province, began his march towards Bengal.

1741 His approach was so sudden, that he gained the pass of Tacriagully before Suffraze Khan had time to secure it by a proper reinforcement.

forcement.

forcement. On hearing which, the Nabob accused Juggutseat of treachery; who defended himself by producing letters from Allaverdy, prepared for the purpose, in which he was upbraided for not having used his influence to prevent the banishment of Hodgee. 1756 1745

Suffraze Khan now assembled his troops, and ordered them to rendezvous on the plain of gheria, which lies on the west side of the river of Cossimbuzar, about five miles to the north of Muxadavad. Here he had scarcely formed his encampment, which consisted of 30,000 men, horse and foot, when Allaverdy appeared in sight, with an equal number, but of better troops; for amongst his cavalry were 3000 Pitans, the bravest of the Mahomedans in Indostan; and his infantry, levied in Behar, were much stouter than those in the army of Suffraze Khan, who were mostly natives of Bengal.

However, the unexpected firmness of the Nabob inspired some of his officers with courage; but more were either disaffected, or wavering; and all belonging to the Artillery had been engaged by Allumchund to discharge the cannon without ball, and to desert it soon after the onset. Troops after troops quitted the field, as soon as they saw the artillery abandoned. Nevertheless Suffraze Khan continued the fight, until he was left with only a few squadrons of horse, whom the enemy were moving to surround, when the driver of his elephant, warning him of the danger, offered, at the forfeit of his head, to convey him back safely to the capital; to which proposal the Nabob, with a resolution worthy of a better life, and of a better fate, replied, that he scorned to retreat before rebels and traitors; and ordered the driver to push into the thickest of the enemy's troops, toward the standard of Allaverdy; where, supported by the remains of his cavalry, he renewed the fight more desperately than ever, until he fell, shot through the heart by a musket ball.

Allaverdy, without meeting any farther opposition, marched to Muxadavad, where he was immediately proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa; and used his victory with more lenity and

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1756 moderation than is usually practised by eastern conquerors; and
1741 even spared the two sons of Suffraze Khan, whom, with their mother and other relations, he sent to take up their residence at Dacca, at the extremity of the province, where his officers were instructed to treat them with respect, whilst their conduct should give no umbrage. The whole province submitted as peaceably to his government, as if no revolution had happened: but Mussut Kouli, who governed Orixa under Suffraze Khan, flying from the battle of Gheria, retreated to Catteck, and when summoned by Allaverdy refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. He therefore called his brother Hodgee from Patna to administer the government of Bengal during his absence, and then marched into Orixa, and in less than a month expelled Mussat Kouli, and reduced the province.

The excess and rapidity of his fortunes, together with the reputation of his military abilities, alarmed the throne; and Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, in order to stop the farther progress of his arms, incited the Morattoes to invade his dominions almost as soon as he had taken possession of them. In consequence of which, an army of 80,000 Morattoes arrived within a few days journey of the mountains, which bound Bengal to the westward, before Allaverdy had quitted Catteck; who, not having given credit to the reports of their approach, had taken no precautions to prevent their irruption; and had even permitted the greatest part of the army he led into Bengal, to return to their homes; so that his whole force did not exceed 10,000 men, 5000 of whom were cavalry, and amongst them were the 3000 Pitans; his soul, however, nothing dismayed, reassumed its wonted activity, as soon as he found the danger to be really formidable; and he advanced by excessive marches towards his capital. But the Morattoes had already passed the defiles of the mountains, when he arrived near Burdawan, 100 miles from Muxadavad; where, finding himself surrounded, he encamped in a strong situation. Baschir Pondit, the general of the Morattoes, immediately sent deputies to his camp, who shewed the Emperor's mandates, authorizing them to

demand the chout, or a fourth part of the revenues of the three provinces for the three last years. They likewise demanded that he should oblige himself to pay this tribute regularly in future, and that some officers deputed by the Morattoes should be employed in all the departments of the revenues, in order to ascertain and secure their proportion. They moreover required him to deliver up the treasures of the two last Nabobs, Soujah and Suffraze Khan, or to pay the equivalent. 1756 1742

Allaverdy, on hearing these imperious terms, ordered the deputies to quit his camp, with a defiance fraught with contempt to their general. The next day he renewed his march in open day, in full sight of the enemy, who soon broke and dispersed his infantry, but were not able to make impression on his cavalry. The Pitans were commanded by an officer named Mustapha Khan, whom they not only revered as their hereditary chief, but loved as the bravest soldier amongst them: Allaverdy himself, his nephew Zaindee Hamed, Meer Jaffier his brother-in-law, and all the other officers of distinction, continually presented themselves against the most dangerous onsets; and such examples could not fail to animate their followers. Before night they had advanced fifteen miles in their way, when they halted in a strong situation: the next day the march was renewed with the same courage and success: and on the evening of the third day they arrived at the town of Cutwah, situated about thirty miles south of Muxadavad, on the bank of the Cossimbuzar river, which in this part is fordable during the dry season of the year.

About 500 of the cavalry were killed during the retreat, but more horses perished; for only 3000 men mounted arrived at Cutwah, where they remained several days in order to recover their fatigue, having scarcely slept since they left their camp at Burdawan. The Morattoes, in the mean time, assembled round Cutwah, and persuaded themselves that Allaverdy would wait for reinforcements from Muxadavad before he attempted to pass the river. Great, therefore, was their surprize and admiration, when they saw him

 pre-

1756 preparing to ford it with the same spirit of defiance as he had
1742 shewn in the rest of his march.

The success of this operation depended on preventing the enemy from following them into the ford through the avenues of the town; and eighty of the bravest Pitans, excellently mounted and in complete armour, were selected for this important service, under the command of their general Mustapha Khan, whom Zaindee Hamed and Meer Jaffier joined as volunteers. This intrepid troop maintained their post until Allaverdy with the main body had crossed the river; when they likewise began to retreat; and cutting their way through the enemy, all but fifteen escaped, and passed the ford.

As soon as they arrived, Allaverdy continued his march to Muxadavad, which he reached the next day: his first attention, after this gallant retreat, was to reward those who had so bravely seconded his own perseverance and courage. Every soldier received a gratuity; all the officers promotion: Meer Jaffier, who had signalized himself at the passage of the river, additional pensions; and to Mustapha Khan he presented a million of rupees. To Zaindee Hamed he gave the first place in his affection, and from this time destined him for his successor; although he had given his only daughter in marriage to Nowagis Mahomed, the eldest of Hodgee's sons.

The Morattoes, as soon as they had gained sufficient intelligence, crossed over into the island of Cossimbuzar, and ravaged the open country; but did not venture to attack the capital; and the approach of the rainy season, during which the swelling of the rivers would have confined them in the island, deterred them from continuing on it more than three days. To preserve their horses, they encamped on the high lands of Berbohin, in the north-west part of the province. Here they were enabled to form proper resolutions, by the advice of one of the Soubah's officers, named Meer-abib, who had deserted to them; he was a man of scheme, method, and activity, had been deputy-governor of Dacca, and possessed much general knowledge of the province. Instructed by him, they collected

lected the revenues of the countries lying to the west of the river Hughley. He likewise enabled them to form a bridge of boats at Cutwah, and having procured some pieces of artillery, and some European deserters to man them, he built two floating batteries to defend the bridge, stationing one on each side. Thus prepared, as soon as the rainy season was passed, they crossed again into the island, by which time Allaverdy had augmented his army by levies made in Behar to 50,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and of these one half were Pitans. The enemy's detachments, nevertheless, trusting to the hardiness and activity of their horses, carried their ravages to the furthermost parts of the island, and eluded the troops sent by Allaverdy to intercept them, who at length took the better resolution of marching with his whole force towards their bridge at Cutwah ; on which Baschir Pondit recalled all his parties ; and the whole army re-crossed the river, but in such a hurry that they neglected to break the bridge. Their rear had scarcely passed before the van of Allaverdy's army arrived, but the fire of the floating batteries obliged them to halt until their artillery came up, which soon silenced the enemy's ; when the Nabob's troops crouding in greater numbers than the bridge could support, some of the boats sunk, and a thousand men perished : it however was soon repaired, and the whole army crossed ; but the Morattoes still continued to avoid every encounter. At length Allaverdy, despairing of striking a decisive blow against such an enemy, offered to treat ; but Baschir Pondit, elated with this condescension, repeated the same terms as he had proposed at Burdawan, and added to them that the son of Suffraze Khan should be placed in the Nabobship. Allaverdy, stung by this reproachful proposal, formed a design of circumventing his enemies, in contempt of all respects divine or human. 1756 1742

Pretending to be very solicitous of peace, he proposed a personal conference with Baschir Pondit ; who, suspecting the good faith of his professions, did not consent to the interview without taking several precautions against the treachery he feared, and even obliged Allaverdy to swear by the Koran, that he would use none. It

was

1756 / 1742 was agreed that the conference should be held in a tent pitched in an open plain, at an equal distance between the two camps ; and that each of the chiefs should be accompanied by fifteen officers on horseback, and the same number of unarmed servants on foot, who were to take care of their horses ; but the care of providing the tent was left to Allaverdy, who had seduced Beschir Pondit into this negligence, by offering to send his wife, during the conference, to visit the wife of the Morattoe. At the appointed hour the two chiefs advanced to the tent, each of them having selected for his retinue the principal and bravest officers in his army ; and with Allaverdy were is favourites, Mustapha Khan and Meer Jaffier : at the same time was discovered moving to the right a long train of covered pallankeens, which were supposed to be the retinue of his wife going to the Morattoe camp. The two companies met, and entered the tent with much ceremony. What followed is variously told ; the prevailing report was, that the conference lasted an hour, which seems impossible ; for on a signal, 50 armed men rushed from behind the sides of the tent, which had been pitched with a double lining in order to conceal them ; and, joining the officers who accompanied Allaverdy, began the work of assassination. Baschir Pondit with all his attendants, and three or four of Allaverdy's, were killed ; but Allaverdy himself did not unsheath his sword. The annals of Indostan scarcely afford an example of such treacherous atrocity, and none in which persons of such distinction were the actors. As soon as the massacre was finished, a signal was thrown out, on which the army of Bengal advanced against the Morattoe camp, and were joined in the way by Allaverdy, and his officers from the tent, who led them to the attack. The Morattoes fled on every side in confusion ; but reassembled again to the westward, and renewed the war with redoubled devastations and barbarity.

Practice and encouragement at length brought the Nabob's cavalry to fight the enemy in their own way, and every day produced a combat or skirmish in some part or other of the country. This irregular war continued three months, when the Morattoes, finding their

their numbers much diminished, repassed the western mountains, and quitted the province. 1756 1743

The whole Morattoe nation in its two divisions of Poni and Berar, determined to avenge the death of Baschir Pondit, and the remains of his army were scarcely retreated before two others were in march to invade Bengal ; each consisted of 60,000 men ; but acted independently. The army of Poni was commanded by Ballerow Agerow, son of Ballerow, who, without dethroning the Sahah Rajah, or real sovereign of the Morattoes, had usurped the whole authority of the state, which he transmitted on his death to his son Balagerow. The other army was commanded by Ragojee Bonsola, who had some years before conquered, and had ever since governed the province of Behar. He is the same who, by the instigation of Nizamuluck, invaded the Carnatic in 1740, as now Bengal. The army with Ballerow entered the province of Behar, whilst the other, under Ragojee, marched through the mountains from Berar into Orixa. Allaverdy, on the news of their approach, broke the bridge at Cutwah, and encamped near his capital. Meanwhile, the two Morattoe armies, advancing without opposition, met at Burdawan ; where the two generals agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided. At the same time they were joined by Meer-abib, who, as before, fixed another bridge at Cutwah, over which they passed into the island of Cossimbuzar ; but Allaverdy, relying on the success of less hazardous measures, determined neither to offer or accept battle. Amongst the prisoners taken from the army of Baschir Pondit, was an officer of distinction, named Shaserow, whom Allaverdy had attached by several acts of generosity ; in return for which Shaserow now employed his mediation with Ballerow in favour of Allaverdy, whose emissaries were at the same time sowing dissention between the two Morattoe generals, persuading each that much plunder had been secreted from the common stock of the army.

The explanations that ensued on this subject produced a coolness between them, which determined Ballerow to agree to the proposals of Allaverdy, who offered to pay two millions of rupees, on condition

1756 dition that both the Morattoe armies should be immediately withdrawn, and three millions more as soon as they should be arrived in
1743 their own country. Accordingly it was agreed that Ballerow and Allaverdy should meet and confer together on the 30th of March; but some motions made that day by the troops of Ragojee causing Allaverdy to suspect treachery, he returned to his camp when on the way to the place appointed. However, on the 3d of April they met. The conference lasted two hours, during which the treaty was ratified. Ragojee dissembled his disapprobation, until all the Morattoes had quitted the island of Cossimbuzar, when he openly refused to accept the treaty; and Ballerow, who had received the two millions of rupees, gave himself no trouble either to persuade or compel him, but marched away with his own troops and the money.

Allaverdy, more satisfied with having removed one half of his enemies, than disappointed at the refusal of Ragojee, immediately marched against him. But the Morattoes, as usual, avoided all encounters of risque, and ravaged the defenceless parts of the country until the month of June, when they retired into Orixa, and in a few days reduced the whole province; of which Ragojee, with the consent of his officers, gave the government to Meer-abib. As soon as the rainy season was passed, some of their detachments again
1744 infested Bengal; and in March 1744, new parties, allured by the success of their countrymen, traversed, plundering as they went, all Behar and Bengal, in their way to the main body, which remained in Orixa. The three following months Allaverdy was employed in beating up the parties that remained in Bengal, and as soon as the rains ceased, he marched with his whole force into Orixa; where by continual stratagems he brought on several encounters, in which the Morattoes suffered considerably; and pursuing these advantages, he in less than three months obliged them to quit the province and retire to the westward. However, he was scarcely returned to
1745 Muxadavad, in February 1745, when they renewed their incursions; but their detachments were not formidable enough to require the same stress of opposition which had hitherto employed his whole force

force and attention. He therefore, in October, detached a large 1756
body of troops to Patna, under the command of his nephew Zaindee
Hamed, and now began to have some prospect of tranquillity; which 1745
nevertheless, still fled before him.

The reputation of Mustapha Khan, and his influence amongst the soldiery, had for some time rendered him obnoxious to the suspicions of Hodgee, who concluded, that if he did not already entertain dangerous views, he might aspire at the sovereignty after the death of Allaverdy, to the prejudice of his own son Zaindee Hamed: but mere arguments could not induce Allaverdy, who feared nothing, to entertain this opinion of a fellow soldier, by whom he had always been served with fidelity, and on all occasions generously rewarded. He demanded prooffs, which were supplied by letters that seemed to be written by Meer-abib to Mustapha Khan, implying a previous correspondence, exhorting the Pitan to assassinate Allaverdy, and promising him the assistance of the Morattoes to seize and maintain the government. Allaverdy, not suspecting that Hodgee would dare to use such an artifice in an affair of so great importance, believed the imposition, and determined to put Mustapha Khan to death at the next visit; whose friends advised him of the danger; on which he instantly marched away with the body of 3000 Pitans under his immediate command, and was the next day followed and joined by the same number, with their officer Sumsheer Khan; all took their way towards Behar.

Their departure confirming Allaverdy in his belief of Hodgee's 1746
representations, he ordered Zaindee Hamed to advance from Patna, in order to stop the retreat of the Pitans, whilst he himself followed them with his own army, which overtook them half way between Tacriagully and Patna, before Zaindee Hamed appeared in sight. Mustapha Khan therefore gave battle without delay; the conflict was sharp and obstinate, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers: and the success remained doubtful, until the two chiefs came within reach of one another, when a party of men, armed with matchlocks, who had been taught to shoot at a mark, and were

 appointed

1756 appointed to guard the elephant on which Allaverdy rode, fired a
1746 volley directed against the person of Mustapha Khan, and killed him; on which Sumsheer Khan gave the signal of retreat, and, passing at a distance from Zaindee Hamed's march, retreated out of the province, and proceeded to his own country, to the east of the Jumna.

After the battle, Hodgee, who had accompanied his brother, went to Patna, in order to superintend the civil administration of Behar; and having brought with him the head of Mustapha Khan, caused it to be carried on a pole round the city, during which procession it was insulted by the multitude with every indignity. Allaverdy hastened back to Bengal, which, during his absence, had been exposed to the return and depredations of the whole body of Morattoes, which he had driven out of Orixa. Thus ended the year 1746. Continual marches and a few indecisive skirmishes employed
1747 him until the end of 1747, when events of more dangerous consequence called forth the exertion of his utmost resolution.

Meer-abib, who, since his defection, had lost no opportunity of distressing Allaverdy, had entered into a correspondence with Sumsheer Khan, immediately after the death of Mustapha; in consequence of which the Pitan, with 8000 of his countrymen, appeared in December on the bank of the Ganges, opposite to the city of Patna; which intending to surprize, he tendered the service of his troops to Zaindee Hamed. Hodgee, it is said, had received some intelligence of the connexion existing between Sumsheer Khan and Meer-abib; and advised his son to project an interview, in which all the Pitan officers might be blown up by a mine of gunpowder; but Zaindee Hamed, suspecting his father's intelligence, rejected the proposal, and waited for the orders of Allaverdy; who instructed him to inlist the Pitans, and afterwards to take the first opportunity of destroying their chiefs. Accordingly, the terms of agreement were settled, and the principal officers, accompanied by 2000 of their soldiery, crossed the river: they were received by Zaindee Hamed in a tent pitched at a little distance from the city. Sum-

sheer

sheer Khan approached the first, made his obeisance, and having received from Zaindee a roll of beetel, as a pledge of friendship, took his place, standing behind him as an officer now rated in his service. Eleven other officers went through the same ceremony; and when Zaindee Hamed was presenting the beetel to the thirteenth, the officer who had last received it plunged a dagger over his shoulder into his heart. In the same instant the others fell on those of Zaindee's retinue who were standing nearest his person, whilst the Pitan soldiers attacked the rest and his guards. The astonishment on one side being as great as the impetuosity on the other, all the attendants of Zaindee Hamed were soon dispersed; and during the conflict a party of Pitans galloped to the gate of the city, of which they kept possession, until Sumsheer Khan arrived with the rest. 1756 1748

Here the consternation was so great, that no one thought of resistance; and the Pitans, cutting down all they met, proceeded and got possession of the citadel. Their first care now was to seek for Hodgee, in order to retaliate the death of their leader Mustapha Khan, and the ignominy with which Hodgee had treated his remains; he was taken, endeavouring to escape in a covered pallankeen, and immediately scourged in public, like a common criminal; after which he was led through the city on an ass, with his legs tied under the belly, and his face painted half black, half white; during which procession he was insulted with every scoff and mockery that detestation could suggest. Five millions of rupees were found in his house; and the scourge was again repeated, in order to extort a confession of the treasures he was supposed to have concealed; but whether he really had no more, or believed that no confession would exempt him from future torture, he bore that which was now inflicted on him until his life was in danger; when Sumsheer Khan, desirous of reserving him for more lingering and exquisite sufferings, ordered him to be taken care of: but the unfortunate and high-minded wife of Zaindee found means to convey to him a dose of poison, which in a few hours released him from all his agonies. His fate excited no commiseration; for his avarice, perfidy, and cruelty, had rendered him execrable to every rank and condition.

 The

1756 The main body of Pitans, crossing the river, joined those in possession of the city, and during three days rioted in massacre and
1748 rapine: after the tumult subsided, Sumsheer Khan established officers to govern the city, raised contributions from the neighbouring districts, and levied troops.

The news of these disasters overpowered all the fortitude of Allaverdy, and rendered him for some days incapable of attending to the concerns of his government: his grief was mostly paid to the memory of Zaindee Hamed, who was the only one of his family worthy to succeed him. However, the desire of revenge recalled his wonted firmness, and he appeared again with new vigour, augmenting his army, and improving it by new discipline: he likewise solicitously attached to his person the 4000 Pitans, who had remained with him after the retreat of Mustapha Khan. Thus animated and prepared, he took the field in the month of March with 25,000 horse and 15,000 foot, and proceeded into Behar through the pass of Tacriagully.

In this interval, Sumsheer Khan had likewise levied 5000 horse and 10,000 foot, with which and his 8000 Pitans he took the field, and encamped about 20 miles to the east of Patna, having concerted with the Morattoes that they should fall upon Allaverdy's rear, whilst the Pitans attacked him in front. In consequence of this agreement Meer-abib and Ragojee had entered the country of Burdawan, waiting the motions of Allaverdy to direct their own: and as soon as he had passed Tacriagully, they, by a shorter route, crossed the mountains, seventy miles to the west, through the passes of Berbohin, and arrived in the middle of Behar almost as soon as the army of Bengal. Allaverdy saw his danger; but nevertheless proceeded, and when near the encampment of Sumsheer Khan, left his own tents and baggage standing on the plain, with only a small force to guard them, and marched on to give the Pitans battle; who met him without hesitation. The Morattoes in the rear were within a march of the battle; but, as he had foreseen, stopped at the camp, and, during the conflict, employed themselves in plundering the spoil, instead of assisting their allies; the battle, nevertheless, was

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the most fierce and obstinate that had for many years been fought in 1756
Indostan. Allaverdy had foreseen the fury of their onsets, and remained in the rear in order to rally his own troops. Nevertheless, 1748
the Pitans would in all probability have been victorious, had he not interspersed his cavalry with matchlock men; who, firing with aim, shot, one after another, most of their principal officers, and at last Sumsheer Khan himself, just as he had cut his way to the elephant on which Allaverdy superintended the battle. His death, as usual, decided the victory. The Pitans hastened back to Patna, where they remained gathering together their own effects, and plundering whatsoever they could find valuable belonging to the inhabitants, until the army of Bengal appeared in sight, when they quitted the city, and crossing the Ganges, marched away to their own country.

Allaverdy having settled the government of Behar, returned before the rainy season to Muxadavad. The Morattoes, after the defeat of Sumsheer Khan, divided into several detachments, of which some infested Behar, some Bengal, and others Orixa; but their operations were not formidable enough to call Allaverdy himself again into the field: and he committed the conduct of the war to his general Meer Jaffier, who was continually employed in interrupting or dislodging their parties.

The war, ever since the retreat of Ballerow in 1743, had been principally carried on by the Morattoes of Ragogee Bonsola from Behar, joined sometimes by partizans and adventurers from other countries. In 1749, Ragogee assisted Nazirjing in his expedition 1749
into the Carnatic with 10,000 horse, under the command of his son Jonagi, which, with other expeditions, disabled him from recruiting the losses sustained by his army in Bengal, which was continually diminishing by fight or fatigue. In the beginning of the next year Meer Jaffier pent up 5000 of their horse in the mountains 1750
of Behar, and put more than one half of them to the sword.

At this time much confusion reigned at Delhi. The army of the Emperor Hamed Schah, commanded by his vizir Seifdar Jung, had been routed in the preceding year by the Rohillas, a tribe of Pitans

1756 Pitans tributary to the province of Oude, who 20 years before were
of little note or estimation; and to repair this disgrace, it was re-
1750 solved to hire 40,000 Morattoes of Balagerow, who had succeeded his father Ballerow in the government of Poni. Its own distress therefore deprived the throne of farther means to excite more enemies against Allaverdy, in whom, on the other hand, the infirmities of age seemed to have quelled the ambitious spirit which had rendered him so formidable to the empire. The Court of Delhi, therefore, as the best compromise, consented to confirm him Subah of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, on condition that he should annually remit the usual tribute of six millions of rupees.

The patents were published at Muxadavad soon after the body of 5000 Morattoes were defeated in Behar, and Allaverdy improving both circumstances, opened a negociation with their leaders, consenting to leave them in possession of the southern part of Orixa until a firm peace could be settled with the heads of the nation, provided all their parties were immediately withdrawn out of the provinces
of Bengal and Behar. The terms were accepted, and he soon after
1751 sent an embassador to Poni; but a variety of references and discus-
sions delayed the ratification of the treaty to the end of the year
1753 1753, when it was agreed that Allaverdy should annually pay the sum of 120,000 rupees, and that all Orixa, south of Catteck, should be ceded to the Morattoe dominion in perpetuity, and that they should receive half the revenues of the northern part as far as the river of Pipli, with the permission of appointing officers, who, together with the Nabob's, were to superintend the collections.

Thus ended this war. All the countries lying to the east of the great and lesser Ganges, excepting the island of Cossimbuzar, were defended by these rivers from the calamities which afflicted Orixa, the western part of Bengal, and the southern region of Behar, where the pusillanimous inhabitants were continually taking flight, even on imaginary alarms, and wandering from their homes found no resources of charity in their countrymen; for the fear of contamination prevents all of the Indian religion from giving shelter, or administering to the wants of any, who are not known or recom-

mended

mended to them, and confining all their sentiments of humanity to persons of their own cast, they suffer the stranger to perish without compassion. Nor could the advantages of a climate, in which fuel and raiment are scarcely necessary, countervail the destructive effects of this general timidity and uncharitableness. 1756 1753

Examples of these distresses were frequently seen by the English at Calcutta, to which place the inhabitants of the opposite side of the river often came over in great numbers for refuge, and perished through want; communicating their own terrors to those of whom they asked relief; insomuch, that in the year 1742 the Indian inhabitants of the colony requested and obtained permission to dig a ditch at their own expence, round the company's bounds, from the northern part of Soota-nutty to the southern part of Govindpore. This work would extend seven miles whilst the force to defend it did not exceed 300 Europeans and 500 peons. In six months three miles were finished: when the inhabitants, seeing that no Morattoes had ever been on the western side of the river within sixty miles of Calcutta; and that Allaverdy exerted himself vigorously to prevent their incursions into the island of Cossimbuzar, discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Morattoe ditch.*

Allaverdy made no objection to this work; and moreover permitted the English, in the same year, to raise a rampart with bastions of brickwork round their factory at Cossimbuzar. But the rest of his conduct shewed that these indulgences did not proceed from any desire of courting the Europeans in times of difficulty: for, notwithstanding the services which he might have received from their garrisons, he never asked their assistance. He forbid the English and French from committing any hostilities against each other in his dominions, during the war declared between the two nations in 1741; and, in the year 1748, he, on some contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Ostend company out of the river of Hughley: and he several times exacted money of the English, French, and Dutch settlements: alledging, that they ought to contribute to the expence, as they participated of the protection, of his arms. The presidency of Calcutta, not com-

plying

1756 1753 plying with his demands on the first summons, he more than once stopped their trade; however, all they paid from his accession did not exceed 100,000 pounds sterling; which on an average was not two in a hundred on the amount of their investments to the end of the war.

The Morattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade. This was in the year 1748, when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging to the company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much impaired by the distresses of the province, which enhanced the prices and debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures.

The difficulties which Allaverdy had encountered and surmounted since his accession, obliterated in the minds of his subjects whatsoever detestation they might have conceived against his usurpation of the sovereignty: his attention to protect them from the violences and iniquities of his officers, acting either with civil or military authority, had gained him the public reverence and esteem: and such was the openness and generosity of his character on all occasions, in which his ambition was not thwarted, that his ingratitude to his benefactor Sujah Khan, the murder of Baschir Pondit, and his intentions to cut off Mustapha Khan, were imputed, although absurdly, to the influence which his brother Hodgee was supposed to have over all his resolutions: he remained, perhaps, the only prince in the east whom none of his subjects wished to assassinate. But he was no sooner arrived at this degree of reputation and fortune, than increasing infirmities warned him of his approaching end; and his injudicious choice of a successor, embittered his latter days with as many anxieties as he had suffered in the rest of his reign.

Having no male issue or descendants, the succession naturally devolved into the family of his brother Hodgee, who had three sons, Nowagis Mahomed, Zaindee Hamed, and Sid Hamed: Nowagis married the only daughter of Allaverdy, by whom he had no issue; Sid Hamed had a son; and Zaindee Hamed left two, of

whom

whom the elder, named Mirza Mahmud, was adopted by Allaverdy, 1756
and the other, named Moorad Dowlah, by Nowagis Mahomed.
The superior qualities of Zaindee justified Allaverdy in preferring 1753
him to his elder brother Nowagis, a man of much less resolution and capacity; but after the death of Zaindee there remained no reason to exclude Nowagis again from the succession: for he was of a better character than his brother Sid Hamed; and of the two children left by Zaindee, the younger, Moorad Dowlah, was weak of intellect, and the elder, Mirza Mahmud, a youth of seventeen years, had discovered the most vicious propensities, at an age when only follies are expected from princes. But the great affection which Allaverdy had borne to the father was transferred to this son, whom he had for some years bred in his own palace; where, instead of correcting the evil dispositions of his nature, he suffered them to increase by overweening indulgence: born without compassion, it was one of the amusements of Mirza Mahmud's childhood to torture birds and animals; and, taught by his minions to regard himself as of a superior order of beings, his natural cruelty hardened by habit, rendered him as insensible to the sufferings of his own species as of the brute creation: in conception he was not slow, but absurd; obstinate, sullen, and impatient of contradiction; but, notwithstanding his insolent contempt of mankind, innate cowardice, and the confusion of his ideas, rendered him suspicious of all who approached him, excepting his favourites, who were buffoons and profligate men, raised from menial servants to be his companions: with these he lived in every kind of intemperance and debauchery, and more especially in drinking spirituous liquors to an excess, which inflamed his passions, and impaired the little understanding with which he was born. He had, however, cunning enough to carry himself with much demureness in the presence of Allaverdy, whom no one ventured to inform of his real character; for in despotic states the sovereign is always the last to hear what it concerns him most to know.

This youth in the year 1753 Allaverdy declared his successor, and from this time suffered him to act in the government of the

provinces

1736 provinces with great authority; whilst his subjects beheld with equal
to
1754 surprise and consternation an instance of such dotage in a prince, whose judgment had never failed him until this, the most important option of his life. The doom was, however, irrevocable, and Mirza Mahmud on his appointment received the name of Chiragee-al-Dowla, signifying the lamp of riches, by which he was afterwards called; but by the Europeans, Surajah Dowlah. His uncles Nowagis and Sid Hamed, did not indeed break out into open rebellion, but shewed so much discontent, that Allaverdy was convinced they would dispute the succession after his death; and knowing that Nowagis Mahomed was governed by a man of abilities, named Hossein Cooley Khan, he determined to remove this minister. But Nowagis having for some years held the government of Dacca with its appurtenances, had acquired great wealth, which enabled him to maintain a large retinue of armed men in constant pay; and the city of Dacca was at this time governed by a nephew of Hossein Cooley Khan: Allaverdy therefore was apprehensive that Nowagis might retire to Dacca, and throw off his allegiance, if he should take the alarm, whilst that city remained under his autho-
1755 rity; but Surajah Dowlah undertook to remove the nephew of Hossein Cooley Khan, and sent a party of assassins, who entering Dacca in disguise stabbed him in the dead of night. As soon as his death was known at Muxadavad, Nowagis took up arms, but more from apprehensions of his own danger than with intention to revenge the injury: Allaverdy therefore easily quelled this insurrection, by assuring him that the murder had been committed without the participation either of himself, or Surajah Dowlah. Some days after the tumult was quieted, Surajah Dowlah caused Hossein Cooley Khan himself to be assassinated in open day, as he was passing through the streets of Muxadavad.

1756 These murders increased the gloomy conjectures which the appointment of Surajah Dowlah to the succession had already raised in the minds of the people. His uncles Nowagis and Sid Hamed had hitherto acted independently of each other, but now united; and although their reverence to Allaverdy restrained them from revolt

during his life, they augmented their forces and the number of their 1756
dependants. In this state of mutual suspicion the two parties remained, until the beginning of the year 1756, when both Nowagis and Sid Hamed died of fevers, without poison.

Their deaths dissolved indeed the union of their houses; but, nevertheless, did not leave Surajah Dowlah without powerful competitors: Nowagis left great treasures; and his widow, the daughter of Allaverdy, as the only means of preserving them, determined to dispute the succession. Her sex excluded her from the government, to which otherwise she was the natural heir, as the only child of Allaverdy. And the younger brother of Surajah Dowlah, who had been adopted by her husband, was dead; but although a stripling, had left a son, who was about two years old; and this infant she determined to hold out to the province as the competitor of Surajah Dowlah. At the same time, the son of Sid Hamed, who governed the country of Purneah, relying on the general detestation which was entertained against Surajah Dowlah, levied forces, and determined to oppose his accession.

A Gentoo, named Rajah-bullub, had succeeded Hossein Cooley Khan in the post of Duan or prime-minister to Nowagis; after whose death his influence continued with the widow, with whom he was supposed to be more intimate than became either her rank, or his religion; but, doubtful of the event of the impending contest, he determined to place is family and treasures out of the reach of danger; and not deeming them in safety at Dacca, where they had remained for some time, he ordered his son Kissendass to remove them from that city, under pretence of going a pilgrimage to the Pagoda of Jagernaut, on the coast of Orixa. Accordingly, Kissendass left Dacca with several loaded boats: but, instead of going through the channels at the bottom of the Delta, proceeded along the great Ganges to the Jelingeer river, through which he entered the river of Hughley; when his father at Muxadavad requested Mr. Watts, the English chief at Cossimbuzar, to obtain permission of the presidency of Calcutta, that Kissendass with his family might, if they found it necessary, rest for some days in the

 town,

1756 town, by which the boats must pass, in their way to Orixa. At the same time there remained no hopes of Allaverdy's recovery; upon which the widow of Nowagis had quitted Muxadavad, and encamped with 10,000 men at Moota Gill, a garden two miles south of the city, and many now began to think and to say that she would prevail in her opposition against Surajah Dowlah. Mr. Watts therefore was easily induced to oblige her minister, and advised the presidency to comply with his request. His letter to the presidency on this subject was scarcely arrived in Calcutta, before the boats of Kissendass appeared in sight: the president, Mr. Drake, was at this time at Ballasore for the recovery of his health; but the rest of the council, relying on the opinion of Mr. Watts, consented to admit Kissendass into the town.

Amongst the Gentoo merchants established at Calcutta, was one named Omichund, a man of great sagacity and understanding, which he had employed for forty years with unceasing diligence to increase his fortune. The presidency had long permitted him to provide much more of the company's investment than the share allowed to any other contractor; by which, and other indulgences, he was become the most opulent inhabitant in the colony. The extent of his habitation, divided into various departments; the number of his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Behar, and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the principal officers of the government of Muxadavad, that the presidency in times of difficulty used to employ his mediation with the Nabob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy: the manufactures provided for the company having every year since the first irruption of the Morattoes decreased in quality and increased in price, much of this detriment was imputed to the avarice and iniquity of Omichund; and the company determining, if possible, to restore their investment to the former condition of price and quality, relinquished in the year 1753 their usual

usual method of contracting with merchants, and sent *Gomastahs*, or Gentoo factors in their own pay, to provide the investments at the different *Aurungs*, or cloth markets in the province. From this time Omichund was excluded from any participation in the company's affairs, which diminishing his commercial advantages, vexed his avarice, although possessed of four millions of rupees. However, he still continued the trade, which he used to carry on independent of the investment, and redoubled his attention to maintain his importance at Muxadavad; in consequence of which Rajah-bullub at this time requested his good offices to his son Kissendass, whom Omichund received on his arrival with much hospitality, and lodged the family in a convenient habitation. 1756

The admission of Kissendass into Calcutta was soon known at Muxadavad. It wounded the pride of Surajah Dowlah, and exasperated his mind with such suspicions, that he immediately went to Allaverdy, and told him that he was well informed the English intended to support the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Mr. Forth, the surgeon of the English factory at Cossimbuzar, who attended Allaverdy in his last illness, was present, and Allaverdy, instead of answering Surajah Dowlah, questioned Mr. Forth concerning the report, who replied, that it was raised by the enemies of the English, in order to hurt them in his favour, and that on examination it would appear groundless; adding, that the English had no other ambition than to be merchants in his country. Allaverdy then asked how many soldiers were in the factory at Cossimbuzar? Whether the French or the Dutch presidencies had lately sent up any to their factories in that town? Where the English ships of war were? Whether they would come to Bengal? Whether some had not been in the river of Hughley three months before? Why the squadron came into India? Whether there was war between England and France? To which questions Mr. Forth replied, without deviating from the truth: and Allaverdy, seeming to be convinced that the expectation of a war with France had brought the squadron to India, and that the English at Calcutta were in no condition to risk the displeasure of his government, told Surajah Dowlah,

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1756. that he gave no credit to his information; who replied, that he could prove it. A few days after this conversation, news arrived in Bengal that the English had taken Gheria. The piracies which Angria had for so many years committed on the subjects of the Mogul had rendered his name famous throughout the empire; and there was scarce a province of which he had not taken some of the natives, who concurred in describing his fortress as impregnable: and various rumours now prevailed at Muxadavad. Some said that the English intended to send sixteen ships to make war in Bengal; others, that Surajah Dowlah was determined to sack Calcutta, and drive the English out of his dominions: and Mr. Watts received positive information that there were many spies employed by the government in Calcutta; and that the weakness of the garrison and fortifications, and the facility with which the place might be taken, were the public discourse of the city and the court. The presidency on this information ordered strict search to be made, and several who were suspected of being spies, were turned out of the company's bounds.

At length the long-expected event of Allaverdy's death happened on the 9th of April: his public character is sufficiently delineated by his actions: his private life was very different from the usual manners of a Mahomedan prince in Indostan; for he was extremely temperate, had no pleasures, kept no seraglio, and always lived the husband of one wife. Warned by the experience of his own ambition, the defection of Meer-abib, and the rebellion of Mustapha Cwn, he declined as much as possible to entrust any Mahomedan, excepting of his own lineage, with any power out of his sight, which might either tempt or enable him to revolt: but kept his army, which consisted chiefly of Mahomedans, continually under his own eye, or never suffered a large body of the same troops to remain long enough at a distance to be seduced from their obedience. At the same time he paid them well and regularly, and rewarded the officers of merit and distinction, either with ready money or with jaghires, which were always rents arising from lands over which they were not suffered to have any extensive jurisdiction.

But

But he preferred the service of *Gentoos* in every office and dignity of the state, excepting in the ranks of the army, for which they neither wished nor were fit, and seemed to regard the increase of their wealth as his own. Roydulub was his duan, or treasurer, and his confidential minister; Ramramsing the Rajah of Midnapore, the master of the spies and messengers. The governments which he gave to his nephews, the sons and grandsons of Hodgee, as well as the interior establishment of their families, were regulated by *Gentoos*. He encouraged the immense opulence of the Seats, and admitted them to his most secret councils; he gave the government of Hughley and its district, in which all the European settlements on the river are situated, to Monikchund; and after the assassination of Zaindee Hamed, he would not trust the government of Behar, notwithstanding its importance as a province and a frontier, to Meer Jaffier, although his brother-in-law, and the first officer in his army; but gave it to the Gentoo Ramnairan. The Rajahs, both of Bengal and Behar, sought their protection and exemptions, from their fellow Gentoos, who were established in his confidence, and contributed not a little to increase their fortunes. Thus was the Gentoo connection become the most opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge; nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants; and it is said that the Seats alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees, as a contribution to support the expences of the Morattoe war. Warranted by such experience, Allaverdy recommended the policy of his own preference to his successor, and instructed his wife to inculcate the same maxims after his decease; but he did not foresee that the great inferiority of abilities in Surajah Dowlah might turn to dangers the very means from which his own had derived security. 1756

Surajah Dowlah immediately after the death of Allaverdy was proclaimed, and prepared to attack the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Not more than one or two days after his accession he

wrote

1756 wrote a letter to the president of Calcutta, ordering him to deliver up Kissendass, with his treasures. The bearer of the letter was brother of Ramramsing, the head of the spies: he came in a small boat, and landed in the disguise of a common pedlar on the 14th of April, and immediately proceeded to Omichund's, who, as the governor was absent at his country house, introduced him to Mr. Holwell, a member of the council, who superintended the police of the town. The next day it was deliberated what resolution should be taken concerning this messenger.

The governor returning the next day summoned a council, of which the majority being prepossessed against Omichund, concluded that the messenger was an engine prepared by himself to alarm them, and restore his own importance; and as the last advices received from Cossimbuzar described the event between Surajah Dowlah and the widow of Nowagis to be dubious, the council resolved that both the messenger and his letter were too suspicious to be received: and the servants, who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory and off the shore with insolence and derision: but letters were dispatched to Mr. Watts, instructing him to guard against any evil consequence from this proceeding.

It is probable that the report of the spy, supported by the representations of his brother, renewed the same ideas which had induced Surajah Dowlah to accuse the English some days before to Allaverdy. He, however, concealed his resentment; for when the vaqueel, or Gentoo agent employed by Mr. Watts represented at the Durbar, the suspicions which had induced the English government to treat the messenger as an impostor, Surajah Dowlah scarcely shewed any emotion or displeasure; and neither Mr. Watts nor the president received any farther injunctions from him concerning Kissendass.

In the beginning of April letters had been received from England, informing the presidency that war with France was inevitable, and ordering them to put the settlement in a state of defence; but to do this was impossible without building the fort anew. However, a great number of labourers were sent to repair a line of guns which

which extended on the brink of the river in front of the western side of the fort. 1756

In the mean time the widow of Allaverdy interposed between her daughter and Surajah Dowlah, and at length prevailed on her to acknowledge him; which she had no sooner done than Surajah Dowlah put her into close confinement, and seized her palaces and treasures, with the infant son of his own brother. As soon as he had quelled this enemy, he proceeded with his whole army, consisting of 50,000 men, against the son of Sid Hamet in Purnea.

Notwithstanding the diligence which had been employed to expel the spies employed by the Nabob in Calcutta, several found means to remain undiscovered; and, instigated most probably by the head spy, represented in their letters to the Durbar, that the English were very busy in raising strong fortifications. The Nabob, whose cowardice easily led him to believe any thing that alarmed his fears, gave such entire credit to the report, that on the day in which he began his march towards Purneah, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Drake, signifying that he had been informed the English were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round the town of Calcutta; and ordering him immediately to desist, and to destroy all the works which had lately been added to the fortifications.

It was unfortunate, Mr. Watts had neglected to inform the presidency of the complaint which Surajah Dowlah had made to Allaverdy a little before his death, in the presence of Mr. Forth; and of the conversation which ensued on that occasion: for whatsoever informations were now communicated, were considered as the artifices of the court to frighten the presidency out of a sum of money; whereas the conversation implied that Surajah Dowlah bore rancour against the English; and that both he and Allaverdy had been attentive to their military proceedings. But, wanting this information, Mr. Drake thought that the truth would be his best defence, and simply wrote a letter, importing, "That the Nabob "had been misinformed by those who had represented to him that "the English were building a wall round the town; that they had

1756 " dug no ditch since the invasion of the Morattoes, at which time " such a work was executed at the request of the Indian inhabi- " tants, and with the knowledge and approbation of Allaverdy ; that " in the late war between England and France, the French had at- " tacked and taken the town of Madrass, contrary to the neu- " trality which it was expected would have been preserved in " the Mogul's dominions ; and that there being at present great " appearance of another war between the two nations, the Eng- " lish were under apprehensions that the French would act in the " same manner in Bengal : to prevent which, they were repairing " their line of guns on the bank of the river." Few in Mr. Drake's situation would have apologized in any other manner : nevertheless, considering the character of Surajah Dowlah, and the disposition of his mind towards the English at this juncture, the answer was improper ; because it tended to make him believe that the impending war between the two nations would probably be brought into Bengal ; and because it implied that he either wanted power or will to protect the English. Accordingly, when he received the letter on the 17th of May at Rajamahal, the perusal of it irritated him to a degree of rage which astonished all his officers, excepting one or two of his intimate favourites. He instantly changed his resolution of proceeding further, ordered his army to march back without delay to Muxadavad, and sent forward a detachment of 3000 men, to invest the fort of Cossimbuzar. On the 22d of May these troops arrived and surrounded it, but committed no hostilities ; and on the 1st of June the Nabob himself came up with the main body of his army.

The fort was just strong enough to oblige an enemy to attack it with cannon : the bastions were small : the curtains were only three feet thick, and served as the outward wall of a range of chambers, which, with their terrasses, imitated ramparts, and were on all sides overlooked from without by buildings within 100 yards, and there was neither ditch, nor even a pallisade, to interrupt the approach to the very foot of the walls : perhaps the jealousy of the government would not suffer more ; none of the cannon were above

nine

nine pounders, most were honey-combed, many of their carriages decayed, and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges. The garrison consisted of 22 Europeans, mostly Dutchmen, and 20 Topasses. 1756

The Nabob, immediately on his arrival, sent a messenger, ordering Mr. Watts to come to him; who at the same time received a letter from the duan, Roydulub, assuring him of safety: he nevertheless delayed until Mr. Forth the surgeon went out and returned, accompanied by an officer, with the same assurances from Roydulub in person: on which he proceeded to the tent of Roydulub, and was introduced by him to the Nabob, who received him with insolence and invectives: immediately after which he was conducted into another tent, where several secretaries and officers prepared a writing, importing, that the presidency of Calcutta should, within fifteen days, level whatsoever new works they had raised; that they should deliver up all tenants of the government who had taken protection in the settlement; and that if it should be proved that the company's dustucks, or passports for trade, had ever been given to such as were not intitled to them, what the government had been defrauded of by such practices, should be refunded. Mr. Watts, surrounded by menaces, signed the paper; immediately after which the same conclave ordered him to send for Mr. Collet and Mr. Batson, the two other members of the council, who came and signed likewise, and were detained with Mr. Watts in the camp. The next day they received an order to surrender the fort; but representing that this did not now depend on themselves, no umbrage was taken at the delay of their conferences with one another, and their messages to the garrison, who, deeming the fort, as it really was, untenable, the Nabob's officers, with a number of followers, were admitted on the 4th of June; who, instead of sealing up what effects they found, as the Nabob had ordered, stole the greatest part; and the soldiery, who took possession of the factory, insulted the garrison with every kind of contumely and reproach. This behaviour continued three days, and so much affected the mind of the

 commanding

1756 commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, that he shot himself through the head.

The cannon and ammunition were carried to the camp ; the soldiers were sent to the common prison at Muxadavad ; Mr. Batson, one of the council, and the younger men in the company's service, were permitted to retire to the French and Dutch factories ; and Mess. Watts and Collet, instead of being employed as they expected, to represent the will of Surajah Dowlah to the presidency of Calcutta, were informed that they must accompany him thither. None of the Nabob's officers endeavoured to restrain him from this rash and violent resolution ; they believed themselves marching to the plunder of one of the most opulent cities in the empire. But Seat Mootabray and Roopchund, the sons of the banker Juggutseat who had succeeded to the wealth and employments of their father and derived great advantages from the European trade in the province, ventured to represent the English as a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants, and earnestly entreated the Nabob to moderate his resentment against them ; but their remonstrances were vain ; and on the 9th of June the army began their march towards Calcutta.

During these proceedings, letters were daily dispatched from Calcutta, instructing Mr. Watts to assure the Nabob that the presidency was ready to obey his orders, to demolish whatsoever additions had been made to their fortifications, and what other buildings without the fort might have been represented to him as works intended for defence ; but none of these letters reached Mr. Watts, and were probably carried to the Nabob, whose intentions they encouraged. Coja Wazeed, the principal merchant of the province, who resided at Hughley, was likewise desired to interpose his mediation ; to whom the Nabob replied, that Mr. Drake had grievously offended him, and that he would not suffer the English to remain in his country on any other terms than were allowed them in the reign of the Nabob Jaffier. In the mean time, as the principal reason assigned for Surajah Dowlah's indignation was his belief that the English were erecting new fortifications, the dread of exasperating

him still more, unfortunately deterred the presidency from taking the necessary measures to oppose, until there remained no longer any hopes of appeasing him: and in this precarious suspense, twenty days, in which much might have been done, were suffered to elapse unemployed. But, on the 7th of June, when news was received of the surrender of Cossimbuzar, they were convinced that they must owe their safety to resistance. 1756

Letters were immediately dispatched to Madrass and Bombay requesting reinforcements, but without any probability that any could arrive from either in time; for the sea was shut by the south monsoon, and the messengers of the country could not arrive at either of their destinations in less than 30 days. As a relief nearer at hand, the French and Dutch presidencies at Chandernagore and Chinchura were solicited, as in a common cause, to enter into a defensive alliance against the Nabob; but the Dutch positively refused, and the French insolently advised the English to repair to Chandernagore, in which case they promised them their protection. No resource therefore remained but in their own force, which was indeed very inadequate to the contest; for, although the regular garrison consisted of 264 men, and the inhabitants serving as militia were 250; in all, 514 men; yet only 174 of this number were Europeans, and of these not ten had ever seen any other than the service of the parade; the rest were Topasses, Armenians, and Portugueze inhabitants, on whose faith or spirit no reliance could be placed. The number of Buxerries, or Indian matchlock men, were therefore augmented to 1500; provisions were laid in store, and works of defence, such as the time would admit, were erected.

Whilst the Nabob was advancing, it was determined to take possession of the fort of Tannah, which lay about 5 miles below Calcutta, on the opposite shore, and commanded the narrowest part of the river between Hughley and the sea with 13 pieces of cannon. Two ships of 300 tons, and two brigantines, anchored before it early in the morning of the 13th of June; and as soon as they began to fire, the Moorish garrison, which did not exceed fifty men, fled; on which some Europeans and Lascars landed; and having disabled

1756 abled part of the cannon, flung the rest into the river. But the next day they were attacked by a detachment of 2000 men, sent from Hughley, who stormed the fort, drove them to their boats, and then began to fire, with their matchlocks and two small field-pieces, on the vessels, which endeavoured in vain with their cannon and musketry to dislodge them. The next day a reinforcement of 30 soldiers were sent from Calcutta, but the cannonade having made no impression, they and the vessels returned to the town.

On the 13th, likewise, a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund, by the Nabob's head spy, advising him to send his effects out of the reach of danger as soon as possible: which confirming the suspicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended, and put under strict confinement in the fort; and a guard of twenty men was placed in his house, that his effects might not be clandestinely removed. His brother in law, Hazarimull, who had the chief management of his affairs, concealed himself in the apartments of the women, until the next day; when the guard, endeavouring to take him, were resisted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, and armed domestics, amounting to 300: several were wounded on both sides before the fray ended; during which, the head of the peons, who was an Indian of a high cast, set fire to the house, and, in order to save the women of the family from the dishonour of being exposed to strangers, entered their apartments, and killed, it is said, thirteen of them with his own hand; after which, he stabbed himself, but contrary to his intention, not mortally. At the same time, Kissendass was brought into the fort by another detachment.

Mean while the Nabob advanced with such uncommon diligence, that many of his troops died of fatigue, and many were killed by the sun, which at this season struck perpendicular on their heads: on the 15th day of June, the 7th of their march, they arrived at Hughley, from whence they crossed the river in a vast fleet of boats, many of which had accompanied the army from Muxadavad, and the

the rest had been assembled at Hughley. Surajah Dowlah had previously sent letters to the Dutch and French settlements at Chinchura and Chandernagore, ordering them to assist him with their garrisons against Calcutta; and when his army was in sight of their factories, he repeated his summons in more imperious terms; but they pleaded the treaties subsisting between their nations and the English in Europe: which denial he highly resented; but suppressed his indignation for the present, lest they should, as in a common cause, take up arms in conjunction with the English. But to this they were nothing inclined. 1756

The news of the enemy's approach was brought to Calcutta early the next morning, the 16th of June; on which the militia and military repaired to their posts, and the English women quitted their houses, and retired into the fort. Most of the Indian inhabitants who had not already taken flight now deserted the town, and fled, they knew not whither, to avoid the storm; but the Portuguese, or black Christians, availing themselves of this title, flocked to the fort, into which more than 2000 of them, men, women, and children, were imprudently admitted. At noon, the van of the Nabob's army, marching from the northward, appeared in sight of the company's bounds, and having neither reconnoitred nor gained intelligence, they remained ignorant that the Morattoe-ditch did not continue round the limits, but left an opening without defences to the south. They therefore, without hesitation, advanced to attack the part which lay directly before them, where a deep rivulet, without any bank behind it, supplied the place of the Morattoe-ditch; and the redoubt, called *Perring's*, which was one of the objects of the Nabob's displeasure, stood on a point of land at the mouth of the rivulet; but being only intended to command the river, this work had but one embrasure towards the land. Contiguous to the redoubt stood a bridge, which was the only passage over the rivulet, on the other side of which, within 100 yards, were thickets and groves, through which lay the high road. A ship of 18 guns had been stationed to the north of the redoubt, in order to flank the thickets: the greatest part of the company's buxerries were assembled here to

defend

1756 defend the rivulet; and as the guard of the redoubt was only 20 Europeans, 30 more, with two field-pieces, were sent from the fort to their assistance. Four thousand of the enemy's matchlocks, with four pieces of cannon, took possession of the thickets, and from three in the afternoon until night kept up a constant fire, the cannon against the redoubt, the matchlocks every where. It was returned by the redoubt and the field-pieces, which were placed in the rear of the bridge and opposite to the road, and the buxerries wherever they chose. At midnight nothing was moving in the thickets; for every man, after eating his meal, had, as usual, betook himself to sleep; which ensign Pischard, who had served on the coast of Coromandel, suspected from their silence, and crossing the rivulet at midnight with his party, seized and spiked the four pieces of cannon, beat up and drove all the troops out of the thickets, and returned without the loss of a man.

The Jemautdar of Omichund's peons, wounded as he was, had caused himself to be transported to the enemy's camp; and by his advice they desisted from renewing the attack on the north, and the whole army moved to the eastward of the company's bounds, into which several parties entered through passages which there were no troops to defend. In the afternoon they set fire to the great bazar, or market, within half a mile north-east of the fort, and took possession of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, which commenced half a mile to the north, and extended mostly along the bank of the river. A party was sent to drive them away, and returned with some prisoners, who reported that the enemy intended the next day to make a general attack upon the out-posts; on which the party was recalled from Perring's redoubt to the north of the bounds; and every one passed the night under arms.

The fort of Calcutta, called Fort-William, was situated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and southern extremities of the company's territory. Its sides to the east and west, extended 210 yards; the southern side 130, and the northern 100: it had four bastions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Cossimbuzar, terrasses,

rasses, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front and one on each flank towards the bastions; under the western face, and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of pallisadoes. In the year 1747, warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another; however, the terrasses of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbett over a slight parapet. 1756

The houses of the English inhabitants occupied the ground six hundred yards towards the east, and half a mile to the north and south of the fort; but lay scattered in spacious and separate inclosures; and several of them overlooked the fort; as did the English church, which stood opposite to the N. E. bastion; under these disadvantages the fort was deemed so little capable of defence, that it was resolved to oppose the enemy in the principal streets and avenues.

Accordingly three batteries, each mounting two eigteen pounders, and two field-piecs, were erected: one opposite to the eastern gate of the fort, at the distance of 300 yards, in the principal avenue, which continued in a straight line to the eastward as far as the Morattoe ditch: this battery adjoined on the left to the gateway of an inclosure, in which, at the distance of a few feet, stood a very spacious house of one floor, in which the mayor's court and assizes used to be held. A cross-road passed from N. to E. along the eastern curtain of the fort; but 200 yards N. of it, this road lost sight of the fort, by a short turning towards the river, along the bank of which it continued straight to the N. in a street formed by houses on one side, and the walls of inclosures on the other nearest the river: at the upper end of this street, just beyond the turning, was another battery.

1756 The third was in the cross-road 300 yards to the south of the fort, but the ground between was clear. Breast-works with pallisadoes were erected in the smaller inlets at a distance, and trenches dug across the more open grounds. Between the north battery and the eastern, or that at the mayor's court house, there were only two inlets, both of which led into a spot lying on the eastern side of the cross-road between the church and a house belonging to Mr. Eyre. But the ground immediately to the south-east of the fort was much more open; and part of this space was occupied by a large inclosure, called *The park*; the north side of which skirted the principal avenue leading to the eastern battery, the western side extended 200 yards along the side of the cross-road towards the southern battery, and the eastern side skirted one side of a rope-walk about sixty yards broad. Along the other side of this rope-walk stood three English houses, all within effective musket-shot of the eastern battery; which, being erected at the north-east angle of the park, might, by turning a gun to the south, scour the whole length of this rope-walk, but could not so well command the entrance into a small lane, which led into the farther end of the rope-walk from the south-east. This pass was of consequence; for the enemy might from hence proceed to the south wall of the park, and then continue along it without interruption to several houses, which extended along the cross-road, almost from the south-west angle of the park to the backside of the southern battery, which stood 100 yards farther on in the cross road: about 200 yards east of this battery, and about the same distance to the south of the lane last mentioned, lay another passage which gave inlet into a large opening, south of the park; from whence the enemy might with even more facility penetrate to the same houses commanding the southern battery. Both these passes were therefore carefully secured. Immediately in front of the southern battery the road was arched over a deep and miry gully, which continued to the river; but, as this battery was thought less tenable than either of the other two, another was erected 200 yards behind it, across the same road, and within 100 of the fort, about the midway of the western side of the park-wall.

The enemy, as it had been expected, attacked the out-posts on the 1756 18th in the morning. At eight o'clock one of their divisions advanced to the southern battery, and, taking possession of several houses situated on each side of the road beyond it, fired from their matchlocks and from their wall-pieces. an engine of much greater efficacy, carrying a ball of three ounces; the two eighteen pounders, which were mounted on the battery, cannonaded the houses, in order to dislodge them, but without effect.

At break of day, two field-pieces with a platoon of Europeans had been detached from the eastern battery to a slight barricaded work at some distance in the avenue; and 40 buxerries under a good officer had likewise been sent to take post in the inclosure of the gaol, which lay about 100 yards beyond the battery, on the right hand of the avenue: the walls of this inclosure were high, and holes had been struck through to admit the firing of the two field-pieces, in case the enemy should gain their way, and oblige those at the barricade to retreat to the gaol. About nine o'clock, a multitude of some thousands, armed with match and firelocks, advanced from the Morattoe ditch, along the avenue. They were stopped by the quick firing of the two field-pieces, which soon after dispersed them; but they retreated into the thickets on either hand, and, secure under that shelter, kept up an incessant, although irregular, fire on the barricade; nevertheless, the party there maintained their post two hours, when several being killed, and more wounded, the rest retreated, with the field-pieces, to the gaol: at the same time the enemy, instead of advancing along the avenue, proceeded through by-ways, and got possession of the three English houses which stood along the rope-walk, and overlooked the back part of the gaol, on which they fired so warmly from the windows and terrasses, that in a few minutes they killed six buxerries, and wounded four or five Europeans; on which the rest quitted the inclosure, leaving the field-pieces behind, and returned to the battery at the Mayor's Court.

The battery to the north was likewise attacked about nine o'clock, but here the enemy did not find the same advantages as at the other two; for the street was narrow, and the inclosures which skirted it

1756 on the side next the river afforded no shelter that was not over-looked by the battery itself; and, on the other side, the only houses which commanded it were contiguous to one another, and did not extend more than sixty yards beyond; and in each of them were posted four or five Europeans. The first fire from the battery dispersed the division which was marching along the street to attack it, and deterred them from appearing again in a body: nevertheless they remained in the cross streets, from which two or three at a time frequently used to come out, fire at random, and then retreat. A platoon, with a field-piece, was detached to drive them out of the cross streets; which they easily effected, and then proceeded along the northern street, until they lost sight of the battery; when the enemy, taking advantage of their error, returned through the cross streets, to cut off their retreat, but yielded again to the field-piece and the fire of the platoon. Soon after, the whole body of the enemy, which had been appointed to this attack, went away, and joined those who were employed against the eastern battery.

At noon the attacks in all parts ceased at once, and every thing remained quiet until two, when the enemy recommenced their fire upon the eastern battery, not only from the three houses in the rope-walk, but also from two others on the left hand of the avenue; from which stations neither the two eighteen pounders on the battery, nor the cannon from the fort, were able to dislodge them. The enemy's fire was so incessant, that only the men necessary to serve the guns were suffered to remain in the battery, whilst the rest took shelter in the mayor's court-house, from whence the place of those who were either killed or wounded at the guns was occasionally supplied. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a multitude of the enemy forced the palisade at the farther end of the rope-walk, although defended by a serjeant and twenty men; and rushed down the walk with so much impetuosity towards the eastern battery, that the gunners had scarcely time to turn one of the eighteen pounders against them; however, the first discharge of grape-shot checked, and a few more drove them to seek shelter in the covers at hand; but many of them joined those who were in the houses, from

from which the fire increased so much, that at five o'clock Captain Clayton, the military officer who commanded in the battery, sent Mr. Holwell, who acted as a lieutenant under him, to represent to the governor the impossibility of maintaining this post any longer, unless it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men, sufficient to drive the enemy out of the houses : but before Mr. Holwell returned, Captain Clayton was preparing to retreat, having already spiked up two 18 pounders and one of the field-pieces ; and the whole detachment soon after marched into the fort with the other. They were scarcely arrived before the enemy took possession of the battery, and expressed their joy by excessive shouts. 1756

The two other batteries had remained unmolested since noon ; but a party had been detached from the southern to defend the palisade to the east of it, which was overlooked by two large houses, one on each hand : a serjeant and twelve men, belonging to the military, posted themselves in one of the houses ; and a lieutenant with nine of the militia, all of whom were young men in the mercantile service of the company, took possession of the other : the fire from both defended the pass until the eastern battery was deserted, when, all the ground from hence to the two houses being open, numbers of the enemy gathered in the ground on the inside of the palisade, and began to attack the two houses, which animating those who were attacking the palisade on the other side, they at length tore it down, and joined those already within. The serjeant with the twelve military saw their danger before the enemy had made proper dispositions to prevent their escape, and quitting the house in which they had been stationed, proceeded by by-ways which they knew to the southern battery ; but did not give notice of their retreat to those of the militia in the other house ; who soon after seeing themselves surrounded, without hopes of succour or relief, came out in a compact body, determined to fight their way to the fort ; but two, whose names were Smith and Wilkinson, separated from the rest, and were immediately intercepted : the enemy, however, offered them quarter, which Smith refused, and, it is said, slew five men before he fell ; on which Wilkinson surrendered,

1756 rendered, and was immediately cut to pieces. The other eight, always presenting and rarely firing, got to the south west angle of the park, when the guns, as well of the fort, as of the battery which had been raised across the road leading to it, midway of the west side of the park-wall, deterred the enemy from accompanying them any farther. The detachments at all the three batteries, the two to the south, and that to the north of the fort, were now recalled; and boats were sent, which soon after brought away Ensign Pischard, and the guard of 20 men, which was remaining at Perring's redoubt to the north.

The batteries had been so much relied upon as the best defences of the settlement, that the desertion of them on the very first day they were attacked created general consternation; and the uproar of 1500 black Portuguese in the fort increased the confusion. Of the Lascars, who had been inlisted to serve the cannon, not more than twenty, and of the buxerries not one, remained. The Armenian and Portuguese militia were stupified with fear. However, the English still preserved their courage, and small parties were detached to the church, to Mr. Eyres, opposite the angle of the north-east bastion, to Mr. Cruttenden's on the north, and to the governor's house on the south, all which commanded the ramparts. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three guns which had been spiked and left in the eastern battery, and turned them on the fort; whilst numbers of their troops, sheltering themselves in the trenches which had been dug in the park, and behind the walls of that inclosure, kept a constant fire of small arms on the ramparts.

A ship and seven smaller vessels, belonging to the settlement, lay before the fort; and boats, with the natives who plied them, had been carefully reserved. As night approached, it was resolved to send all the European women on board the ship; two of the council superintended their embarkation, and were accompanied by several of the militia. Before eight o'clock the party at the governor's house, having been much galled by the enemy from the next house to the south, were recalled; their retreat exposed the range of warehouses adjoining to the south curtain, which was the weakest part

of

of the fort, because unflanked by any bastion; and at midnight the enemy were heard approaching to escalade the terrasses of these warehouses. On which the governor ordered the drums to beat the general alarm; but although this summons was thrice repeated, not a man appeared in obedience to it, excepting those who were on duty; but the enemy, supposing the garrison prepared, retreated. 1756

At two in the morning, a general council of war was held, to which all the English, excepting the common soldiers, were admitted: and after debating two hours, whether they should immediately escape to the ships, or defer the retreat until the next night, the council broke up without any regular determination: but, as of the two proposals, the first was not carried into execution, it was by many believed that the other was adopted.

The enemy renewed their attacks as soon as the morning appeared, by which time they had mounted three guns near the south-west angle of the park, from whence, as well as from the eastern battery, they now cannonaded the fort, whilst their matchlock men from several houses, and behind the walls of inclosures, fired upon the several houses in which parties were remaining, as well as upon the bastions and ramparts. They had not, however, ventured to take possession of the governor's house to the south, notwithstanding it had been evacuated so many hours; and another party, under the command of Ensign Pischard, was sent thither early in the morning. Ever and anon some one of the defenders was killed or wounded: but, although ten times the number of the enemy fell, their loss in so great a multitude was scarcely felt, and immediately supplied. Before nine, Ensign Pischard returned to the fort, wounded, and was followed by his party; on which the detachments in the church and the two other houses were likewise recalled, and the posts they quitted were immediately taken possession of by the enemy, whose courage and activity increased with their success, whilst terror and confusion prevailed more and more in the garrison.

Many of the boats had deserted in the night; and in the morning, when it was intended to ship off the Portuguese women and children

1756 dren, the voice of order was lost amongst this affrighted multitude, of which every one pressing to be first embarked, the boats were filled with more than they could carry, and several were overset. Most of those who had crowded into them were drowned, and such as floated with the tide to the shore, were either made prisoners or massacred; for the enemy had taken possession of all the houses and inclosures along the banks of the river, from which stations they shot fire-arrows into the ship and vessels, in hopes of burning them. None of the garrison who had embarked with the English women had returned to the shore, and their fright being much increased by the fire-arrows, they, without orders from the governor, removed the ship from her station before the fort to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river; on which all the other vessels weighed their anchors likewise, and followed the ship; and to increase the evil effects of their retreat, it happened at the very time when the detachments from the fort were obliged to abandon the adjacent houses: in this hour of trepidation many of the English militia, seeing the vessels under sail, were terrified with the apprehension of losing this opportunity of escaping, and quitted the shore. The governor, utterly unexperienced in military affairs, had hitherto shewn no aversion to expose his person wherever his presence was necessary. He had early in the morning visited the ramparts; and after the retreat of the detachments from the houses, when an alarm was given that the enemy were endeavouring to force their way through the gate of palisadoes in the wall between the southern bastion and the line of guns, had repaired thither, and ordered two field-pieces to be pointed towards the gate; but found none willing to obey him. Soon after, a man came and whispered to him, that all the gun-powder remaining in the magazines was damp and unfit for service; although dismayed by this information, he refrained from divulging it, and endeavoured to reduce the confusion which prevailed every where till ten o'clock; when preceiving that only two boats remained at the wharf, in one of which several of his acquaintance were preparing to escape, the dread of being exposed to the resentment of Surajah Dowlah, who had

had often threatened to put him to death, prevailed over all other considerations, and, panick-struck, he hurried into the other boat without giving warning to the garrison : the military commanding officer, and several others who saw him embark, followed his example, and accompanied him to the ship. 1756

The astonishment of those who remained in the fort was not greater than their indignation at this desertion ; and nothing was heard for some time but execrations against the fugitives. However, the concourse soon proceeded to deliberation, when Mr. Pearkes, the eldest member of the council in the fort, resigned his right of command to Mr. Holwell. The whole number of militia and military now remaining amounted only to 190 men : and two or three boats being returned to the wharf, the new governor, in order to prevent any more desertions, locked the western gate leading to the river.

The ship which had been stationed at the northern redoubt, still remained there ; and the garrison, having determined to defend themselves vigorously until they could repair on board of her, an officer was dispatched in a boat with orders to the captain to bring her down immediately to the fort. But the reliance upon this resource was of short duration ; for the ship coming down, struck on a sand-bank, and was immediately abandoned by the crew. In the mean time the fort was warmly attacked, and bravely defended until the enemy ceased firing at noon : neither did they renew their efforts with much vigour during the rest of the day, or the succeeding night ; but employed themselves in setting fire to all the adjacent houses, excepting those which commanded the ramparts. In this interval the garrison continually threw out signals, flags by day and fires by night, calling the vessels at Govindpore to return to the fort : but this their last expectation of relief was likewise disappointed, for not a single vessel came to their assistance.

The next morning the enemy recommenced their attacks with greater numbers than ever ; and whilst some of the garrison were exposing themselves with much resolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate ; who, to calm the minds of such as

 desponded,

1756 desponded, at sun-rise, threw a letter from the rampart, written by the prisoner Omichund, to Monickchund, the governor of Hughley, who commanded a considerable body of troops in the army before the fort, requesting him to intercede with the Nabob to cease hostilities, since the English were ready to obey his commands, and only persisted in defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. The letter was taken up, but the enemy nevertheless continued their attacks until noon, when a large body attempted to escalade the northern curtain, under cover of a strong fire of their small arms from Mr. Cruttenden's house: but, after persevering half an hour they were repulsed, and the fire on all the other quarters of the fort ceased as soon as this body retreated. In these few hours twenty-five of the garrison had been killed, or were lying desperately wounded, and seventy more had received slighter hurts; and the common soldiers having broke open the store-house of arrack, were intoxicated beyond all sense of duty.

At two the enemy appeared again, but acted faintly; and at four a man was discovered advancing, with a flag of truce in his hand, which Mr. Holwell, at the general request, answered with another on the south-east bastion, from whence he at the same time threw a letter which he had prepared, addressed to the duan, Roydulub, of the same purport as that which Omichund had written in the morning to Monickchund. A parley ensued, during which many of the enemy flocked to the eastern gate of the fort, and to the gate of palisadoes near the south-west bastion, both which they attempted to cut down; whilst greater numbers, with scaling ladders, endeavoured to mount the warehouses to the south: a shot was likewise fired, which wounded Mr. Bailley, as he was standing on the S. E. bastion with Mr. Holwell, who immediately ran down to bring men to the ramparts: but few obeyed, and those who would have been willing, had retired to various parts of the fort to get sleep; and whilst search was making for them, the drunken soldiers, intending to escape to the river, broke open the western gate of the fort, just as a body of the enemy, had forced the gate of palisades, and were rushing to attack this likewise, which they

found

found opening : others at the same time had escaladed the warehouses. In this confusion no resistance was made, and every one surrendering his arms, the Nabob's troops refrained from bloodshed ; but about 20 of the garrison ran to the N. W. bastion, and dropped from the embrasures, where some escaped along the slime of the river, and others were surrounded and taken prisoners. 1756

At five the Nabob entered the fort, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and most of the principal officers of his army. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kissendass to be brought before him, and received them with civility ; and having bid some officers go and take possession of the company's treasury, he proceeded to the principal apartment of the factory, where he sat in state and received the compliments of his court and attendants in magnificent expressions of his prowess and good fortune. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend the fort, and much dissatisfaction at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury, which did not exceed 50,000 rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this subject before seven o'clock, when the Nabob dismissed him with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Mr. Holwell, returning to his unfortunate companions, found them assembled and surrounded by a strong guard. Several buildings on the north and south sides of the fort were already in flames, which approached with so thick a smoke on either hand, that the prisoners imagined their enemies had caused this conflagration, in order to suffocate them between the two fires. On each side of the eastern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers adjoining to the curtain ; and before the chambers a varanda, or open gallery : it was of arched masonry, and intended to shelter the soldiers from the sun and rain, but being low, almost totally obstructed the chambers behind from the light and air ; and whilst some of the guard were looking in other parts of the factory for proper places to confine the prisoners during the night, the rest ordered them to assemble in ranks under the varanda on the right hand of the gate-

way ;

1756 way; where they remained for some time with so little suspicion of their impending fate, that they laughed among themselves at the seeming oddity of this disposition, and amused themselves with conjecturing what they should next be ordered to do. About eight o'clock, those who had been sent to examine the rooms reported that they had found none fit for the purpose. On which the principal officer commanded the prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them along the varanda. It was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it *The Black Hole.* Many of the prisoners knowing the place, began to expostulate; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated; on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged, that the last entered with difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door; confining 146 persons in a room not 20 feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the varanda.

It was the hottest season of the year; and the night uncommonly sultry even at this season. The excessive pressure of their bodies against one another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door; but without effect, for it opened inward, on which many began to give a loose to rage. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, exhorted them to remain composed both in body and mind, as the only means of surviving the night, and his remonstrances produced a short interval of quiet; during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising to give him a thousand rupees in the morning, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returning in a few minutes, said it was impossible; when Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum; on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal sentence, that no relief could be expected, because the Nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him.

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In the mean time every minute had increased their sufferings. 1756
The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued sweat, which soon produced intolerable thirst, succeeded by excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing little short of suffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and air. Every one stripped off his cloaths; every hat was put in motion; and these methods affording no relief, it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and after remaining a little while in this posture, rise all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time, several, unable to rear themselves again, fell, and were trampled to death by their companions. Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage: but the thirst increasing, nothing but water! water! became soon after the general cry. The good Jemautdar immediately ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows; but, instead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cause of destruction; for the sight of the water threw every one into such excessive agitations and ravings, that, unable to resist this violent impulse of nature, none could wait to be regularly served, but each with the utmost ferocity battled against those who were likely to get it before him; and in these conflicts many were either pressed to death by the efforts of others, or suffocated by their own. This scene, instead of producing compassion in the guard without, only excited their mirth; and they held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing the deplorable contentions of the sufferers within; who, finding it impossible to get any water whilst it was thus furiously disputed, at length suffered those who were nearest to the windows, to convey it in their hats to those behind them. It proved no relief either to their thirst, or other sufferings; for the fever encreased every moment with the encreasing depravity of the air in the dungeon, which had been so often respired, and was saturated with the hot and deleterious effluvia of putrifying bodies; of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the

1756 air at the windows, were either in a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming their creator with the frantic execrations of torment in despair, heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length laid down quietly and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Those who still survived in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made efforts to obtain air, by endeavouring to scramble over the heads of those who stood between them and the windows; where the utmost strength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground, or in endeavouring to get that of which others were in possession. All regards of compassion and affection were lost, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintness sometimes gave short pauses of quiet, but the first motion of any one renewed the struggle through all, under which ever and anon some one sunk to rise no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which and life, continued until the morn, long implored, began to break; and, with the hope of relief, gave the few survivors a view of the dead. The survivors then at the window, finding that their intreaties could not prevail on the guard to open the door, it occurred to Mr. Cooke, the secretary of the council, that Mr. Holwell, if alive, might have more influence to obtain their relief; and two of the company undertaking the search, discovered him, having still some signs of life; but when they brought him towards the window, every one refused to quit his place, excepting captain Mills, who with rare generosity offered to resign his; on which the rest likewise agreed to make room. He had scarcely begun to recover his senses, before an officer, sent by the Nabob, came and enquired if the English chief survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had

so

so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an 1756
hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door, before
they could clear a passage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-six who went in, no more than twenty-three came out alive, the ghastliest forms that ever were seen alive. The Nabob's troops beheld them, and the havock of death from which they had escaped, with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a distance, and were immediately obliged, by the intolerable stench, to clear the dungeon, whilst others dug a ditch on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown.

Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was soon after carried to the Nabob, who was so far from shewing any compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, that he only talked of the treasures which the English had buried; and threatening him with farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them, ordered him to be kept a prisoner. The officers to whose charge he was delivered, put him into fetters, together with Messrs. Court and Walcot, who were likewise supposed to know something of the treasures; the rest of the survivors, amongst whom were Messrs. Cooke and Mills, were told they might go where they pleased; but an English woman, the only one of her sex amongst the sufferers, was reserved for the seraglio of the general Meer Jaffier. The dread of remaining any longer within the reach of such barbarians determined most of them to remove immediately, as far as their strength enabled them, from the fort, and most tended towards the vessels which were still in sight; but when they reached Govindpore in the southern part of the company's bounds, they were informed that guards were stationed to prevent any persons from passing to the vessels, on which most of them took shelter in deserted huts, where some of the natives, who had served the English in different employments, came and administered to their immediate wants. Two or three however ventured, and got to the vessels before sun-set. Their appearance and the dreadful tale they had to tell were the severest of reproaches to those on board, who, intent only on their own preservation,

1756 servation, had made no efforts to facilitate the escape of the rest of the garrison: never perhaps was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected: for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon.

But the trepidation on board of all the vessels had been so great, that, having sailed in the morning in order to proceed lower down the river, the fire from the fort of Tannah, where the enemy had again mounted several pieces of cannon, drove a snow and a sloop ashore; on which the rest returned to the station they had quitted at Govindpore, where they remained until the 24th, when they were joined by two ships from Bombay, which came up the river, and had sustained the fire of Tannah without any hurt. Encouraged by this example and reinforcement, the fleet again weighed anchor, and proceeding with better conduct, passed the fort of Tannah with the loss of only two lascars; on the 25th they passed Buzbuzia, another fort, twenty miles lower down, where the enemy were only preparing to mount cannon: here another vessel was stranded by bad navigation: on the 26th they arrived at Fulta, a town with a market, which is the station of all the Dutch shipping. The southerly monsoon which prevailed at this time rendering it impossible to quit the river, it was determined to remain at Fulta, if not driven away by the Nabob, until the season changed.

Mean while the Nabob's army were employed in plundering Calcutta, where the booty, although sufficient to gratify the common soldiery, produced nothing that answered the expectations which had urged the Nabob to get possession of the settlement. Most of the inhabitants, excepting Omichund, had removed their valuable effects; but in his treasury were found 400,000 rupees, besides many valuable effects. Most of the merchandizes provided in the country had been shipped to different ports before the month of April, after which time vessels cannot go out of the river. None of the company's ships were arrived from England; and none of those belonging to private merchants were returned from their voyages; and the

greatest

greatest part of the commodities imported in the preceding year 1756
were sold ; neither had the goods providing at the aurungs for the
ensuing season been brought to Calcutta ; so that the whole amount of the merchandizes remaining in the settlement did not exceed in value the sum of two hundred thousand pounds ; which was much diminished before they had passed through the rapine of the soldiery, and the embezzlement of the officers appointed to manage the plunder. The Nabob, irritated by the disappointment of his expectations of immense wealth, ordered Mr. Holwell and the two other prisoners to be sent to Muxadavad, in hopes that they would at last discover where the treasures of the settlement were buried. This order was executed by his officers with all the severity that the fear of causing the death of the prisoners would admit. They were put into an open boat, without shelter from the intense sun and heavy rain of the season, fed only with rice and water, and loaded with irons, notwithstanding their bodies were covered with painful boils ; a crisis by which all who survived the dungeon recovered of their fever. In their passage up the river, they received some refreshments from the Dutch settlement at Chinchura ; and both the French and Dutch at Cossimbuzar administered to them all the offices of humanity which their guard would permit, who, on their arrival at the capital, chose a cow-house for the place of their confinement.

It could scarcely be imagined that the Nabob, after such flagrant injuries, should suffer the remains of the colony to abide within his dominions, in expectation of reinforcements. But there always reigned so much confusion in his mind, that he rarely carried his ideas beyond the present appearance of things ; and, soothed by the compliments of his courtiers into a belief that the reduction of Calcutta was the most glorious and heroic atchievement that had been performed in Indostan since the days of Tamerlane, he imagined that the English nation would never dare to appear again in arms in his country ; and, having written letters full of these commendations of himself to Delhi, he neglected to pursue the fugitives,

1756 and determined to avail himself of the terror of his arms against his rival and relation, the Phousdar of Purneah.

To perpetuate the memory of his victory he ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alinagore, signifying *The Port of God;* and, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monickchund to command in the place, he departed with the rest of his army on the second of July. Two or three days before his departure he published leave to such as had escaped the dungeon to return to their houses in the town, where they were supplied with provisions by Omichund, whose intercession had probably procured their return. But this indulgence was rendered of short duration by the intemperance of a serjeant, who in a fit of drunkenness killed a Moorman. This happened on the last of June, on which the ban was published against every European who should be found in the territory. All fled immediately to the French, Dutch, and Prussian factories, from whence at different times most of them repaired to the fleet at Fulta.

As soon as the Nabob's army had crossed the river near Hughley, he sent a detachment to the French, and another to the Dutch settlement, threatening to extirpate them both, if they did not immediately pay him a large sum of money: but, after receiving many submissive assurances of their pacific dispositions, he consented to release the Dutch for the sum of 450,000 rupees, and the French for 100,000 less; which difference, it is said, he made because the French had supplied him with 200 chests of gunpowder, as he was marching to Calcutta. At the same time he released Mr. Watts and Mr. Collet, who had hitherto been led prisoners in his camp, and consigned them to the care of the Dutch governor at Chinchura, from whom he took an obligation to produce them whensoever they should be demanded. On the 11th he arrived at Muxadavad, from whence he issued orders, commanding the seizure and sequestration of all the effects and merchandizes belonging to the English, or their tenants, in all parts of his dominions. However, finding that no discoveries could be obtained concerning the treasures which he supposed to be buried in Calcutta, he, on the

 16th,

16th, in compliance with the frequent intercessions of the widow 1756
of Allaverdy, released Mr. Holwell and his two companions, signifying their deliverance in person, as he was passing by the shed of their confinement. They immediately repaired to the Dutch factory, where they were received with much hospitality, and from thence proceeded to Chinchura.

Meanwhile, the fleet remained at Fulta, where they were joined by several other vessels from the sea. The company's agents likewise from the subordinate factories at Dacca, Jugdea, and Ballasore, having on the first alarm escaped from these residencies, resorted to the fleet. For some time no provisions could be procured; but as soon as the Nabob's army left Calcutta, the country people venture to supply them.

The want of convenient shelter, as well as the dread of being surprised, obliged them all to sleep on board the vessels, which were so much crowded, that all lay promiscuously on the decks, without shelter from the rains of the season, and for some time without a change of raiment; for none had brought any store away: and these hardships, inconsiderable as they may seem, were grievous to persons, of whom the greatest part had lived many years in the gentle ease of India. But sufferings which the hardiest cannot resist ensued: for the lower part of Bengal, between the two arms of the Ganges, is the most unhealthy country in the world; and many died of a malignant fever, which infected all the vessels.

But, instead of alleviating their distresses by that spirit of mutual good-will, which is supposed to prevail amongst companions in misery, every one turned his mind to invidious discussions of the causes which had produced their misfortunes; although all seemed to expect a day when they should be restored to Calcutta. The younger men in the company's service, who had not held any part in the government, endeavoured to fix every kind of blame on their superiors, whom they wished to see removed from stations, to which they expected to succeed. At the same time, the members of the council accused one another, all concurring to lay the severest blame upon the governor; and these examples gave rise to the same

1756 spirit of malevolence amongst those who could derive no benefit from their invectives, beyond the vanity of their temporary importance.

The conduct of the military operations was void of method, subordination, discipline, and skill. All the out-posts were at too great a distance from the fort; only the three or four nearest buildings should have been occupied: all beyond them blown up, or the floors of their upper stories ruined. The walls of all the inclosures within the aim of musket-shot from the fort, should have been demolished, and the rubbish removed. A ditch and palisade should have been carried on, if time admitted no more, at least in the weakest parts, round the fort, especially along the warehouses to the south. Shells should have been thrown wherever the enemy assembled or took post, and resolute sallies should have been made in the night into their open quarters, which in such a multitude must have been many. By these means the defence might have been protracted ten days, during which, if the Nabob could not be appeased, the arrival of the ships of the season would have secured the retreat of the defenders and their families without danger. Although nothing of these operations was executed, the neglect of them was not imputed; but cowardice in general was reproached to those who first left the shore, and with little decency, by those who accompanied, or followed their flight, and all assembled at Fulta, excepting three or four, were in one or other of these predicaments.

The causes to which the resentment of the Nabob was imputed, were more vague, but cast, if possible, more blame. The paper, which was signed by Mr. Watts immediately after he was made prisoner at Cossimbuzar, was urged as a proof that the government of Bengal had been defrauded of vast sums by the abuse which the company's agents had made of the *dustucks* or passports for trade, which, it is said, had been commonly sold to the Indian merchants residing in the settlement, who were not entitled to that privilege: but, although this fraud was sometimes committed by the indigent and profligate, the greatest part of the English commerce was carried on by men, whose character and fortune placed them beyond the necessity or suspicion of such a meanness: so that this practice could not have been either so frequent or injurious to the revenues of Bengal,

Bengal, as the rapacious ministers of Surajah Dowlah might have 1756
made him believe; more especially since the Nabob Allaverdy never accused the English of such illicit practices. The other article signed by Mr. Watts, concerning the protection given to the subjects of the Nabob, was likewise insisted on; although for fifteen years before Kissendass, the government had never claimed any persons who took up their residence in Calcutta. However, these reflections carrying against no one in particular, it was boldly asserted, that the protection of Kissendass, which certainly did contribute to the Nabob's resentment, had been purchased by large bribes: but this accusation was absurd, because they must have come through his host Omichund, whom the presidency regarded as the first, though latent cause of all their calamities, and punished accordingly. It was likewise asserted, that the governor, Mr. Drake, had written an insolent letter to the Nabob, in answer to his order for demolishing the fortifications; and that he sent a message of defiance to him by the spy who brought the letter concerning Kissendass: reports, for which no evidence was produced.

There is sufficient testimony to believe that the sagacity of Allaverdy, reflecting on the fates of Nazirjing and Chundersaheb, the subsequent war in Coromandel, and the late reduction of Angria, and comparing these military exploits of the French and English with the former humility of their condition in the Mogul's dominions, should have advised his young successor, Surajah Dowlah, to watch the military measures of all the European settlements in Bengal, and to suffer no increase in their garrisons, nor addition in their fortifications, and to crush immediately whichsoever of them should manifest any symptom of defiance, or confidence in their own strength; but at the same time to give every encouragement to their commercial views, not only as an essential benefit to the province, but likewise as the best security of their dependance on his government. This admitted, the disorderly brain of Surajah Dowlah, his excessive cowardice, his tyrannical ideas, and the instigations of his minions, representing Calcutta as one of the richest cities in the world, sufficiently account for his incapacity to distinguish the necessary season of carrying the advice of his predecessor into execution, and for his inflexible perseverance in a resolu-

tion

1756 tion which flattered the pusillanimity and other vices of his own mind.

The English at Fulta, notwithstanding their wrangles, agreed to acknowledge the authority of the governor, and of such others as had been members of the council at Calcutta, who in the beginning of July deputed Mr. Maningham, one of the members, with a military officer, to represent their condition to the presidency of Madrass, and to solicit the expedition of an armament to their assistance. With them our narrative returns to the coast of Coromandel.

War of Coromandel.

ALL was lost before the presidency of Madrass even received intelligence of the danger; for the letters, advising the surrender of Cossimbuzar, did not arrive until the 15th of July. The experience of former embroilments between the European settlements and the government of Bengal, suggested hopes that the Nabob would, as his predecessors, be appeased with a sum of money. But whether this or the worst should happen, it was deemed necessary, in either case, to send a reinforcement without delay; in the one, to render the settlement more respectable to the Nabob; in the other, to afford refuge to such as might have escaped the calamities of war.

The squadron under the command of Admiral Watson, and the Delaware, one of the company's ships lately arrived from England, chanced at this time to be in the road of Madrass: but, as it would have been highly imprudent to send away, or divide the squadron until the last extremity, a detachment of 230 men, mostly Europeans, were shipped on board the Delaware, under the command of Major Kilpatrick. They sailed on the 20th of July, and on the 5th of August arrived letters from the fugitives at Fulta, with details of the capture of Calcutta, which scarcely created more horror and resentment than consternation and perplexity.

We have said that the presidency was at this time preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans with deputies to Salabadjing, who had solicited this assistance to rid himself of the French army under the command of Mr. Bussy. The government of Pondicherry, as soon as they received intelligence that Mr. Bussy had

taken

taken possession of Charmaul, and that the maintenance of this post against their enemies was the only probability of a reconciliation with them, resolved to send the succours, which Mr. Bussy, foreseeing the event, had long before requested, when he separated from Salabadjing at Sanore. Accordingly, 500 Europeans and a train of field artillery were embarked on one of the French company's ships called the Favorite. The ship sailed on the 15th of July, the very day that the presidency of Madrass received the first intelligence of the distresses in Bengal; the troops were to be landed at Masulipatam, from whence they were to march to Golcondah. 1756

Hitherto the French influence in the government of Salabadjing, had been regarded as the evil which threatened the most danger to the English concerns in India, and the removal of it had been the constant object of their attention; but it now became an immediate consideration, what respect ought to be paid to this view, compared with the necessity of reinstating the lost affairs in Bengal.

Letters from England dated in the month of August of the preceding year had informed the presidencies in India, that a war with France seemed inevitable, and that hostilities would in all probability commence very soon after the dispatch of those letters; which moreover gave intelligence that the French were preparing to send a fleet of 19 ships of war, with 3000 regular troops, from Brest to Pondicherry. On this it had been determined to make many improvements and additions to the fortifications of Madrass; but as no particular work was yet compleated, what was done had rather weakened than augmented the strength of the place.

The troops maintained by the English and French governments on the coast of Coromandel were at this time nearly equal, each consisting of about 2000 Europeans, and 10,000 Sepoys, who on both sides were separated in different garrisons and situations in an extent of 600 miles. The detachment of 500 men sent to Masulipatam had diminished the French force serving in the Carnatic, to be by this number, less than what the English had in the province, exclusive of their troops to the south of the Coleroon; nor had the French as yet any squadron in India to oppose that under the command of Mr.

Watson;

1756 Watson; but it was imagined that their expected armament would give them as decisive a superiority at sea, as on shore.

On the other hand, a privation of the Bengal investments for three years would ruin the English company; and if the settlements there were not immediately recovered, the French upon the arrival of their armament would urge and assist Surajah Dowlah against any future attempts of the English to re-establish themselves in his dominions; in which case, an expedition to recover them would require a large and special armament from England; where, perhaps, the national exigencies in other parts of the world might not allow a force adequate to this service; and where, at all events, the equipment could not be made but at a much greater expence than would be incurred by employing the force at this time ready on the coast of Coromandel. At the same time the national honour required immediate reparation, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

Nevertheless there prevailed in some of the members of the council a strong propensity, at all events, to assist Salabadjing. The partizans of this opinion insisted, "that, as a force sufficient to encounter the Nabob of Bengal with any probability of success, substracted from Madrass, would leave the English in Coromandel totally incapable of resisting the French after the arrival of their armament, it was more expedient to send the 50 gun ship of Mr. Watson's squadron, and deputies, with a power to treat with the Nabob. If the negociation should prove unsuccessful, the ship, with the force under Major Kilpatrick, were to make depredations and reprisals; and, if they could, were to retake and maintain Calcutta. By this expedient, Coromandel, it was said, would be preserved, Salabadjing might be properly supported against Mr. Bussy, and Mr. Watson avoiding the encounter of the French squadron until his own should be reinforced from England, might then meet them on equal terms." These arguments would have appeared specious any where but in India. They were opposed by one of the members of the council, who, having resided nine years in the company's service at Calcutta, knew the strength and insolence of the Moorish government in Bengal, believed that nothing but

vigorous

vigorous hostilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation, and considered the force proposed as unequal even to the retaking of Calcutta: he therefore insisted "that it ought to be sufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; at least, a "battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many Sepoys as could be "transported, not less than 1500: that as the squadron, if divided, "would be of little service any where, the whole should proceed "to Bengal; that such an armament would soon decide the contest; that after peace was made, the squadron, with a large part "of the troops, might return to the coast, and arrive in the month "of April; before which time, the nature of the Monsoons rendered it improbable that the French armament, since it had not "yet appeared, would be able to make their passage to the coast "In the mean time the detachment sent to the relief of Mr "Bussy had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the "means of making any attempts, in the Carnatic, which the "force of Madrass could not easily frustrate." This opinion, after many and repeated objections, became at last the unanimous sense, of the council. 1756

This resolution was communicated to Admiral Watson, who after consulting his council of war, consented to it. Some difficulties arose about the disposition of the captures which might be made by the squadron: but this was soon adjusted by an agreement, that whatsoever property should be taken which had belonged either to the company, or to English individuals, or even to natives, who were tenants of the company when the Nabob commenced hostilities, should be restored without diminution to the proprietors; but that whatsoever should be taken which had never belonged either to the company, or to such as were under their protection, should become without participation or reserve the property of the squadron.

But other points of equal moment to the success of the expedition still remained to be decided: and, indeed, by having been mingled without distinction with the more general questions, they had helped not a little to perplex and protract the deliberations of the council. These points were: Who should command the land forces? What

1756 should be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependance or relation he ought to stand to the late governor and council of Calcutta? How far their authority as a presidency ought to be maintained or impaired?

Each of the remaining council of Bengal had written separate letters to the presidency of Madrass, in which such misdemeanours and misconduct were reciprocally imputed to all the others, that if no allowance had been made for the prejudices of exasperated adversity, it would have been absurd to intrust the re-establishment of the company's affairs to those, who, by their own accounts, had ruined them; and, indeed, enough of the causes and progress of the calamities in Bengal were not at this time sufficiently developed, to exempt the late presidency of Calcutta from much blame. The difficulty of deciding concerning their authority suggested to Mr. Pigot, the commander of Madrass, a desire to go himself to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers, as the company's representative in all other affairs: but he wanted military experience, nor had the council authority to give so extensive a commission to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. The climate of Bengal was so adverse to an asthmatic disorder, with which Colonel Lawrence was afflicted, that it was thought he would be disabled, from that incessant activity requisite to the success of this expedition, of which the termination was limited to a certain time. Colonel Clive was therefore chosen to command the troops. To assure the exertion of the most vigorous hostilities until peace was made, and then the return of the troops in April, it was resolved to invest him with independent power in all military matters and operations; and in consequence to furnish him with money, and empower him to draw bills. It was, however, resolved to acknowledge Mr. Drake and the former members of the council, as a presidency, with full powers in commercial and civil affairs, and to remit them likewise a

large

large sum of money. Mr. Manningham, who had been sent from Fulta as their representative, objected strongly to the powers given to Clive, as derogating from the authority of that presidency, and contrary to the institutions of the company. Two months passed in debates, before these final resolutions were taken, and then the embarkation began. The sloop of war belonging to the squadron had been dispatched, some time before, to inform the English at Fulta of the intended armament, and to exhort them not to quit the river in despair of assistance. 1756

The squadron consisted of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fire-ship; to which were added, as transports, three of the company's ships, and two smaller vessels. On board of this fleet were embarked 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys; 250 of the Europeans were of Adlercron's regiment; the rest, the best men of the company's troops. It was resolved to send more Sepoys as conveyances should offer. Admiral Watson hoisted his flag in the Kent; and Admiral Pocock in the Cumberland. Colonel Clive embarked in the Kent; he carried letters written by Salabadjing the Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomedally Nabob of Arcot, as well as from Mr. Pigot, exhorting Surajah Dowlah to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment. The instructions to Clive recommended the attack of Muxadavad itself, if the Nabob continued obstinate; and the capture of the French settlement at Chandernagore, if the news of a war with France should arrive whilst the troops remained in Bengal. The fleet set sail on the 16th of October, and were out of sight the next day.

This effort to recover the settlements in Bengal left the forces of Madrass too much diminished to detach to such a distance as Golcondah a body of troops sufficient to assist Salabadjing effectually against the French army with Mr. Bussy; and as a few would be of no service, and might be lost, it was resolved to send none. In the mean time the French army were maintaining their ground in Charmaul.

M 2 On

1756 On the same evening that they took possession of this post, detachments were stationed in two others; the one was a large habitation called *Gauchmaul*, standing in a spacious and walled enclosure, almost opposite to Charmaul, about 400 yards on the other side of the river Moussi; in this post were lodged 300 Sepoys. The other was an edifice called *Daudmul*, built on a rising ground very near the western side of Charmaul, which it overlooked. It was an ancient and very singular structure, consisting of two stories of arched masonry, each story disposed in several ranges of arches, and the upper covered by a terrass strong enough to endure the service of cannon. Four twelve-pounders were mounted on this terrass, and the adjoining streets and avenues were barricaded: the guard here besides the artillery men, was 500 Sepoys, with several European officers of experience.

On the 6th of July, the day after the army entered Charmaul, 1000 Sepoys, with all the European cavalry and six field pieces, went out in the evening with intention to beat up the Morratoes in their camp, which continued in its first situation, about seven miles to the west; but they had taken the alarm, and abandoned the camp before the detachment arrived. The next night another detachment with more success beat up one of their parties in a garden on the eastern side of the town. The French troops now took possession of all the magazines in the city which belonged to the government, and likewise carried away all the cannon which were mounted on the walls, not that they wanted artillery, but in order to withdraw them from the enemy. The interval between the ranges of building and the tank in Charmaul was planted with rows of palmira and cocoa-nut trees; which were now cut down; and with them and other materials, scaffolds were erected against various parts of the walls, to serve as stations for musketry.

On the 8th, another detachment with six field-pieces marched out in open day, and cannonaded the whole body of Morratoes, which hovered around for some time, until some of their horses were killed. In the evening, the Morratoes quitted their former ground, and en-

camped

camped within three miles of the city under the rock and fortress of 1756
Golcondah, probably with an idea of protection from the guns of the fortress; but Candagla, one of their generals, who commanded 2000 horse, encamped with them at the bank of the river about half way between Golcondah and the city, where they were the next night beaten up by a detachment of 500 Sepoys with the hussars. They fled, leaving many of their horses picqueted in the camp, and even the military drums and cymbals of their commander: but the French detachment did not lose a man.

The rainy weather prevented any more sallies for several days; mean while the numbers of the enemy increased greatly. The Phousdars, or, as they are commonly called, the Nabobs of Kanoul and Condanore, came each with 3000 Pitans well mounted: other chiefs of the same rank, and others of inferior, as well Mahomedan as Indian, brought their troops: for every tributary and dependant in the vast viceroyalty of the Decan had been summoned. But several of these chiefs, especially Kanoul, privately assured Mr. Bussy they did not intend to act effectually against him.

On the 10th arrived Jaffier Ally Khan, much exasperated at the death of his nephew, with 3000 horse, 3000 foot, and the first division of artillery, consisting of 20 pieces of cannon. The main body of the army with which Salabadjing and Shanavaze Khan remained, moving only four miles a day, was still at a considerable distance. Jaffier Ally immediately held a council of war, in which it was resolved to straiten the blockade of Charmaul, and to begin by taking possession of the most advantageous posts in the city itself.

Mr. Bussy received immediate intelligence of this council; he had hitherto refrained from distressing the inhabitants; but now, in order to deter the enemy from establishing themselves in the city, he posted a detachment at an edifice standing in the high street, and called *Charminarets,* or the four towers; it was a square piazza of arches, having at each end a tower 60 feet high, with balconies at the top, from which the Mahomedan priest calls the people to

prayers;

1756 prayers ; some mischief might be done with musketry from these balconies, and the loop-holes, which gave light to the winding stairs ; but there were no means of employing artillery in the tops, for they were vaulted ; nor within, for there were neither floors or landing-places ; nevertheless several small pieces of cannon were pointed out of the loop-holes, from a conviction that the enemy would not immediately discern their inutility. Mr. Bussy then informed Jaffier Ally, that if any of his troops entered the city, he would destroy the whole with fire ; and this menace stopped his intention ; he however stationed an advanced detachment where Candagla had encamped, which was beaten up and dispersed the next night by a party of 50 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. The rains, immediately after, falling again heavier, and lasting longer than before, hindered all enterprizes in the field for a fortnight.

Some months before Mr. Bussy had commissioned the French agents at Surat to levy a body either of Abyssinians or Arabs, whom, as being of more courage and endurance, he intended to discipline as the choicest of his Sepoys. Six hundred had been collected, and were on their march, when Mr. Bussy arrived at Hydrabad, and the enemy hearing of their approach detached Janogee Nimbulcar with his 3000 Morratoes to intercept them. The Morratoes met them on the road some miles on this side of Aurungabad, and harrassed them continually for three days; during which they killed fifty ; one hundred and fifty dispersed, and the remaining four hundred, worn out with fatigue, surrendered ; Janogee returned with his prisoners to the camp, and confined them in the fortress of Golcondah, but treated them well.

The weather having cleared on the 26th, a detachment with three field-pieces marched in the evening, and at midnight attacked that part of the enemy's camp where they kept their artillery ; the multitude of bullocks in this quarter, scared by the firing, encreased the confusion of the troops : the fort of Golcondah took the alarm and fired all its cannon at random ; but two of the French field-pieces breaking down, stopped the detachment from pursuing their

success,

success, and they returned, having spiked up only three of the guns 1756
in the enemy's camp.

The next day came up 4000 Sepoys under the command of Murzafa Khan. This man commanded the Sepoys of the detachment with which Mr. Bussy first marched into the Decan in 1751. The next year he left Mr. Bussy when at Beder, and, raising a body of Sepoys on his own account, took service with Balagerow, whom he left when before Seringapatam in 1755, and went over to the Mysoreans; from thence he went to the Nabob of Sanore, and was in this place when invested in the beginning of the present year by Salabadjing and Balagerow. Having during his command of the French Sepoys gained the attachment of most of their officers by largesses and other compliances, he had ever since continued a correspondence amongst them, whenever they were in the field, in conjunction with, or near, the armies in which he was serving, as Mr. Bussy had experienced in the campaigns of Mysore and Sanore. This quality, and the military experience which he was supposed to have acquired whilst in the French service, induced Shanavaze Khan to hire him, as soon as it was known that Mr. Bussy had determined to make a stand at Hydrabad. Murzafabeg, as soon as engaged, made forced marches before the main body, and sent his emissaries forward: and on the very day of his arrival at Hydrabad, a whole company of French Sepoys, who went out into the plain under pretence of exercising, marched away, their firelocks shouldered, and joined him at Golcondah.

The next day the whole army moved from hence with twenty pieces of cannon under his direction, and at noon appeared to the westward within a mile of Charmaul. The infantry and artillery took possession of all the eminences; and the cavalry drew up in the intervals, where the ground was plain. Immediately 250 of the French Battalion and 1000 Sepoys, with six field-pieces, marched out to try them, whilst the rest remained in their posts ready to act as occasion should require; and two pieces of cannon were mounted on the tower in the N. W. angle of Charmaul, which commanded a view of the field. The detachment despised the enemy so much, that

they

1756 they ventured to separate into three divisions, and each with two of the field-pieces advanced against different bodies of infantry, at a considerable distance from each other. The cavalry every where flung themselves between, and continually surrounded the three divisions, whose destruction to a stranger would have seemed inevitable; and indeed nothing but the firm reliance on the general discipline could have warranted the hazard, or have surmounted the danger; but with this advantage and the dexterity of the field-pieces, each division either sufficed to its own defence, or, when pressed, received assistance from one of the others. In the different evolutions the enemy's cavalry were often within reach of the two guns at Charmaul, of which even the random shot did execution, whilst the enemy's cannon were fired, although continually, with very little effect. Their infantry did nothing but shift from safe ground to safer, and fire with fear. In this variety of fights the engagement lasted five hours, and did not cease until the sun was set; the French troops fired 35,000 musket cartridges, and 900 from their field-pieces; 125 of the enemy's horses were counted dead on the plain; by which the total of their loss must have been considerable. That of the French was slight; six Sepoys killed, and thirty wounded: of the Europeans none killed, and only four wounded.

Two days after, on the 1st of August, came up Salabadjing himself, and the main body of the army. A council was immediately held, in which Murzafar Khan proposed a general assault on Charmaul. This deliberation was in a few hours communicated to Mr. Bussy, who immediately demolished several of the adjacent houses; but the attack was not made. The intrigues of Murzafar Khan had already pervaded the whole body of Sepoys, and the greatest part of them had promised him to desert with their arms, the first time they should be led into the field: their correspondence was discovered; and determined Mr. Bussy to make no more sallies.

By this time reinforcements were approaching. Mr. Moracin, the French chief of Masulipatam, on the first advices of the rupture at Sanore, had collected 160 Europeans and 700 Sepoys, which, with five field-pieces, marched in the middle of July, under the command

of Mr. Law, the same officer who capitulated at Seringham in 1752; 1756
but when arrived at Bezoara, about 40 miles inland, excessive rains detained them here several days. In the interval the Favorite arrived at Masulipatam with the troops from Pondicherry, of which, all in condition, marched immediately; but were so much retarded by the rains, and the inundations of the Kristna, that they did not arrive at Bezoara until the 3d of August, when the whole, now 480 Europeans, 1100 Sepoys, and 11 field-pieces, proceeded, and arrived on the 10th within fifteen leagues of Hydrabad.

The ministry of Salabadjing determined to intercept this reinforcement: all the Morratoes, 12000, other smaller bodies amounting to 4000, in all 16000 cavalry, with infantry of various denominations and commands, to the number of 10000 were ordered on this service. Mr. Bussy, as usual, received information what troops were appointed; he was personally acquainted with all the commanders, had been of use to several of them, and had lately received some marks of good-will from Janogi and Ramchundur, who commanded 6000 of the Morattoes. He therefore proposed a conference, which was accepted by several of these chiefs, who repaired in the night to a tent pitched on the other side of the river near Gauchmaul, where he met them unattended and alone. Wanting positive knowledge of what passed in this interview, we conjecture that he wrought upon them by promises of greater advantages, if he should be restored to his former influence in the government of Salabadjing, than they could expect either from the gratitude of Shanavaze Khan, or the friendship of the English, who, it was believed, were to take the place of the French, in the army and councils of the Decan. They promised not to act against the reinforcement with any efficacy, and only as much as might be necessary to save appearances, confirmed these assurances by their oaths, and gave Mr. Bussy the distinctions and colours of their respective banners, of which he immediately despatched information to Mr. Law, as ensigns from which he would have nothing to fear.

The reinforcement continued their march on the 11th, and had now to pass a tract of mountainous country covered with rocks and

1756 thick woods, which they entered, marching in a file of four abreast. The advanced guard were 400 Sepoys, under the command of an officer named Mahmood Khan. After marching five hours, in which they had only advanced nine miles, some parties of the enemy were descried forward in the road; on which Mahmood Khan, as if impatient to attack them, quickened the pace of the Sepoys. The captain of the grenadiers, whose company followed next in the line, sent orders to him to halt, which he disregarded; and as soon as the Sepoys were out of sight, some irregular firing was heard: soon after came a messenger, requesting the grenadiers would advance to their assistance, who he said were surrounded by the enemy; but the captain having suspicions, sent forward scouts, who discovered the banners of the Sepoys mixing quietly with those of the enemy. This treachery was effected by the intrigues of Murzafar Khan, who was here in person, and immediately began to attack the French line with these very Sepoys, and the whole of the infantry of Salabadjing's army sent on this service, which was committed to his direction. Besides the usual and lighter arms a part of the infantry wielded 2000 *caytocks*, a fire-arm frequently made use of in Europe in the early times of gun-powder, and then called a wall-piece; but at present rarely used, excepting in Indostan and the easternmost parts of Asia: it is a gun eight or ten feet in the barrel, carrying a ball of one, two, or three ounces; and under the middle of the barrel is fixed by a swivel, either one iron spike, or two, which open crossways, and being stuck in the ground support the piece, and assure its aim: it carries far point blank, but the larger siezes are so unwieldy, that two men are required to move and manage them, and they can scarcely be fired quicker than a piece of cannon. Parties were continually detached to dislodge these caytocks, and whatsoever other troops were annoying the line from the rocks and thickets on either hand. At noon the line came to open ground, where they halted; and the fall of a heavy shower of rain damaged the enemy's powder, and put an end to their attacks.

They

They retired to a hill half a league distant, and took possession of a village at the foot of it, called Gorampally, which the French troops marched before day-break to attack, and found all the enemy's cavalry in the field, by whom they were soon surrounded. Ramchunder and Janogee, according to their promises, acted only in shew, which Mr. Law admired, and could not account for, not having yet received the information concerning them from Mr. Bussy; but Candagla, who had rejected his proffers, acted more efficaciously, attacking the baggage in the rear, and dispersed the whole train of oxen on which it was laden. The troops in the village made little resistance, and the reinforcement rested there during the remainder of the day. Hitherto only one European and three or four Sepoys had been killed, and twelve of both wounded, but by the flight of the Coolies and the scaring of the oxen all their provisions were lost, and the troops were obliged for their meal to kill some of the draught-bullocks of the artillery. 1756

At noon Mr. Law received the letter from Mr. Bussy, with information of such of the enemy's banners as did not intend to act vigorously, and at seven in the evening renewed his march. The next stage was Meliapore, 15 miles from Gorampally, and the whole way through difficult defiles. The enemy with unusual alertness, although it was night, sent forward all their infantry to line the thickets; and Mr. Law, as the use of the field-pieces greatly retarded the march, only opposed the enemy with platoons, which were detached to wheresoever the fire came from. At seven in the morning the line arrived at Meliapore, and took post in a ruined mud fort near the town. Only two men had been killed, and three wounded; but all were exhausted with fatigue, and every carriage wanted repair; and the next march was more difficult than any of the former. It was therefore resolved to remain at Meliapore until the men were entirely recovered; but this repose led them into reflections, always dangerous when troops are in dangerous circumstances: and very soon the whole body were persuaded that they had done all that was possible, and that it now behoved the army of Charmaul to act likewise, and march to their relief. The officers,

 instead

1756 instead of repressing, caught the despondency, and prevailed on Mr. Law to dispatch a letter to Mr. Bussy, expressing their doubts and anxiety concerning the farther progress of the reinforcement.

In the mean time the news of Mahmood Cawn's defection had been spread with exaggeration through the main camp at Golcondah, and encouraged the ministry to send more troops against the reinforcement. Mr. Bussy, to repress this intention, sent in the night of the 12th a strong party, consisting entirely of Europeans, to beat up the advanced guards of the camp, and the attack was made with much success; but on the same night he received the letter from Mr. Law, which encreased his perplexity; because he could not trust his Sepoys in the field where their seducer Murzafacawn acted, nor could he without equal imprudence send a number of Europeans sufficient to make their way to Meliapore. Judging, however, from his own experience in various conjunctures, he deemed the reinforcement strong enough to accomplish the remaining, as they had the preceding part of the march, provided the officers led them with intrepidity; and in this conviction he wrote to Mr. Law, commanding him, in *the name of the King*, to march immediately, and at all events, on the receipt of the letter. Not doubting, likewise, that the ministry of Salabadjing, if they should hear of the despondency of the reinforcement, would make an utmost effort in this time of decision, unless deterred by the strongest apprehensions, he the next day pitched his own tent, which was very conspicuous, and encamped with 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, on the strand above the bridge on the other side of the river Moussi. The numbers were studiously magnified, and, with the presence of Mr. Bussy in the field, inspired such a variety of apprehensions concerning his designs in the camp at Golcondah, that they even recalled the detachments they had sent the day before.

The peremptory order from Mr. Bussy at Meliapore arrived in the morning of the 14th, and Mr. Law immediately issued orders to march. The reinforcement, although they had remained four days and three nights at Meliapore, had not got the rest they wanted; for the fort was in several parts open, and the enemy had harrassed

rassed them continually with skirmishes, even by night as well as day. At nine at night they began their march, the preparations for which had been perceived, and gave the enemy time to make their own. The road for the first four miles winded through defiles in the rugged rock, over which carriages could not pass without attention to every turn of the wheel. The enemy in several places felled the wood across the road, and all their infantry were in possession of the most advantageous stations before the French troops entered the defiles; and their fire, especially from the caytocks, was much better directed than against the former marches. Men began to fall in the first discharges; no general rules of action could be observed; to get onward was the only principle; it was now become fortunate for the French line that they had no baggage, and nothing to defend but themselves and their artillery; which, although a great encumbrance in the defiles, was to be their best resource when out of them. A large body of the enemy's cavalry, led by Candagla the Morattoe, followed the line into the defile, and through the night endeavoured to retard the march by their din and clamours, but as soon as it was light, acted with more efficacy: for, as many as the road permitted charged the rear, although the guard consisted entirely of Europeans, and had two field-pieces: it was commanded by D'Arambure, an officer of proved gallantry, and next in rank to Mr. Law. Still repulsed, the cavalry still renewed their onsets. Europeans were cut down, and Morattoes shot at the very muzzles of the guns. At sun-rise the van of the line came to the issue of the defile, against which the enemy had planted all their cannon, 20 pieces; behind which appeared all the cavalry which had not followed in the rear; but they seemed to rely on the artillery more than on themselves, which was so ill-served, that it neither interrupted the troops in issuing out of the defile, nor afterwards from forming in the opening; when the field-pieces, as they came out were turned to scour the thickets behind, and soon drove away what parties of the enemy were still molesting the remaining part of the line. Whilst the troops were forming, the enemy's cavalry and cannon in the front hastened onward, to pass a small river called

1756

Cingoram,

1756 Cingoram, about a mile from the thickets, and drew up on the other side. The cavalry, with Candagla, followed the French troops as they marched towards the river, the approach to which on both sides was a descent. All the field-pieces were ordered to remain on the hither bank, until the rest of the troops had passed; and this service was likewise committed to D'Arambure, who judiciously divided their fire against the enemy on the other side, and those in his rear, which kept both at a distance, until the whole of rank and file had crossed and formed, and were able to defend themselves against the enemy on that side; when the cannon were sent over one by one, during which the remaining continued to awe the enemy on the side they stood, against whom every piece, as soon as it landed on the other side, was likewise pointed; and parties of the battalion likewise waded into the stream ready to rescue the last pieces. But the cavalry had already suffered too much at a distance, to venture this nearer risque, and all the loss which the French line sustained, after leaving the thickets until they had passed the river, was by the caytocks and other fire-arms of the enemy, sheltered wherever they found safe cover. The country forward from the river, although not plain, was open, and the French troops were animated with new alacrity by the view of the spires of Hyderabad, which now appeared in sight. The whole of the enemy's cavalry moved on as they, and surrounded them on all sides, but made no effectual attacks; for those who were willing, were dispirited by the backwardness of the great body of Morattoes commanded by Rumchunder and Janogee Nimbulcar, who acted faintly according to their engagements with Mr. Bussy. At length, at five in the afternoon, the reinforcement arrived at the town of Aydnagur, situated six miles from the river Cingoram, and the same distance from Hyderabad. They had been 18 hours without respite in march and action; during which 25 Europeans, of whom two were officers, were killed, and 65 wounded. The Sepoys suffered more. The enemy, it was said, lost 800 horses and more than 2000 men: the French fired 40,000 musket-cartridges, besides their field-pieces.

 At

At Aydnagur they found some scanty provisions, of which they were in much need: at nine in the evening, Mr. Bussy received intelligence of their arrival, and immediately detached 140 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with carriages, to bring the sick and wounded, and 20 mules, laden with provisions ready dressed. He at the same time detached another party, to give alarm to the camp at Golcondah, in order to prevent them from sending any troops to interrupt the march of those proceeding to Aydnagur, who arrived there at four in the morning without molestation. At six all were in march again from Aydnagur, and at ten arrived at the city of Hyderabad, having met with no interruption, nor even seen any of the enemy in the way; for they had all been recalled during the night to the camp at Golcondah. Mr. Bussy received the reinforcement with the acknowledgments due to their perseverence and valour; and they were scarcely arrived, before he received a messenger sent on a dromedary by Salabadjing with proposals of peace, and assurances that he had ordered all hostilities to cease. Mr. Bussy answered, that he was not averse to a reconciliation, but that his reinforcement was arrived, and he feared nothing the Soubah's army could do. 1756

The negotiation nevertheless continued. Mr. Bussy demanded that Murzafar Khan and the late deserter Mahmood Khan should be delivered up to him. Salabadjing replied, that as a prince he could not, without losing the confidence of the whole world, surrender any persons whom he had received into his service and pay, but that he should not impede any means that might be employed to make them prisoners. The conjuncture did not admit of any stipulation for the removal of the minister Shanavaze Khan. Jaffier Ally Khan, the old Nabob of Rajahmundrum, came and made his submissions to Mr. Bussy, blaming himself much for having taken part with men, whose views and understandings, he said, he had now every reason to despise. Janogee Nimbulcar delivered the Arabs and Abyssins he had confined in the fortress of Golcondah, but kept their arms. Every thing being settled, Mahomed Hussein, the king's Duan, accompanied by the principal lords of the court,

1756 court, visited Mr. Bussy in his tent on the 20th, and the same day Mr. Bussy proceeded, with an escort of 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, to pay his respects to Salabadjing, who received him with the distinctions of an officer in the Mogul government, second only to himself. The interview was courteous, and the protestations solemn. No hints were given of the late disagreements, and future measures were concerted with much seeming confidence. New patents were immediately prepared, and letters dispatched through all the governments of the Decan, to destroy the impressions which had been made by those written during the rupture.

Thus ended this distress; the greatest in which Mr. Bussy had been involved since his command in the Decan. Nor would his perseverance and resolution alone have sufficed, without the sagacity of his character, and the influence of his reputation.

Besides the provisions which were laid in store, the army at Charmaul was constantly supplied with cattle for the shambles, and forage for the horses, oxen, camels, and elephants, by bands of a people called Lamballis, peculiar to the Decan, who are continually moving up and down the country with their flocks, and contract to furnish the armies in the field. The union amongst all these bands renders each respectable even to the enemy of the army they are supplying; but they are not permitted to deal with places besieged; nevertheless Mr. Bussy surmounted this objection by bribing the Morattoes, who, for the sake of marauding, undertook the patroles of Salabadjing's army, to let the Lamballis pass in the night, and it was especially concerted, that the convoys should come in on the nights when the French troops made sallies on the enemy's quarters.

But money was equally necessary, and the want of it had well nigh reduced him to quit Charmaul; for he had exhausted the public, his own, and all he could borrow on his own credit, and had no means of raising more, excepting by giving rescripts on the revenues of the four ceded provinces; but most of the renters and Polygars of those countries were, in the present conjuncture, encouraged to withhold them by the letters which they received from the ministry of Salabadjing, and still more by the practices of Ibrahim

Cawn,

Cawn, the governor of Chicacole, who, although raised by Mr. Bussy to this post, from the command of a company of Sepoys, disavowed the French authority, and declared himself only subject to Salabadjing, as soon as he heard that the French army had stopped at Hyderabad; on the news of which, the bankers, who had hitherto supplied Mr. Bussy, agreed that it was not safe to advance money on these rescripts, nor on any other security which he might offer: but Vizeramrauze, the Rajah of Vizianagur in Chicacole, judging with more sagacity than Ibrahim Ally, ordered his agents at Golcondah to assure Mr. Bussy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes; and one night, when little expected, and most wanted, a man came to Charmaul, and, being permitted to speak in private with Mr. Bussy, delivered with the message of Vizeramrauze a sum of gold, as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was sufficient for the present want, and the same man afterwards furnished more as necessary. 1756

On the day of the reconciliation, Murzafer Khan and the deserter Mahmood Khan moved, and encamping with their Sepoys in a strong situation at some distance from Golcondah, where they relied on the assurances of protection which they had received from the wife of Salabadjing, who held the first rank in his seraglio. Mr. Bussy nevertheless sent out parties on several nights to surprise them, and Mahmood Khan was taken; but from consideration of his former services, and the good-will borne to him by the French Sepoys in general, his life was spared. Murzafer Khan maintained his ground some weeks longer, until his Sepoys began to mutiny for want of pay, when some of them proffered Mr. Bussy to deliver him up, who sent a party to receive him; but a little while before the party arrived, he escaped with a few attendants, and went to Poni, where he entered again into the service of Balagerow, by whom he was some time after put to death for a conspiracy.

No other military operations happened during the rest of the year at Golcondah. Shanavaze Khan continued to manage the affairs of the government as duan; and Mr. Bussy interfered little in his

1756 his purposes, having taken the resolution to proceed, with the greatest part of the troops under his immediate command, to repress the insurrections, and regulate the government, in the ceded provinces. On the 16th of November, he began his march, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys, leaving 100 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys with Salabadjing at Golcondah, who towards the end of the year prepared to proceed to Aurengabad.

The armament to Bengal had not only deprived the presidency of Madrass of the means of distressing the French affairs in the Decan, but left them without the power of making any military efforts in the province of Arcot. No pressing occasions had required the service of their forces in the field in this part of the dominions of their ally, the Nabob Mohamed Ally ; but the confusions which had induced the presidency to send Mohamed Issoof into the MADURA and TINIVELLY countries had not subsided, when his mission itself produced new disturbances.

This officer with Maphuze Khan, and their respective troops, remained at Chevelpetore during the months of June and July, and all the adjoining Polygars had either made their submissions, or seemed willing to be quiet. He then requested Maphuze Khan to march out of the country, and proceed with his troops to Arcot, according to the injunctions of his brother the Nabob, who would be ready to settle accounts with him, and pay what arrears might be due to his soldiery. Maphuze Khan acquiesced without objection, and Mahomed Issoof sent with his camp the 18 pounder he had brought from Tritchinopoly, that it might be deposited in Madura, because it encumbered his march up and down the country ; and a company of Sepoys went to take care of the 18 pounder on the road. He then allotted six companies to garrison Chevelpetore, and guard the adjacent country ; and with the rest, about 2000, in which were included those levied by the Nabob, and sent to Maphuze Khan, he proceeded from Chevelpetore on the 1st of August, and on the 10th arrived at the town of Tinivelly.

By this time the presidency of Madrass had made arrangements for the management of these countries, and concluded an agreement with

Moodilee,

Moodilee, the native of Tinivelly, who came to Madrass on this 1756
purpose in the month of April, The southern and more fertile districts, which in former times belonged to the kingdom of Madura, had by various alterations and appropriations been annexed to the government, and intermingled with the rent-rolls, of Tinivelly; and the greater Moravar, during the confusions which prevailed since the year 1750, had made encroachments on the west; so that what remained at this time under the ancient denomination of Madura, and under the immediate jurisdiction of the city, did not extend in any direction above 40 miles, and, in most, much less: which, being commanded on the west and north by mountains and Polygars, and bounded on the east by the woods of Moravar, was in every part exposed to depredations from the wild inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The land of the territory is likewise in many parts incumbered with plots of rock, and, where free, the soil, except in a few districts to the south, is of laborious and expensive cultivation. From these detriments and defects, the annual revenue of the whole territory seldom exceeds 120,000 rupees; at the same time that the maintenance of the city, its garrison, and other military posts in the country, raise the expenses to triple this sum. On the other hand, the country now rated under Tinivelly is of much greater extent and fertility, commonly yielding a revenue from 11 to 1,200,000 rupees a year; but should Madura and its districts be in the hands of an enemy, the country of Tinivelly would be constantly exposed to the most ruinous attacks, and could receive no support from Tritchinopoly; which renders it necessary to maintain the one at a certain loss, as the only means of securing the advantages which may be derived from the other. The family of Moodilee, having for 100 years been employed in farming districts in both countries, had, in this long course of time, rented every part, and knew the properties of each. He accordingly refused to undertake the districts of Madura, but offered to rent the country of Tinivelly for three years, at the annual rent of 1,100,000 rupees, clear of all expenses, to be paid at three periods in each year: for which purpose he was to be invested with the usual authorities of jurisdictions,

1756 civil and criminal: he obliged himself to maintain not less than 1000 of the company's Sepoys, under the command of such officers as the presidency should appoint; and engaged to produce, within three months from the contract, the security of substantial *shroffs*, or money-changers, for the regular payment of the stipulated sums. The agreement was concluded in the beginning of July; immediately on which Moodilee appointed agents, and sent orders to place flags with the company's colours, in the cultivated lands; and soon after proceeded himself to administer his office in person.

Mahomed Issoof, on his arrival at Tinivelly, found that the agents of Moodilee had, in the beginning of their occupations, been overruled and insulted by Meir Jaffier, who had hitherto managed the country for Maphuze Cawn. The dispute indeed had ceased, but the grudge still remained: and to prevent any farther effects, Mahomed Issoof ordered Meir Jaffier to depart immediately to Madura, but permitted him to take three field-pieces which belonged to him, and whatsoever retinue he chose: he at the same time detached five companies of Sepoys to reinforce the garrison of Madura, and ordered them to protect and watch Meir Jaffier and his people on the road. They had not proceeded two days, when unexpected intelligence stopped their march.

On the arrival of Maphuze Cawn from Chevelpetore, all the cavalry in his service were assembled in the city of Madura; their number was 2000, all of good quality, for he had disbanded the less effectual. The day after his arrival, the Jemautdars in a body surrounded his house, and declared that he should not move out of it, until their arrears were paid, which, by their own account, amounted to 700,000 rupees. They were headed by the governor Danishmend Cawn, who from this time was better known in the country by the name of Berkatoolah, although not the same officer who defended Trinomalee in 1753. The company's Sepoys in the garrison wondered at these proceedings, discoursed of them, and suspected that the tumult was concerted, as a pretence to keep possession of the city; for Maphuze Cawn might have been stopped any where else, as well as at Madura: their opinions being known, and their fidelity unshaken,

unshaken, the Jemautdars of the cavalry seized the commanders of the three companies, and having confined them, disarmed the common men, and turned them out of the town; but the next day released the officers, on recollection that no advantage could be derived from their detention, and that they might, by continuing in the city, learn what it was not wished they should know. As soon as they were gone, the brother of Myana came into the city from the woods of Nattam with 2000 Colleries, a considerable stock of provisions, and some money; in return for which service, the Jemautdars gave him the town of Tirambore and the pagoda of Coilguddy, in which they had some troops. The suddenness and facility with which these operations passed, sufficiently shewed that measures had been previously concerted for the success of the rebellion. The possession of Madura, the principal object of the conspiracy, being secured, it was not thought necessary to dissemble any longer. Invitations were sent to every Polygar in the country to join. A man mounted on an elephant was received in ceremony at Madura, bringing a patent as from the Nabob, appointing Maphuze Cawn to the government: and parties sent into the neighbouring districts, pulled and tore down with derision the Company's flags, which had been planted by the orders of Moodilee, according to the custom of the country, on the lands appropriated to cultivation. 1756

The Sepoys which had been turned out of Madura, sent messengers with an account of what had happened to Mahomed Issoof, who had not entertained a surmise, when he received intelligence, of the revolt. He instantly dispatched orders to the detachment marching to Madura, to halt, which they had already done; and to seize Meir Jaffier and his effects. He appointed Jemaul Saheb to remain with 1000 Sepoys at Tinivelly, and proceeding himself with the rest, about 700, joined on the road the detachment he had sent forward, which the Sepoys coming from Madura had joined before. On the 10th of August he encamped at Secunder-maly, a strong post three miles to the south of Madura: his whole force consisted of 1500 Sepoys and six field-pieces; but, not having a piece of battering cannon since he had deprived himself of the 18 pounder, he wisely judged

1756 judged that it would be destruction to no purpose to have attempted an escalade against such superior numbers as were in the city; for even the Colleries fight well behind walls. The day after his arrival some cavalry advanced near his post, but were driven back by a few discharges from the field-pieces, with the loss of two men. Skirmishes of this kind passed every day after, and on some without any loss on either side. On the 13th of September the renter Moodilee arrived in the camp with two companies of Sepoys, which had escorted him from Tritchinopoly through the countries of the two Moravars, and the next day he continued his journey towards Tinivelly.

The Pulitaver, Catabominaigue, and the other Polygars of Tinivelly, took time to consider how they should act in consequence of the revolution at Madura, and the Jemautdars there, not finding them so ready to join as they had expected, began to think of preserving some openings to a reconciliation with the presidency. Accordingly they wrote letters apologizing for the revolt, and ascribed it intirely to their necessities for want of pay: and lowered their demands to 400,000 rupees. All the force which could be spared from the immediate service of the Carnatic being at this time required for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, the presidency empowered Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly either to treat with the Jemautdars, or to employ such other means as he should judge expedient to recover Madura. On this authority Captain Calliaud sent his interpreter from Tritchinopoly to Maphuze Cawn, who, in the very first conference, unable to keep his temper, avowed that he thought himself very ill used by the appointment of another renter, and that he would never give up Madura until the Tinivelly countries were granted to him upon the same terms as they had been let to Moodilee. The interpreter seeing no likelihood of accommodation with him, tried with the Jemautdars, offering to pay 50,000 rupees immediately, although he had brought no money, and 150,000 more after they should have evacuated the city. The Jemautdars agreed to these terms, and went to Mahomed Issoof's camp in order to obtain his confirmation, who not thinking himself sufficiently authorized,

authorised, advised them to wait, without departing from the agreement, until it could be ratified by Captain Calliaud; to which they consented. Captain Calliaud approved of the terms, but added as an indispensible condition that Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah should be delivered up with the city. To this likewise the Jemautdars seemed to have no objection; on which orders were dispatched to Moodilee to send money and bills for the amount of the agreement without delay from Tinivelly. These various negotiations and correspondences employed 30 days, during which several events happened which contributed to change the state of affairs. 1756

The family of Moodilee by their occupation of renting the countries, had formed connections with most of the Polygars dependant on Tinivelly, more especially with the Pulitaver and Catabominaigue; and on his invitations the Pulitaver and several others met him on the road. Catabominaigue and others sent their agents; all came, as usual, with considerable retinues, and in the midst of this multitude Moodilee entered the town of Tinivelly on the 27th of September, and proclaimed his commission. But the Colleries of the Polygars, whom no consideration can restrain from thieving, committed night robberies in the town and adjacent villages. Several of them were taken and punished by the Company's Sepoys; on which others stole the effects of the Sepoys themselves, who, irritated as much by the insult as the loss, transferred their resentment on Moodilee, because he suffered the Polygars to remain in the town, and continued to treat them with civility. At the same time the troops of Travancore renewed their incursions into the districts about Calacad; and Nabey Cawn Catteck, who had concealed himself ever since the defeat in which Moodemiah was killed, now appeared again, made overtures of reconciliation to Maphuze Cawn, which were accepted; and having enlisted 400 of the horse, which Maphuze Cawn had disbanded, kept traversing the country between Madura and Tinivelly. These disturbances, and the dissention between the renter Moodilee and the Company's Sepoys, had already deterred the bankers from furnishing him with the sums necessary for the commencement of his own business, and the time that he was called upon to supply the

1756 the money for the payment of the Jemautdars at Madura. All he could dispatch immediately was 20,000 rupees, which stopped on the road from an apprehension of being intercepted by Nabey Cawn Catteck; and it was some days before he could obtain authentic bills of exchange for the amount required.

Mean while the Jemautdars having the power in themselves, had taken no pains to conceal their negotiation from Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, who having no other means to overset it, employed intrigue. There was, among the Jemautdars, one named Seer Cawn, a man of art and spirit, attached to Berkatoolah; he had hitherto gone with the rest, with the view alone of leading them back, whensoever the opportunity should offer. No money coming on several days in which it was expected, Seer Cawn suggested to his comrades, that the interpreter had amused them with the negotiation in order to cover some other design, perhaps the surprise of the city, by Mahomed Issoof's troops at Secunder Maly; and advised them to think of a reconciliation with their friends rather than trust any further to those whose views they did not know. Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah improved the effects of these suggestions by lavish promises, which prevailed, and immediately after the reconciliation 500 horse marched to join those with Nabey Cawn Catteck.

Notwithstanding this change, the interpreter still remained in the city with hopes of renewing the negotiation, on which Captain Calliaud resolved to go to Nattam himself, to be nearer at hand to give the necessary instructions; and, warned by the late disappointment, he took with him from Tritchinopoly an agent belonging to the house of Buckanjee, the principal *shroff* or banker in the Decan, whose word was every where esteemed as ready money. Arriving at Nattam on the 25th of October, he was met there by the interpreter, and an officer lately sent by the Nabob from Arcot to treat with the Jemautdars. The officer represented that neither Maphuze Cawn nor Berkatoolah were in reality averse to an accommodation, but insisted that the presidency should give their guarantee for the terms, since neither of them would trust the Nabob: that Berkatoolah, who was rich, required only protection for his person, family, and

and effects; but Maphuze Cawn, a provision adequate to his rank. 1756
On this information Calliaud ordered the interpreter to renew the proposal of paying the Jemautdars, and pledged his own word to Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah; but insisted that Maphuze Cawn should immediately accompany him to Tritchinopoly. Both seemed satisfied, and Maphuze Cawn made preparations as if he intended to proceed to Nattam the next day; but this day brought on the change of the monsoon, with such severe and tempestuous weather, that nothing could stir abroad. The fort of Nattam had no shelter against the sky, and the rains holding without intermission, Captain Calliaud apprehensive that the roads might become impassable, and keep him longer than he ought in prudence to remain out of his garrison, left Nattam the next day, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th, where a day or two after came the interpreter, the Nabob's officer, and a Jemautdar sent by Maphuze Cawn, to explain his own demands. He requested to be placed in the government of districts, any where in the Carnatic, from which he might appropriate 200,000 rupees a year for his own maintenance; and alleging that he had been obliged to sell every thing he had, to satisfy in part the demands of his troops, he asked, but without insisting, for 20,000 rupees to furnish himself again with necessaries. Captain Calliaud dismissed the Jemautdar with assurances, that these terms should be complied with, and set out himself for Madrass, in order to obtain the confirmation of the presidency, and to explain to them the general state of affairs in the southern countries.

At this time the expedition to Bengal had carried away one half of the English force in the Carnatic, and intelligence of the declaration of war with France increased the necessity of every caution: in consequence of which Captain Calliaud on the second day of his journey met letters from the presidency, with positive orders not to quit his garrison without their express permission; on which he immediately returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mean while, the dissention between the Company's Sepoys and their renter at Tinivelly had encreased, and had produced evil consequences. Moodilee by his contract was only obliged to furnish the

 pay

1756 pay of the Sepoys employed by himself; but Mahomed Issoof, by a wrong interpretation, imagined that Moodilee was obliged to maintain the whole number wheresoever employed; and moreover to discharge the arrears of their pay, of which two months were due on his arrival in the country. In consequence of this mistake, Jemaul-sahab, who commanded the Sepoys in Tinivelly, demanded the amount, and on Moodilee's refusing to pay it, confined him under a guard for several days; during which he ordered the Pulitaver and the other Polygars to quit the town, with threats of severe punishment if they remained any longer. They departed immediately; but instead of returning to their homes, the Pulitaver went to Nabey Cawn Catteck and offered him his assistance, both in men and money; and by their united representations, Catabominaigue was induced to join their league. At the same time the troops of Travancore kept their ground, and continued their depredations in the districts dependant on Calacad. The hopes of the advantages which might be derived from these confusions, were much more agreeable to the disposition of Berkatoolah, than the success of his negotiation with the English, by which he was to obtain nothing more than the pardon of his offences; and in the middle of November, as soon as the ground was sufficiently dry, to march, he went from the city, and put himself at the head of the 500 horse, which had gone out before, and were now joined to those of Nabey Cawn Catteck, and the troops of the Polygars. The whole force amounted to 10000 men, of which 1000 were horse. They were assembled about 40 miles to the south of Madura, and instead of proceeding directly to the south, in the open country, struck to the east into the districts of Catabominaigue, a part of whose woods extend within a few miles of the town of Tinivelly. Issuing from thence at night before their approach was known, they entered the town at day-break by several avenues, which were weakly guarded: for Moodilee a few days before had marched with the greatest part of the Sepoys and his other force, about twenty miles to the south-east, in order to protect the districts of Alwar Tinivelly, against which he had been led to believe the enemy designed to bend their attack. The enemy remained

mained two days in Tinivelly, plundered much, but committed no cruelties; and during this delay, Moodilee regained the fort of Palamcolah, which stands on the other side of the river about three miles from the town. The fort is spacious, but the ramparts were in ruins, nevertheless capable of resisting an enemy, which had no battering cannon. Matchlocks and musketry were fired without any mischief for two days, during which the cavalry ravaged the country round. Mahomed Issoof, who still continued at Secundermaly, before, Madura, received no certain intelligence of the enemy's design until four days after they were in motion; he immediately struck his camp and proceeded towards Tinivelly, and they hearing of his approach collected all their parties and advanced to give him battle. The two armies met on the 1st of December at Gangadoram, about twenty miles north of Tinivelly. The inferiority of numbers was much more than compensated by superior skill; the Company's Sepoys faced the enemy on every side with advantage of situation and discipline, and the field-pieces were fired with much execution against the cavalry, whose fortunes depending on the preservation of their horses, they quitted the contest and the field. The next day Mahomed Issoof proceeded to Tinivelly, and from thence marched into the desolated districts, in order to give heart to the inhabitants, and recall them to their occupations. The Polygars returned to their woods, and Berkatoolah with his cavalry to Madura; but Nabey Cawn Catteck went to Chevelpetore, and not having means to attack the fort, in which were some Sepoys, attempted to escalade the pagoda in the town; on which one of the Bramins went to the top of the high tower over the gateway, and after a short but loud prayer of execration, threw himself headlong to the pavement, which dashed out his brains; the enemy, although Mahomedans, were so much afraid of incurring the general detestation of the country, if their attempts against the pagoda should incite any more acts of such enthusiastic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town. 1756

Whilst Captain Calliaud was in expectation of a conclusive answer from Maphuze Cawn's agent, he received intelligence of the new confederacy, and their operations, and of Berkatoolah's departure

from

1756. from Madura to partake in their hostilities: nevertheless, some hopes of reconciliation still remained; for some of the Jemautdars, although the lesser number, were averse to the turbulent proceedings of the others, and wished an accommodation on the terms which had once been so nearly concluded: he therefore determined to make another trial, and sent Mr. William Rumbold, a lieutenant of his garrison, who talked the languages of the country, together with the interpreter, to renew the negotiation. They were escorted by a company of Sepoys, and arrived at Madura on the third of December, and on the next day came into the town Berkatoolah, with his cavalry, which had been beaten by Mahomed Issoof.

Maphuze Cawn received Mr. Rumbold with much civility, and in a private conference acknowledged his errors, apologized for his conduct, and promised to accompany him to Tritchinopoly; but neither of them suspected that a person had been placed behind a curtain to listen to their conversation. About an hour after the visit, the Jemautdar Seer Cawn, with a body of horse, beset Maphuze Cawn's house, and made him a prisoner; and after a message which was not complied with, sent 30 horsemen to force Mr. Rumbold out of the city; who, having no means of resistance, obeyed, and rejoined his escort, which he had left at a choultry on the other side of the river. As soon as he was gone, Seer Cawn assembled all the Jemautdars, whom he persuaded that Maphuze Cawn intended to sell them and the city. When they were sufficiently inflamed, Berkatoolah came in, and war was determined: but, whilst they were deliberating on the manner of conducting it, came a letter, from Mr. Rumbold, threatening the utmost vengeance of the English nation for the indignity which had been offered to its representative in his person; and the immediate return of Mahomed Issoof with all the Company's Sepoys was held out as an earnest of this resolution. The Jemautdars, startled at the expressions of indignation in Mr. Rumbold's letter, agreed to invite him to return. He refused, without public reparation; of which they permitted him to dictate the mode; conformable to which, Maphuze Cawn, with all the Jemautdars came the next morning to the choultry, made many apologies, and

conducted him back to the city: where, on entering the gate, he 1756
was saluted by the discharge of all the cannon on the ramparts, which were only 13 pieces. The negotiation was renewed on the same terms as before; and it was agreed to wait until the guarantee of the presidency for the terms required by Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, should arrive from Madrass. But three days after this preliminary was settled, Nabey Cawn Catteck, with his horse, came from Chevelpetore, and immediately on his arrival offered to furnish 40,000 rupees for the present subsistence of the cavalry of the Jemautdars, if they would relinquish all treaty with the English, and send Mr. Rumbold away. On the bustle occasioned by this proposal, Mr. Rumbold went to Maphuze Cawn, who wept, and in his anguish broke his seal, that he might not be obliged to affix it any more to acts he did not approve. From Maphuze Cawn's he went to Berkatoolah's, where he assembled and harangued the Jemautdars, who, after various discussions, consented that the articles to which they had before acceded, should be immediately drawn up in both languages and executed by all parties: it was now night, and to do this required some hours; for every Jemautdar was to sign. This while was employed with much assiduity by Nabey Cawn Catteck, who now offered to supply 3500 rupees a day, which, being fully sufficient for the maintenance of the whole body of cavalry, prevailed; and Mr. Rumbold was advised to take care of himself, as all the roads would soon be stopped. He accordingly went out of the city the next morning, as if he had something to regulate concerning his escort of Sepoys; with whom he set off at midnight, and reached the fort of Nattam without interruption, when, being out of danger, he proceeded more leisurely to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of December. Thus ended the third unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Madura by negotiation, in all of which the contumelious conduct of the Jemautdars was not the effect of sudden exigencies, but the result of a plan formed by Berkatoolah to lead them to such extremities of affront, as should preclude all hopes of reconciliation with the English. That such was their situation he easily convinced them,

as

1756 as soon as Mr. Rumbold was gone, and then declared he intended not only to maintain the city, but likewise to recover the whole country for Maphuze Cawn. These resolutions were not unanimously approved, but the dissenters were by far the smaller number; and letters of invitation were immediately dispatched to all the Polygars, to Hyder Naig the Mysore general, and to the King of Travancore. A few days after, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck went with 500 horse to the Pulitaver's place. The commander Mahomed Issoof, on receiving the summons of Mr. Rumbold, had returned from the districts he was visiting to Tinivelly; where leaving as before 1000 Sepoys, he proceeded with the rest, about 1800, towards Madura. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, resolved to accompany the greater force, and, besides his usual retinue, was attended by 100 good horse, which he had lately levied. They arrived on the 16th of December at Gangadorum, where Mahomed Issoof hearing of Mr. Rumbold's departure from Madura, halted to observe the motions of the enemy, and remained there until he received information that Nabey Cawn Catteck and Berkatoolah had passed to the Pulitaver's, on which he proceeded to Chevelpetore, and encamped there, in order to awe the Polygars in this part of the country from joining the enemy.

During the march Moodilee sent one of his relations, named Algapa, to negotiate a reconciliation with the Pulitaver, and offer some districts as the fee of his alliance. The Pulitaver, who never refused or kept his word on any occasion, sent an agent with Algapa to the camp at Chevelpetore, and at the same time sent his troops to join Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck. The agent, under the usual pretext of doing honour to his embassy, was accompanied by two or three hundred Colleries. Mahomed Issoof entirely disapproved of the intercourse, as he knew the Pulitaver's character, and that some of his people were at this very time plundering to the westward of Tinivelly. Unfortunately, during this mood of indignation, five of the agent's Colleries were taken, stealing horses and oxen belonging to the camp, and being brought to Mahomed Issoof, he immediately put them to death, by blowing them off from the mouth of a cannon: a sanguinary execution,

cution, not unfrequent in Indostan, and in this case atrocious. The agent, with all his retinue of Colleries, immediately ran away from the camp; and their injury determined the Pulitaver, perhaps for the first time in his life, to act with some good faith toward those with whom he was connected. But knowing the irresolution of Maphuze Cawn, he, with his usual cunning, was afraid of trusting him in Madura exposed to the overtures and negotiations of the English, and insisted that he should come from thence to Nelletangaville, and remain at all times under his own ward. In consequence, Berkatoolah, who was with the Pulitaver, sent for Maphuze Cawn, who, in the end of December, went from the city with 500 horse. Thus closed the year in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly.

1756

Between Tanjore and Tondiman the quarrel had continued, notwithstanding the retreat of the Tanjorine army in the preceding year: but the letters of the presidency of Madrass, and the subtle delays of Monacjee, again prevented the renewal of hostilities until the end of June, when the forces of Tanjore were required to revenge another quarrel. The Danish settlement at Tranquebar had requested an enlargement of their bounds, which the king refused, and the Danes soon after, on the pretence of some outrages from his officers, attacked two pagodas in the neighbourhood. One they took, and whilst they were employed before the other, were attacked themselves at a disadvantage by a large detachment of horse and foot from Tanjore, who killed 40 of them, and wounded 100; on which the rest retreated to Tranquebar: a negotiation ensued, which, by the interposition of the presidency of Madrass, was concluded in the middle of August. In September began the great and long feast of the king and his gods, which consumed the month. In October, the approach of the rains gave Monacjee a pretence to keep the army in quarters; and after they set in, it was impossible to move until they were over. The king then insisted, and Monacjee proceeded against Killanelly Cottah, of which Tondiman had taken possession in consequence of the surreptitious cession made to him the year before by Monacjee, who had clandestinely affixed the king's seal to the grant. It stands 40 miles S. by W. of Tanjore, and was stronger than any place which

Tondiman

1756 Tondiman had taken before: and the Tanjorines had made very little progress in the attack at the end of the year.

The French had not, during the year, meddled, excepting by private instigations, in the quarrels of the southern countries. The Rheddy whom they had restored at Terriore, failed, as before, in his tributes; on which they sent a party of 50 Europeans from Seringham, which were joined by another from Pondicherry, who removed him, and reinstated the other, who likewise had before been once appointed and once deposed. This expedition was finished in the beginning of February, but the party from Seringham remained at Terriore to watch the tributes in future. In July 100 Europeans were taken from Seringham, to complete the detachment sent with Mr. Law to the relief of Mr. Bussy at Charmaul. By these subtractions, which were not replaced, the garrison at Seringham, which before was superior, remained at the close of the year only equal in Europeans to that of Tritchinopoly, each having about 330; but 200 more were sent thither from Pondicherry on the 9th of December; and 500 Sepoys were raising at Terriore, in order to equal the number in Tritchinopoly, which were 1500. Thus ended the year 1756 in Coromandel.

END *of the* SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

WE shall now relate the progress and operations of the armament sent for the recovery of the settlements in Bengal. 1756

The fleet sailing on the 10th of October, met the currents setting so strongly from the north, that they were driven in the first twelve days after their departure, six degress of latitude to the south of Madrass; and by this time the northern monsoon, during which the wind blows from the N. W. had gathered strength. In this season the only way to get Bengal, is to steer across the bay to the shore of Tannasery and Arracan, along which the currents slacken, and sometimes even tend to the northward; and milder weather than in the middle of the bay enables the vessel to gain the latitude of the sands at the eastern mouths of the Ganges; from whence tides help across to the road of Ballasore, and from hence assure the entrance into the river Hughley. Attempting this passage with much adverse weather, Admiral Watson, on the 10th of November, ordered the allowances of provisions and water to be retrenched. Two days after, the fire-ship, unable to stem the violence of the monsoon, bore away to Ceylon; and the Marlborough, one of the company's, sailing very heavily, was left on the 16th by the rest of the fleet, which arrived in the soundings off Point Palmeiras on the first of December. But the Cumberland and Salisbury not having kept the wind so well as the others, struck on the dangerous sand which extends several miles from that point out to sea: both, however, floated again; but the Cumberland bore away to Vizagapatam.

1756. The Kent and Tiger gained the road of Ballasore, where they waited for the spring tides until the 9th, when they proceeded under the conduct of English pilots into the river, and arrived on the 15th at Fulta. Here they were joined, on the 20th, by all the other vessels, excepting the Cumberland and the Marlborough, the absence of which greatly impaired the force of the armament : for the Cumberland was not only the largest ship in the squadron, but had likewise on board 250 of the European troops ; and the greatest part of the field artillery had been imprudently shipped on board of the Marlborough.

The detachment with Major Kilpatrick had arrived at Fulta on the second of August, but were not deemed a force sufficient to risque hostilities ; and the vessels before assembled there being too much crowded to receive them on board, they were obliged to encamp in the swampy grounds near the town, where sickness prevailed amongst them so much, that of the whole detachment, which was 230 when sent, one half were dead, and of the remainder not more than thirty men were able to do duty when Admiral Watson arrived.

The rainy season, which began whilst the Nabob was before Calcutta, prevented him after his return to Muxadavad from reassuming his former intention of attacking his relation the Phousdar of Purneah until the month of October. He then marched to that country : when the two armies encamped in sight of each other, the Phousdar, a headstrong youth, saw the general Meer Jaffier with a party reconnoitring, and mistaking his ensigns for the Nabob's hastened with the foremost of his cavalry to attack him, and was killed in the onset. The country of Purneah submitted immediately after his death, and the Nabob returned in triumph to his capital : where, ruminating on the excess and apparent security of his fortunes he continued to imagine, that the English would never venture hostilities in his dominions ; to which presumption his ignorance did not a little contribute ; for he was often heard to say, that he did not believe there were ten thousand men in all Europe. His ministers, however, had convinced him, that his revenues would be much

much diminished by the loss of the English trade: which had determined him to permit their return; but under the same restrictions as they were subject to in the reign of Jaffier, before their embassy to Delhi. On hearing of the arrival of the armament, he ordered his whole army to assemble at Muxadavad, and prepared to march to Calcutta. The governor of this place, Monickchund, having foreseen the war, had been diligent in improving his garrison, had fortified Buz-buzia, and had begun to erect a fort, which he called Aligur, on the bank of the river opposite to Tannah; but only part of the rampart commanding the river was finished. The Phousdar of Hughley purchased two ships, which he loaded with bricks, intending to sink them in the narrow pass of the river between Tannah and Aligur. 1756

Before the arrival of the armament, letters from the court of directors in England, had appointed Mr. Drake, with three other members of the council, to act as a select committee, in the conduct of all political and military affairs. They had already associated Major Kilpatrick, and as soon as the fleet arrived at Fulta, they added Mr. Watson and Colonel Clive to their board. The letters which Clive had brought from Madrass, accompanied by one from himself and another from Mr. Watson, full of threats, were sent open to Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, in order to be forwarded to the Nabob. Monickchund replied that he dared not send letters written in such menacing terms: and on receiving this answer, it was determined to commence hostilities. The absence of the troops on board the Cumberland was in some measure supplied by the recovering men of Kilpatrick's detachment, and by a company of seventy volunteers, who embodied themselves at Fulta.

All the ships and vessels, as well those which were just arrived, as those which before were assembled at Fulta, left this place on the 27th of December, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia. This fort Mr. Watson determined to attack the next day; and, as it was supposed that the garrison would defend it but a very little while, it was resolved to lay an ambuscade, in order to intercept their retreat towards

1756 Calcutta. All the men of Adlercron's regiment who were arrived, being 120, remained on board the ships of war. The rest of the battalion, 500, with all the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, landed, and at sun-set marched from Mayapore, under the command of Colonel Clive, and under the conduct of Indian guides. The field-pieces, with a tumbril of ammunition, were drawn by the troops: for the council at Fulta, through dread of the Nabob's resentment, had not ventured to provide any bullocks either of draught or burthen. The guides, in order to prevent discovery, led the troops at a distance from the river, through a part of the country, which was uninhabited indeed, but full of swamps, and continually intersected by deep rivulets, which rendered the draught and transportation of the three carriages so tedious and laborious, that the troops did not arrive until an hour after sun-rise at the place of ambuscade. This was a large hollow, which in the rains might be a lake, sinking about ten feet below the level of the plain: it lay about a mile from the river, a mile and a half north-east of Buz-buzia, and half a mile to the east of a high road leading from this place to Calcutta. The eastern, and part of the southern bank of the hollow, were skirted by the huts and enclosures of a village, which seemed to have been abandoned some days before. The grenadiers and 300 Sepoys were detached from the hollow, to take possession of another village on the bank of the river adjoining to the northern wall of the fort of Buzbuzia; where, it was supposed, that their appearance would induce the garrison to mistake them for the whole of the English troops on shore; and that in consequence of this notion they would retreat along the high road, instead of the bank of the river. The company of volunteers were detached, and posted themselves in some thickets near the high road, but on the farther side from the hollow, towards which it was intended that their fire should drive the fugitive garrison. The rest of the troops remained with Colonel Clive, and concealed themselves, some in the hollow, and others in the adjoining village, and the two field-pieces were placed on the north side of the village. The troops being excessively fatigued, were permitted

mitted to quit their arms, in order to get rest; every man laid himself down where he thought best, some in the village, others in the hollow; and from a security which no superiority or appearances in war could justify, the common precaution of stationing centinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all asleep. It happened that Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, had come the day before to Buz-buzia, with 1500 horse and 2000 foot. This officer had no courage, but much circumspection; and some of his spies had followed the English from Mayapore, and had observed all their motions in the morning. 1756

About an hour after the troops had lain down to sleep, they were awakened by the fire of small arms on the eastern side of the village into which, at the same time, a multitude of matchlock men were discovered advancing with resolution. All the soldiers, wheresoever scattered, hurried on the alarm into the hollow, in which their arms were grounded, about 60 yards from the enclosures on the eastern bank; here they formed the line as fast as they could; but, unfortunately, the artillery-men, instead of repairing to the two field-pieces, which would have protected the whole, ran to seek protection themselves from the line. During this confusion, the enemy, meeting no resistance, advanced and took possession of the eastern bank; from whence, under the shelter of various covers, they kept up a continual, though irregular fire, wounding several, and killing an ensign. Colonel Clive, apprehensive of a panic, should he order the troops to march out of the reach of the enemy's fire, commanded the line to stand firm, and detached two platoons, one from the right, the other from the center, opposite to which the enemy's fire was strongest. Of the platoon from the center eight men were killed by one volley before they gained the bank; the rest nevertheless returned the fire, and then forced their way with their bayonets into the village; where they were joined by the other platoon, which had succeeded with the loss of only three men. This intrepidity quelled the enemy's courage, who no longer appeared in bodies but shifted in small parties from shelter to shelter, firing rarely, and with little effect; however, some officers on horseback exposed themselves

1756 selves with much resolution, endeavouring to rally their men, but in vain. In the mean time, the company of volunteers, as soon as they heard the firing, marched back from the high road, and rescued the field-pieces, of which some of the enemy had taken possession, but did not know how to use them. Upon this, the artillery-men returned from the line to the field-pieces, and immediately began to fire them into the village, which soon drove all the enemy out of it, who fled as fast as they could to join a large body of horse, which was now discovered advancing from the south towards the hollow: but, on perceiving the fugitives coming from the village, this cavalry halted at the distance of half a mile. On this the English troops, with the field-pieces, formed regularly on the plain, and advanced towards the enemy, who were commanded by Monickchund. They stood several shot from the field-pieces, until one chanced to pass very near the turban of Monickchund, who immediately gave the signal of retreat by turning his elephant, and the whole body marched away to the north-east and returned to Calcutta. Had the cavalry advanced and charged the troops in the hollow, at the same time that the infantry began to fire upon the village, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities.

As soon as the enemy retreated, the troops marched to the village on the bank of the river, from whence the detachment posted there was advancing to join them. By this time the Kent, having outsailed the other ships, anchored before Buz-buzia, and alone silenced the cannon of that fort; but the troops having already undergone so much fatigue, it was determined to defer the assault until the next morning. They passed the rest of the day in the village, without giving or receiving any molestation, and in the evening were joined by 250 sailors from the squadron. One of these having got drunk, straggled, at eight in the evening, to the ditch of the fort, which he crossed, and scrambled up the rampart; where, finding no centinels, he hallooed to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the fort; on which they quitted their post, and joined him on the rampart, when they found the place evacuated

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the enemy having abandoned it as soon as it grew dark enough to 1756
conceal their retreat. Several guards of Sepoys proceeded immediately to post centinels round the walls; and whilst this was doing, some other sailors, who were likewise very drunk and had got into the fort, supposed some of the Sepoys to be some of the enemy's men who had not escaped; and in this notion fired their pistols, and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the company's troops.

The operations of the morning at the hollow, irregular and imperfect as they were, changed the contemptible opinion which Monickchund and his soldiery had conceived of English troops, from their own success at the taking of Calcutta; and on his return from Buz-buzia to that place, he remained there only a few hours, and leaving 500 men to defend the fort, went away with the rest of his command to Hughley, where having likewise communicated his own terrors, he proceeded to carry them to the Nabob at Muxadavad. On the other hand, the resolution and activity with which the enemy's matchlock men began their assault on the village, impressed most of the English officers, and many of the common men, with a much higher opinion of the troops of Bengal than they deserved.

The sloop of war had been sent forward some days before, and anchored in sight of the forts of Tannah and Aligur, where her appearance had deterred the governor of Hughley from sending the ships laden with bricks, which he had intended to sink in the pass. The fleet left Buz-buzia on the 30th of December, and anchored 1757
on the 1st of January between those forts, which the enemy aban- January.
doned without firing a shot, leaving on the platforms 50 pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Calcutta, many of which however were not mounted. The next morning, Colonel Clive, with the greatest part of the Europeans and Sepoys, landed and marched along the high road from Aligur to Calcutta; and at nine o'clock the Kent and Tiger anchored before the English fort: but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides; during which disadvantage the enemy cannonaded them briskly from the line of guns on the brink of the river, killing nine men in the

Kent,

1757 January. Kent, and seven in the Tiger; but their fire slackened as that from the ships increased; and before eleven they deserted the fort, and soon after the town; when a detachment sent from the ships, under the command of Captain Coote, hoisted the English colours in the fort; for the troops with Colonel Clive were not yet arrived. The next day Admiral Watson put Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council, in possession of the government.

The greatest part of the merchandizes belonging to the company, which were in the fort when taken, were found remaining without detriment; for this part of the plunder had been reserved for the Nabob; but every thing of value belonging to the inhabitants had been removed out of the settlement: some of the best houses had been demolished, and others damaged by fire: in the middle of the fort a mosque was erected with the materials of several buildings which had been pulled down to make room for it; but no alterations had been made in the fortification. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monickchund; they were indeed mostly of the lower ranks of people; for his rapacity had deterred such as were known to have property from trusting themselves within his reach.

Whatsoever joy the English inhabitants might feel at their restoration to the town, it was soon allayed by the contemplation of the ruined state of their habitations, and of the poverty to which they were reduced, having no means to procure themselves subsistence, but their usual allowances from the company.

Mr. Drake, notwithstanding his adversities, had retained some correspondents, and the company's money some spies, from whom he received intelligence as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, that the town of Hughley was in great consternation, and that it would be some time before the Nabob's army would march from Muxadavad; upon which the committee resolved to attack Hughley without delay. The twenty-gun ship, the sloop of war, and three other vessels, were appointed to this service; and on board of them embarked 150 Europeans, being those of Adlercron's regiment, with 200 Sepoys; they sailed on the 4th of January, and hoped to reach Hughley in one

4 tide;

tide; but the twenty-gun ship struck upon a sand-bank, which stopped their progress for five days. On the 10th they arrived at Hughley. 1757 January.

This town lieth about 23 miles above Calcutta, adjoining to the north part of the Dutch settlement of Chinchura, from whence it extends three miles on the bank of the river: at the northern extremity of the town is a fort, which was at this time garrisoned by 2000 men: 3000 more had been sent from Muxadavad to guard the town, but these retreated as soon as the English troops landed; remaining however within a few miles. The vessels battered the fort until night; and although the breach was scarcely practicable, it was determined to storm it before break of day. A false attack was made at the main gate, whilst Captain Coote with the other division, accompanied by some sailors, mounted the breach before they were discovered by the garrison, who no sooner saw the English on the ramparts, than all of them quitted their posts, and fled out of the lesser gate. Three Europeans and ten Sepoys were killed in the attack. On the 12th Captain Coote, with 50 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, marched to the Bandell, a large village three miles north of the fort, where they destroyed several granaries of rice, and in their return were surrounded in the village by the fugitive garrison, and the troops which had been sent from Muxadavad, from whom they disengaged themselves without losing a man. On the 16th a party proceeded in boats some miles to the northward, and destroyed several more granaries on each side of the river, and on the 19th the Europeans, with the smaller vessels, returned to Calcutta.

During this expedition to Hughley, news arrived from Aleppo, that war had been declared between Great Britain and France in the preceding month of May. There were 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery at Chandernagore: and the select committee of Calcutta expected that they would immediately join the Nabob, with whom, it was thought, that the English force, great as it was, would then be unable to cope, and in this persuasion they determined to treat with him. Accordingly Colonel Clive wrote a letter to the *Seats* at Muxadavad, requesting them to act as mediators; but news

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1757. January. of the attack upon Hughley arriving at the same time, exasperated the Nabob and all his officers so much, that he immediately began his march, and the *Seats* were afraid to appear as friends to the English; they however deputed their ablest agent Rungeet Roy to attend the Nabob, and ordered him to correspond with Colonel Clive. The merchant Omichund likewise accompanied the Nabob's army. This man, anxious to recover his shattered fortunes, had followed him from Calcutta to Muxadavad, where ingratiating himself with Moonloll, who although no public minister, had more influence than all of them together, he soon acquired a degree of confidence and intimacy with the Nabob himself; who nevertheless restored with a very sparing hand his effects which had been seized in the general plunder and confiscation of the English property. Omichund being likewise proprietor of most of the best houses, and having many other interests in Calcutta, was solicitous to regain his former influence amongst the English, by promoting the pacification.

In the mean time the English had not been negligent in making prepartions to oppose the Nabob's approach to Calcutta, for they had fortified a camp with several outposts around it about a mile to the northward of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river. The situation was well chosen; for a large lake, which commenceth about two miles to the eastward of the Morattoe ditch, and adjoins to marshes which extend to the sea, rendered it impossible for an enemy coming from the northward to enter the company's territory without passing in sight of the camp; and at the end of the month the field artillery of the army was completed by the arrival of the Marlborough, which had the greatest part on board. On the 30th, the Nabob's army began to cross the river, about 10 miles above Hughley. Their approach immediately deterred the villagers from bringing any more provisions either to the town or camp, and all the natives who had been hired for the services of the army, deserted. The want of bullocks still continued, and there was but one horse either in the camp or town, and this had been brought from Madrass. However, the apprehensions of the French joining the Nabob, were in a great measure removed; for they, instead of this resolution,

which

which it was certainly their interest to have taken without delay, refused him their assistance, and proposed to the English, that the two nations should engage by treaty not to commit hostilities against each other in Bengal during the continuance of the war in Europe. Nevertheless, Colonel Clive despaired of victory over the Nabob, although unassisted by the French force; and yielding to the advice of Rungeet Roy, wrote a letter to the Nabob on the 30th of January proposing peace. The Nabob answered with expressions of cordiality; but continued his march. As he approached, an Armenian, named Petrus, brought and carried several messages; and on the 2d of February, the Nabob desired to confer with deputies, and promised to send passports for them in the evening; but no passports came; and the next morning at day-break, the villages to the north-east were seen in flames, and soon after the van of his army appeared advancing in full march towards Calcutta. Their way was along a high road, which runs for a mile north and south, until it reaches the head of the lake, where was a bridge of masonry, from whence the road turns and continues in the direction of east and west, almost in a strait line for two miles until it joins the N. E. part of the Morattoe ditch: so that if the bridge had been retrenched, and a detachment with two field-pieces posted there, the enemy must have passed between this post and the camp: but Colonel Clive, perhaps not imprudently, unwilling to divide his force, and equally so to break off the negotiation with the Nabob, suffered the troops in sight to pass unmolested; who spread themselves without the Morattoe ditch, and a body of their *Louchees*, or plunderers, who are armed with clubs, passed into the company's territory about noon, and attacked the houses of the natives in the northern part of the town; but a detachment which had been posted at Perring's redoubt, sallied, and, killing some of them, returned with 50 prisoners; which deterred the enemy from making any more incursions during the rest of the day. In the plain, troops after troops, in different intervals, followed the first that appeared; and in the afternoon a large body, with cannon and coolies, began to intrench themselves in a large garden on the right hand of the road, midway

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1757 February. between the bridge and the Morattoe ditch, and about a mile and a half to the south-east of the English camp. On this insult, Colonel Clive immediately marched with the greatest part of his troops, and six field-pieces; as they approached, the enemy fired upon them from nine pieces of cannon, and several bodies of their cavalry drew up on each side of the garden, of which the attack appeared so hazardous, that Clive restrained the action to a cannonade, which continued only an hour, that the troops might regain the camp before dark: three Sepoys and two artillery men were killed, and about ten of the enemy's horse.

The next morning, the main body of the enemy's army appeared advancing in the same road as the van had passed, and a letter was received from the Nabob, desiring that the deputies would come to Nabob-gunge, a village six miles to the north of the camp: on which Mr. Walsh and Mr. Scrafton were immediately sent; who when they arrived at Nabob-gunge, found that the Nabob had quitted it some hours before: on which they followed in the track of the army, and in the evening arrived at his quarters, which he had taken up in a garden belonging to Omichund, situated in the north-east part of the company's territory, within the Morattoe ditch. Here they were introduced by Rungeet Roy to the prime minister Roydoolub, who suspecting that they intended to assassinate the Nabob, desired to examine whether they had pistols concealed, and then insisted that they should quit their swords: but finding that they would not submit to this humiliation, he conducted them to the Durbar, where the Nabob was sitting in full state, accompanied by all his principal officers: many others of inferior degree, such as were of the largest stature, and bore the greatest marks of ferocity in their countenances, had likewise been selected to attend on this occasion; who, to appear still more terrible, were dressed in thick stuffed garments, with enormous turbans, and during the audience sat scowling at the deputies, as if they only waited the signal to murder them. The deputies began by expostulating with the Nabob for entering the company's limits, whilst he was amusing Colonel Clive with offers of peace, after which they delivered a paper containing

taining their proposals, which the Nabob read, and having whispered to some of his officers, desired the deputies to confer with the Duan, and dismissed the assembly. As the deputies were going out, Omichund, who had been present at the audience, advised them to take care of themselves; adding, with a very significant look, that the Nabob's cannon was not yet come up. The deputies suspecting that the Nabob intended to detain them prisoners, ordered their attendants to extinguish their lights; and instead of going to the tent of the Duan, hastened along the high road within the Morattoe ditch to Perring's redoubt, and from thence to the camp. 1757 February.

Their report determined Colonel Clive to attack the Nabob's camp in the morning. At midnight 600 sailors armed with firelocks were landed from the ships of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the Sepoys 800, the field-pieces 6 six-pounders. The order of march was a line advancing in half-files, that is three men abreast: half the Sepoys marched before, and half behind the battalion of Europeans; in the rear were the field-pieces with the artillery-men and Lascars, and all the sailors. To lessen the incumbrance of carriages, there being no bullocks to draw them, the Lascars carried the ammunition of the field-pieces on their heads; and to deter them from flinging away their loads and taking flight, they were guarded on all sides by a part of the sailors; other sailors were allotted to draw the field-pieces, and the rest of them marched as they could, immediately behind the rear division of Sepoys; Colonel Clive kept in the middle of the battalion. Of the Nabob's army a part, with the general Meer Jaffier, were within the Morattoe ditch; and most of these encamped near Omichund's garden, as a protection to the Nabob, who lay there; but much the greatest part encamped between this ditch and the lake, overspreading all the ground between, without method or order. A little before the dawn of day, the English line came upon their advanced guards, stationed in the ditches of that part of the high road which leads from the bridge at the head of the lake, to the Morattoe ditch. These guards, after firing their matchlocks, and discharging some rockets, ran away: but one of the rockets striking the cartouch-box of one of the Sepoys,

set

1757 set fire to the charges, which blowing up, communicated the mischief to several others, and the dread of catching this fire threw the whole division into confusion: fortunately none of the enemy were at hand to take advantage of it, and Captain Coote, who marched at the head of the grenadiers, immediately in the rear of the Sepoys, rallied them, and restored the line of march. By this time it was daylight, when a very thick fog, peculiar to the mornings of this season of the year in Bengal, began to overspread the ground. The line proceeded without farther interruption, until they came opposite to Omichund's garden, when they heard the sound of horse coming upon them on the full gallop from the right; on which they halted. This cavalry was a body of Persians excellently mounted, and stationed as an outguard to the Nabob, under that part of the Morattoe ditch, which encloses Omichund's garden: they were suffered to come within thirty yards before the line gave fire, which fell heavy, and killing many of them, the rest instantly dispersed in great confusion. The line then proceeded slowly, platoons constantly firing on either hand; whilst the field-pieces in the rear fired single balls forward, but obliquely outward, on each side of the line; but all without any immediate object; for the fog prevented any man from seeing beyond the ground on which he trod. About a mile to the south of the garden is a narrow causeway, raised several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side; it leads from the east to the Morattoe ditch, and across it into the company's territory. The enemy had barricaded the passage; which it was intended to force, and from thence to proceed, as it were, back again, along the high road adjoining to and on the inside of the rampart, in order to attack the Nabob's quarters at the garden: but as soon as the first division of Sepoys changed their former direction and began to march along the causeway, the field-pieces in the rear, on the right of the line, continuing to fire forward, killed several of them: upon which the whole division sought their safety in the ditch on the other side of the causeway, and the troops who succeeded them crossed it likewise, not knowing what to do. As soon as this was reported to Colonel Clive, he ordered the whole line to continue crossing the

February.

cause-

causeway, but to halt immediately after they had passed it, intending to form them into some disposition, proper to storm the pass; this brought the whole together into one irregular heap, and whilst Colonel Clive was waiting for the return of two or three officers, whom he had sent to examine the barricade, the troops were unexpectedly assailed by a discharge from two pieces of heavy cannon, loaded with langrain, and mounted within 200 yards, upon a small bastion of the Morattoe ditch, to the right of the barricade, which killed and disabled 22 Europeans; another discharge soon followed, with less, but however with some effect. This annoyance instantly overset the resolution of storming the pass; and the line immediately began to extend itself again, as well to present the fewest bodies to the cannonade, as to gain without delay a broad high road, which, about half a mile to the south of the causeway, crosses the Morattoe ditch into the company's territory, and then joins the avenue leading to the fort of Calcutta. But their progress was now continually retarded by the excessive labour and difficulty of transporting the field-pieces; for the ground between the causeway and the road was laid out in small rice fields, each of which was enclosed by a separate bank, so that the field-pieces could only be drawn along the ditches between the banks, and were therefore at every field in a different direction: sometimes, likewise, it was necessary to raise them over the banks into the field, in order to repulse the enemy's cavalry; who after nine o'clock, when the fog cleared, were discovered threatening to the left; ever and anon advancing so near, that it was necessary to detach platoons from the line to repulse them. In the mean time the fire of the enemy's two pieces of cannon continued, and a quarter of a mile to the south of these two other pieces began likewise to annoy the line from the same rampart. At ten, after much fatigue and action, the troops, having abandoned two of the field-pieces, which had broken down, arrived, and formed in the high-road leading to the avenue, where a body of horse and foot were posted in front to defend the passage across the Morattoe ditch. Several very large bodies of cavalry likewise assembled in the rear, acting with more courage than those in front,

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1757 February. front, and pressed hard upon one of the field-pieces, which was gallantly rescued by Ensign Yorke, with a platoon of Adlercron's regiment. The fire of a few other platoons dispersed the enemy in front; and the troops being now within the company's territory, might have proceeded along the road on the inside of the ditch, quite up to Omichund's garden, where the Nabob still remained, surrounded by a large body of cavalry; but Colonel Clive thinking that they had already endured too much fatigue, continued marching straight along the avenue to the fort, where they arrived about noon. Twenty-seven of the battalion, 12 sailors, and 18 Sepoys, were killed, and 70 of the battalion, with 12 sailors, and 35 Sepoys, were wounded; two captains of the company's troops, Pye and Bridges, and Mr. Belcher, the secretary of Colonel Clive, were killed; Mr. Ellis, a factor, who with several other young men in the mercantile service of the company, served as a volunteer, lost his leg by a cannon ball. The greatest part of this mischief was done by the four pieces of cannon from the rampart of the Morattoe ditch. In the evening the troops returned to their camp, passing through the town along the streets nearest to the river, and part of the way within a quarter of a mile of the stations of the enemy, who did not molest them.

The troops, officers as well as common men, dispirited by the loss which had been sustained, and the risques to which they had been exposed, as they thought, to very little purpose, blamed their commander, and called the attempt rash, and ill-concerted. It was nevertheless necessary, as well to convince the enemy that their former inactivity did not proceed from fear, as because the difficulty of obtaining provisions increased every hour whilst the Nabob remained so near Calcutta. But it was ill-concerted; for the troops ought to have assembled at Perring's redoubt, which is not half a mile from Omichund's garden, to which they might have marched from the redoubt, in a spacious road, capable of admitting 12 or 15 men a-breast, on the left exposed indeed to the annoyance of matchlocks from some enclosures, where, however, cavalry could not act; but their right would have been defended by the

rampart

rampart of the Morattoe ditch, contiguous to which the road lies; 1757
and their only danger would have been in front, from onsets of cavalry, and the discharge of what pieces of cannon the enemy had got near the garden. February.

The Nabob's army was much more disheartened than the English. They had lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 common men, four elephants, 500 horses, some camels, and a great number of bullocks. The Nabob himself having never before been so near the tumult of a battle, regarded the attack of his camp as an effort of uncommon intrepidity, accused all his own officers of cowardice, and would have immediately retreated out of the company's territory, had they not promised to be better prepared in future. Accordingly his whole army passed the succeeding night on the watch, firing cannon and musketry until day-light, in order to encourage themselves, and to deter the English from attacking them again.

The next morning Rungeet Roy, by the Nabob's order, wrote a letter to Colonel Clive, complaining of the hostilities which he had committed; but making proposals of peace. To which Colonel Clive, in a letter to the Nabob himself, replied, that he had marched through his camp with no other intention than to convince him of what the English troops were capable, who, he said, had cautiously hurt none, excepting such as had opposed them; but that he was willing to renew the negotiation. The Nabob, instead of resenting the scoff, ordered Rungeet Roy to continue the correspondence; and under the pretence of acting consistently with his professions of peace, moved his whole army, and encamped about three miles to the north-east of the lake. they passed in sight of the English camp and were again suffered to proceed without molestation.

Messages of negotiation continued, brought and carried by Omichund and Rungeet Roy; and, on the 9th of February, a treaty was concluded of the following purport: "The Nabob agreed to restore "the Company's factories, but only such of the plundered effects "and monies as had been regularly brought to account in the books "of his government. He permitted the English to fortify Calcutta "in whatsoever manner they should think expedient; allowed them

1757 February. "to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exempted all "merchandizes passing with their *dustucks* or passports, from tax, "fee, or imposition; permitted them to take possession of the thirty-"eight villages, of which the grant had been obtained by the em-"bassy in 1717, from the Emperor Furrukshir; and in general "confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by "former emperors ever since their first arrival in the province." The oaths of the Nabob, Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, were the only pledges or security for the execution of the treaty.

On the 11th the Nabob removed a few miles farther to the north, and the next day sent the usual serpaws or presents of dresses to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, by Rungeet Roy and Omichund, and proposed an alliance offensive and defensive against all enemies. This proposal was accepted without hesitation, and the article ratified was sent back the same day by Omichund, who was likewise intrusted by Colonel Clive to sound if the Nabob would permit the English to attack the French settlement of Chandernagore; for there was time before the setting in of the southern monsoon. The Nabob detested the idea; but, dreading an immediate renewal of hostilities, temporized; and pretending that Mr. Bussy from the Decan, and a squadron from Pondicherry, were coming to Bengal, he requested that the English would prevent them from entering his dominions; and, as a farther disguise, he requested 20 English gunners to serve in his own artillery; he likewise recommended, that Mr. Watts might be appointed the company's representative at his court; choosing him from a persuasion that he was a meek man, without guile. The next day he continued his march to Muxadavad, and Colonel Clive having received no positive injunction to the contrary from the Nabob, determined to prosecute the enterprize against Chandernagore. Accordingly, on the 18th, the English troops crossed the river a few miles above Calcutta, and encamped on the opposite shore; but before this time the French had taken the alarm, and by repeated letters called on the Nabob, as he valued his own safety, to protect their settlement; their messengers found him just arrived at Augadeep, 40 miles south of Muxadavad, where he halted,

and immediately wrote a letter, peremptorily commanding the English to desist from their intention. 1757 February.

In the mean time Mr. Watts set out for Muxadavad, and with him were sent the artillery-men requested by the Nabob; he was likewise accompanied by Omichund, whose conduct in the late negotiation had effaced the impression of former imputations, insomuch that Mr. Watts was permitted to consult and employ him without reserve on all occasions. They stopped on the 18th near Hughley, where Omichund discovered that a messenger from the Nabob had arrived the day before with a present of 100,000 rupees to the government of Chandernagore; that the governor of Hughley, Nuncomar, had received orders to assist the French, in case the English should attack them; and that a detachment of the Nabob's army was marching from Augadeep to reinforce the troops at Hughley; on which Omichund visited Nuncomar, and by pompous representations of the English force, by assurances of their protection and favour, and the promise of 12,000 rupees to be paid as soon as Chandernagore should be taken, won him over to their interests; a striking instance of the extreme venality which prevails even amongst the highest ranks in Indostan; for the annual emoluments of the Phousdar amounted to 250,000 rupees. On the 21st, Watts and Omichund arrived at Augadeep, when the Nabob immediately sent for Omichund, and expressing much indignation at the intention of the English to attack Chandernagore, commanded him to answer strictly whether they intended to maintain, or to break the treaty. Omichund told him that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith; insomuch that a man in England, who on any occasion told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and acquaintance: then calling in a Bramin, who chanced to be attending near the tent, he put his hand on the Bramin's foot, a form of oath among the Gentoos, and swore that the English would never break the treaty. The Nabob something appeased by this solemn declaration, said he would revoke the orders he had given to Meer Jaffier, to march with half the army to Chandernagore; and instructed Omichund to assure

 Colonel

1757 February. Colonel Clive, that the troops which had marched two days before, were not intended to assist the French. The next day he received a letter from Colonel Clive, assuring him that he would not commit hostilities against the French without his consent; on which he continued his march to Muxadavad.

Nevertheless, Mr. Watts and Omichund did not despair of obtaining his permission; and on there arrival at Muxadavad, practised with such of the favourites and ministers as could promote the success of their applications. Their solicitations created much anxiety and agitation in the court, where the French, from various causes, had many friends. Monickchund, and several other officers of note, had shared largely in the spoil of Calcutta, and being convinced that nothing would render the English so formidable to the Nabob, as the reduction of Chandernagore, expected to be called upon to refund their plunder as soon as that event should happen: Coja Wazeed managed the greatest part of the French trade in Bengal with great profit to himself; and, to the *Seats* Mootabray and Roopchund, the government of Chandernagore was indebted a million and a half of Rupees. These various interests concurred in counteracting the practices and petitions of Mr. Watts and Omichund, and the remonstrances of Colonel Clive. The Nabob encouraged all the intrigues which were employed on both sides; and even often expressed himself to Mr. Watts and Omichund in terms which implied permission; but every letter which he wrote to Colonel Clive, and scarce a day passed without one, positively forbade the attack. With these contradictions he kept the English councils in suspence until the end of February, when he received intelligence that an army of Pitans had taken Delhi, and intended to conquer the eastern provinces of the empire. This news struck him with so much consternation, that he immediately dispatched a letter to Colonel Clive, requesting his assistance against this imaginary invasion of his own dominions, and offered to allow a hundred thousand rupees a month for the expences of the English troops.

The government of Chandernagore, at the same time that they were soliciting the protection of the Nabob, prosecuted their negotiation

tiation with the English at Calcutta, where the select committee, having little hopes of obtaining the Nabob's consent to attack them, consented to a treaty of neutrality and pacification in Bengal, and agreed that it should be guaranteed by the Nabob: but when all points seemed to be adjusted, Mr. Watson refused his concurrence, because the act of Chandernagore was not obligatory on Pondicherry; whereas Calcutta treated without reference to a superior power. Colonel Clive was at this time become more anxious than any one to conclude the treaty, and insisted, that Admiral Watson should either ratify it, or proceed immediately against Chandernagore, without waiting for the Nabob's consent. The Admiral rejecting the alternative, altercations ensued, which delayed the execution of the treaty, until Clive received the Nabob's invitation to march to his assistance against the Pitans. On the same day a boat from Ingelee brought intelligence of the arrival of three ships from Bombay, under the command of Commodore James, which had on board three companies of infantry, and one of artillery, and that the Cumberland, of 74 guns, which had parted from the fleet in the passage from Madrass was arrived in the road of Ballasore. With such additions the English force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagore, although protected by the Nabob's army: Colonel Clive therefore immediately dismissed the French deputies, who were then with him, waiting to sign the treaty, which was even written out fair, and which they supposed had been intirely concluded: he at the same time wrote to the Nabob, that he would join him as soon as the news concerning the approach of the Pitans should be verified, and that he should in the mean time proceed as far as Chandernagore. Accordingly the troops quitted their encampment opposite to Calcutta on the 7th of March, while the artillery proceeded in boats, advancing slowly, that the Bombay detachment might have time to come up the river, before they entered the French limits. In the interval the Nabob was kept quiet by his dread of the Pitans, and the representations of Nuncomar, who constantly assured him that the English had no hostile intentions. Nevertheless, Admiral Watson refused to attack the French until the consent of the Nabob was obtained; to whom, however,

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1757 March. however, he represented, that the government of Chandernagore little deserved his favour, since they had made use of his name to sanctify a treaty which they had no power to conclude; and complained at the same time, with some menaces, that he had neither made any restitution, nor accomplished any other part of his treaty with the English. The Nabob, perplexed with the angry style of Mr. Watson's letter, made use of these words in his answer: "If "an enemy comes to you and implores your mercy with a clear "heart, his life should be spared; but if you mistrust his sincerity, "act according to the time and occasion." This letter was scarcely dispatched before his favourites made him change his mind, and write others positively forbidding the attack; but Mr. Watson, considering this contradiction as an indignity, ordered the ships to move.

The settlement of Chandernagore, like that of Calcutta, consisted of a territory, a town inhabited by the natives, another by the French and a fort. The territory, beginning from the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinchura, extended two miles along the bank of the river, and about one and a half inland. The fort was situated nearly at an equal distance, between the north and south extremity of this territory, and about 30 yards from the river. It was a square of about 130 yards, with four bastions, each mounting 10 guns; several more were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin, which stood on the margin of the river, before the gateway of the western curtain: all these were heavy cannon, from twenty-four to thirty-two pounders; and six of smaller calibre were planted on the terrace of a church within the fort, which overlooked the walls. The French, after they received intelligence of the declaration of war, had begun to dig a ditch, had demolished all the buildings which stood within 100 yards of the walls, and used the ruins to form a glacis; but neither the ditch nor the glacis were completed: to supply these defects, they had erected several batteries without the verge of the glacis; one of three guns before the gate leading to Chinchura; another of four, in a high road leading from the westward to the north face of the fort; to the south-

southward they had four batteries, three of which were in the principal streets leading to the fort; and the other close to the river, about 150 yards south of the fort commanded a narrow part of the channel, in which several ships had been sunk, in order to stop the passage of the men of war. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but only 300 of the Europeans were regular troops, the rest being inhabitants of the town and sailors. They likewise expected the assistance of the troops belonging to Hughley, of which a part were already stationed within their bounds; but Nuncomar fulfilled his promise to Omichund, and recalled these troops as soon as the English appeared in sight, alleging to the Nabob, that he had withdrawn them in order to preserve the standard of the province from the disgrace to which it would inevitably have been exposed, by assisting the French against so superior a force as that which was come to attack them. 1757 March

The detachment from Bombay having joined, Colonel Clive commenced hostilities on the 14th of March. In order to avoid the opposition of the batteries in the southern part of the town, the troops entered the French limits from the westward, along the high road leading to the north face of the fort; detachments from the garrison were placed in the thickets on either hand, who skirmished until three in the afternoon, and then retired to the battery in the road, which lay under command of the north-west bastion. The English from several houses near continued to fire upon the battery with their small arms until night, when the enemy spiked up the cannon and retreated into the fort. The desertion of this battery rendered the other four to the south, excepting that on the bank of the river, of no use, and exposed them all to be taken in the rear, when the retreat of their guards to the fort would be cut off: to prevent which their guns and men were recalled early the next morning, before the English troops were in motion to intercept them. At noon the English army took possession of the houses nearest to the southern esplanade, and under their shelter suffered very little from the fire of the garrison. The 16th was employed in bringing up the artillery and stores, and the next day they began to fire musketry from the

1757. March. the tops of the houses, and to throw shells from some cohorns, and a thirteen-inch mortar; this annoyance continued on the 18th: the next day a battery was begun behind some ruins, opposite the south face of the S. E. bastion, and, at the same time, were mounted three pieces of cannon on the enemy's battery close to the river, turning them against the south flank and face of the north-east bastion: this day the ships Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, arrived from Calcutta, and anchored about a mile below the fort. The navigation had been extremely difficult, but conducted with extreme precaution and skill by Captain Speke, who commanded the Kent. On the 20th the fire from the fort silenced the three guns on the battery close to the river, and on the 21st they beat down a house near the other, the ruins of which buried some men, none of whom, however, were mortally hurt. The next day this battery was completed, and the other repaired: not more than 20 men, Europeans and Sepoys, had been killed and wounded in all these operations. In the mean time the narrow channel between the ships and the fort had been diligently sounded, and it was found that the vessels which were intended to obstruct their passage, had not been sunk in the proper place. Every thing being ready on shore, it was determined to attack with the ships the next day; and, indeed, no time was to be lost; for the Nabob finding himself deceived, had continually dispatched messengers, of whom six arrived in one day, with letters commanding the English in very imperious and menacing terms to discontinue the attack; he had likewise sent forward a part of his army under the command of Roydoolub, who having advanced within twenty miles of Hughley, halted in consequence of the representations of Nuncomar, assuring him that the French would surrender before he could arrive to their assistance.

During this interval, the Cumberland, in which Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag, arrived at Ingelee. After striking on the sand off Point Palmyras, she plied ten days against the wind and currents in vain to get round, when the great number of sick on board, amounting to 266, determined Mr. Pocock to bear away for refreshment to Vizagapatam, where he found the settlement in fears, not ill founded,

founded, of being attacked by M. Bussy; and landed ninety of 1757
the Company's troops, to reinforce their garrison. From hence March.
as the currents still continued strong from the Norward, he sailed for intelligence to Madrass, where, at the request of the presidency, he landed the rest, one hundred more, and received the same number of sailors belonging to the squadron, which had recovered in the hospital. There still remained on board 90 rank and file, who were of Adlercron's regiment, and they returned with the ship to Ingelee, where the report from Calcutta signified, that the three other men of war with Admiral Watson were proceeding from thence to Chandernagore, of which the attack might be expected every day. There was no time to carry the ship up the river; for the pilotage at this season requires several; nor were any boats sent down to convey the troops with their accoutrements; on which Mr. Pocock, with a spirit worthy of an English admiral, took the Cumberland's barge, and rowing night and day, joined Mr. Watson a few hours before the morning of the attack, and immediately hoisted his flag in the Tiger.

This ship was appointed to attack the N. E. bastion of the fort, the Kent against the ravelin before the middle of the curtain, the Salisbury against the S. E. bastion. At sun-rise the two batteries on shore began to fire, the one against the S. E. bastion with twenty-four pounders, the other against the N. E. with three: to which the, enemy's fire was much superior until seven o'clock; when the Tiger coming opposite to the ravelin, before the gateway, her first broadside obliged the enemy to abandon that defence; after which she proceeded, and anchored at the distance of 50 yards, directly opposite to the N. E. bastion. The Kent soon after let go her anchor opposite to the ravelin, but in this instant, the fire from the fort killed and wounded several of the sailors appointed to manage the ship, and a shot unfortunately disabled the commander, Captain Speke; who not being able to continue the directions he intended to give, so much confusion ensued, that the cable, not stopped in time, ran out to its end; and the ship, instead of anchoring opposite to the ravelin, fell back so far, that her poop appeared beyond the S. E. bastion, exposed

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1757 March. likewise to a flank of the bastion on the s. w. The enemy, elated with this advantage, kept up so hot a fire, that Admiral Watson instead of attempting to recover his intended station, determined to decide the contest where his ship lay, which occupying the post intended for the Salisbury, this ship anchored 150 yards lower down the river, and remained out of the action, which was maintained entirely by the Kent and Tiger. The cannonade was fierce, every shot on both sides took place; and, at the same time, the two batteries on shore assailed with a cross fire the two bastions of the fort, against which the ships directed their broadsides. At nine o'clock, the fort shewed a flag of truce, and Mr. Watson, not to let the enemy see the condition of his ship, sent Captain Coote, of the King's regiment ashore to receive their proposals; and whilst messages were passing concerning the terms of surrender, 50 of the best soldiers of the garrison, with 20 Topasses, and several officers, quitted the fort, and marched to the northward. At three in the afternoon the capitulation was concluded.

During this action, the Salisbury received only some straggling shot, which did little damage, and the fort received as little from her fire. In the Tiger, the master and 14 others were killed, and 56 wounded: the Kent received six shot in her masts, and 142 in her hull; the first lieutenant Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. Amidst this slaughter, it was a general consolation that the wound of Captain Speke was not mortal, whose enterprizing spirit, and nautical abilities, had eminently contributed to the successes of this squadron in India; the same ball, which struck the calf of his leg, carried off the thigh of his son, a youth of promising hopes, who died of this disaster. Of the English troops on shore, only one man was killed, and 10 wounded, during this last attack; but the fire of their batteries, and of their musketry from the tops of the houses, hastened the surrender of the fort, in which 40 men were killed and 70 wounded. The defence was gallant, more especially as none of the garrison, excepting a few of the officers, had ever before been in services of danger: Mr. Devignes, a Captain of one of the French company's ships, commanded the

bastions,

bastions, and inspired his own activity and courage into all who served under him. The immediate reduction of the fort was owing to the ships, and of them, only to the two in which the two Admirals hoisted their flags, whose fire did as much execution in three hours, as the batteries on shore would have done in several days; during which the whole of the Nabob's army might have arrived, when the siege must have been raised: otherwise the troops alone were sufficient to accomplish the success.

1757 March.

At the same time that the Nabob heard of the surrender of Chandernagore, he received more positive, but still false, intelligence from Patna, that the army of Pitans, against whom he had asked the assistance of the English troops, were in full march to invade the province of Behar, and that they had engaged Balagerow, the general of the Morattoes, to invade Bengal. Frightened by this intelligence he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, and offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as it had been held by the French Company; but he ordered the division of his army, which had marched with Roydulub, to continue at Plassy on the Island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the South of Muxadavad. This guard did not accord with his professions; and it was determined to try the sincerity of them by requesting him to give up all the other French factories and subjects remaining in his dominions. Nothing could be more repugnant to his intentions; for he had ordered his officers to protect the soldiers of Chandernagore, who had left the fort during the attack; and by this assistance they had escaped an English detachment sent in pursuit of them, and were arrived safe at Cossimbuzar: however, he answered Colonel Clive with much civility, though with inconsistent excuses; alleging, that as a prince he could not persecute the distressed, and as a feudatory of the great Mogul he could not contribute to the destruction of Europeans, who were established in the province by the permission of so many Emperors; as if the same reasons ought not to have prevented him

 from

1757 March. from destroying Calcutta. But lest these evasions should create suspicions, he began to restore part of the English effects, and paid 450,000 rupees in money.

In the mean time, the captors collected the plunder of Chandernagore, which amounted to 100,000l. sterling. The ships returned to Calcutta, where the Kent, infirm before, was condemned as unfit for future service. The season was by this time so far advanced, that the other ships could not get out to sea before the southern monsoon set in. The troops might indeed have been sent to the coast of Coromandel, if they had been embarked, immediately after Chandernagore was taken, on several vessels, which were ready to sail at that time. But Colonel Clive determined, contrary to the orders of Madrass, to remain in Bengal with the whole army until the month of September ; being convinced that the Nabob would never fulfil the terms of the treaty of February, unless constrained by fear. He therefore, instead of leading the army back to Calcutta, encamped on the plain to the north of Hughley, where it was better situated either to awe or act against the Nabob.

In this interval Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, had persuaded the Nabob that a fleet of 40 French ships were attacking Bombay. The Nabob elated by this supposition returned to his former equivocations concerning the treaty. On which Colonel Clive wrote to him, that nothing but his permission to attack the French at Cossimbuzar could convince the English that he bore the good will of an ally towards them, and that his dignity might be preserved by assisting neither side. This letter provoked him to excess, and amongst other extravagancies, he said publicly, he would put Mr. Watts to death. But soon recollecting the imprudence of this threat ; and being as anxious to prevent the English troops from advancing towards his capital, as he was solicitous to preserve the French for future contingencies, he furnished Mr. Law with money, arms, and ammunition, and ordered him to march with all his men, as if proceeding to the western frontiers of Behar ; but in expectation of being soon recalled to Muxadavad. Accordingly this body of adventurers, consisting of 100 Europeans, and

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60 Coromandel Sepoys, with 30 small carriages, and four elephants, 1757
passed through the city in military array on the 16th of April, and April.
having crossed the river, proceeded towards Behar. This evasion however deceived nobody. And Colonel Clive prepared to send a detachment in pursuit of them.

The report of the detachment renewed the indignation of the Nabob; he immediately ordered the English Vacqueel to quit his presence, and to appear no more at the palace, and sent two of his officers to Mr. Watts, proposing this alternative; "either that he "should immediately return to Calcutta; or give an assurance under "his hand, that the English should make no further attempts to "molest the French." Mr. Watts refused either to retire, or to give the assurance, and obtained leave to consult the presidency, who ordered him to send what treasure and effects he had collected to Calcutta, as opportunities might offer, but without seeming either to fear or to intend mischief: Colonel Clive also detached 40 Europeans to protect the factory, and sent in several boats a supply of ammunition concealed under rice.

By this time the mutual suspicions between the Nabob and the English were so much increased, that Colonel Clive thought a rupture inevitable, and even necessary. He therefore persisted in his resolution of sending a detachment in pursuit of Mr. Law; and having received information that Meer Jaffier, the general of the army, was offended against the Nabob, he advised Mr. Watts to cultivate his friendship.

The spirit of rebellion had for some time been lurking in the court of Surajah Dowlah; he had imprisoned Monickchund, and upon releasing, had obliged him to pay a million of rupees as a fine for the effects he had plundered in Calcutta. The Duan Roydoolub, although the first civil officer in the state, found his conduct subject to the controul of the favourite Moonlol. To the Seats, the Nabob behaved with civility; but they, accustomed to the confidence and good sense of Allaverdy, trembled for their wealth, under the caprices of his successor; and they had long been connected with

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1757 Meer Jaffier, who, although he despised the wretched character of Surajah Dowlah, dreaded the excesses of it.

March.

Mr. Watts communicated with Omichund on the state of tempers and resentments; and they admitted Mr. Scrafton to their councils, who came at this time to Muxadavad in his way to Dacca, and was instructed by Colonel Clive to observe, whilst he remained there. Omichund with his usual bustle attended every day at the Durbar, and was as assiduous in his visits to the principal officers of the government.

April. On the 23d of April an officer named Yar Khan Latty, by a private message, requested to confer with Mr. Watts in secrecy. This man commanded 2000 horse in the Nabob's service, but received a stipend from the *Seats* to defend them upon any occasion of danger even against the Nabob himself. It is therefore probable that he was now employed by the *Seats* to discover the real intentions of the English towards the Nabob. Mr. Watts sent Omichund, whom Latty informed, "That the Nabob would very soon march with the "greatest part of his forces towards Patna, against the Pitans; and "that he intended to temporize with the English until his return to "Muxadavad; when he had determined to extirpate them out of "his dominions, into which he had sworn that they should never "return; that most of his officers held him in utter detestation, "and were ready to join the first leader of distinction who should "take arms; that the English army might, during his absence, take "possession of Muxadavad; and that he, Latty, with his own troops "would join them in the attempt; when if they would proclaim "him Nabob, he should be supported by Roydoolub, and the *Seats*; "he offered in return to enter into any engagements which the "English should stipulate for the advantage of their own affairs." Mr. Watts approved the scheme, and communicated it to Colonel Clive, who approving it likewise, immediately countermanded the detachment which was ready to march in pursuit of Mr. Law, and wrote a very civil letter to the Nabob.

The day after the conference between Omichund and Latty, Petrus the Armenian, who had been employed between the Nabob and the English

English in February, came to Mr. Watts with the same proposals 1757
from Meer Jaffier as had been made by Latty. Meer Jaffier declared, April.
"that self-defence obliged him to arm, being in danger of assassi-"nation every time he went to the Durbar; that the Duan Roy-"doolub, the *Seats*, and several officers of the first rank in the "army, whom he named, had engaged to join, if the English would "assist in dethroning the Nabob: if the scheme were accepted, he "desired that the terms of the confederacy might be settled without "delay, and requested that Colonel Clive would immediately break "up his camp, and sooth the Nabob with every appearance of "peace until hostilities should commence."

The superior importance of Jaffier gave him the preference over every other pretender who might offer; and as soon as Clive received intelligence of his overtures, he went from the camp to Calcutta, and communicated them to the select committee, of which he was himself a member. The committee accepted the alliance as the most fortunate event which could happen, and instructed Mr. Watts what terms to stipulate: they where all very advantageous, but one eminently so, demanding a restitution in money adequate to all the losses which had been sustained by the Company and individuals by the capture of Calcutta. This council was held on the first of May. The next day Colonel Clive returned to the camp, which, in compliance with the request of Meer Jaffier, he immediately broke up; sending one half of the troops to Calcutta, and the rest into the fort of Chandernagore. He then requested the Nabob to give the same proof of amicable intentions by withdrawing the large division of his army, which still lay encamped at Plassy, under the command of Roydoolub.

But in this interval the Nabob had been relieved from his fears of the Pitans by intelligence of their retreat from Delhi, which made him less solicitous to temporize with the English, and Roydoolub had stopped at Cutwah the detachment of 40 Europeans going to Cossimbuzar; the spy, Mooteram, who had been sent under pretence of some compliment to Colonel Clive, gave information, that half the English army had been privately detached in small parties from the

camp,

1757 April. camp, and were at this very time secreted in the factory at Cossimbuzar. The Nabob believing this intelligence, sent a mob of servants and troops to examine the factory, where they found only eight Topasses and 40 Europeans, of which some were French deserters, and the rest were the English gunners whom he had borrowed for the service of his own artillery, and had lately returned. Nevertheless his suspicions that the English intended to move towards Muxadavad continued, and induced him to reconcile himself with Meer Jaffier, whom he ordered to proceed immediately with 15,000 men, to reinforce Roydoolub at Plassy. Believing, likewise, that the English ships of war could proceed up the great arm of the Ganges to the northern point of the island of Cossimbuzar, and then come down the Cossimbuzar river to Muxadavad, he commanded large piles to be fixed across the river at Sootey, about 20 miles above the city. Such was his extreme ignorance. He at the same time instructed Mr. Law to remain with his men at Boglipore, half way between the pass of Tacriagully and Patna, and his officers in Behar to supply all their wants.

In this conjuncture Meer Jaffier, fearing that by a refusal to proceed to Plassy, he should turn the Nabob's suspicions upon himself, obeyed with appearance of alacrity, and marched from the city on the 29th of April, but left his agent to carry on the correspondence with Mr. Watts, who, to remove as much as possible all suspicious appearances, ordered the detachment which had been stopped at Cutwah to return to Calcutta; he at the same time dispatched Mr. Scrafton to the select committee, and on the 6th of May received their resolutions concerning the treaty with Jaffier, when, in concert with Jaffier's agent, whom we suppose to be still the Armenian Petrus, they established positive sums to the articles stipulating monies. The rains detained the agent in the city till the 12th, when he went to Plassy, and returned on the 14th, with assurances, that Meer Jaffier had consented freely to all the articles; but requested that the confederacy might be kept secret from Omichund, whom he regarded as an intriguing Gentoo without fortitude or honesty.

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This opinion was probably suggested to him by the *Seats*, who 1757
knew the abilities of Omichund, and might apprehend that his influence with the English would interfere with their own, if he should have a leading part in the intended revolution. This restraint very much perplexed Mr. Watts: for Omichund had already been trusted too far, to be now treated with diffidence, without much risque to the scheme, if he should by other means discover the real cause, why no farther attention was had to the proposals of Yar Khan Latty. Mr. Watts soon found, that such evasions as men in his situation generally employed, could not elude his sagacity, and therefore told him the confederacy with Jaffier; but had delayed this confidence so long, that Omichund saw it was extorted by fear and necessity. From this hour implacable hatred arose between them, although they co-operated in the conduct of the confederacy.

May.

From his own experience of the practices of Indostan, Omichund had no doubt that Mr. Watts would be amply rewarded by Jaffier, if the revolution succeeded. At the same time he found that no advantage was intended for himself more than restitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta, but that he should run the same risque of his person as Mr. Watts, which to both were great indeed; and more of his fortune, as being much greater than Mr. Watt's: he therefore claimed a commission of five in the hundred on all the Nabob's treasures in money, and a fourth part of his jewels. The common people, to whom numbers give no distinct ideas, rated them at 45 millions of pounds sterling, which nothing but idiotism could believe; but better enquirers supposed them to be four millions and a half; on which Omichund's share would have been 675,000 pounds sterling. The audacity of the pretension implied malignant art; but it is said he threatened to reveal the conspiracy to the Nabob, if not complied with. If so, the boldest iniquity could not go farther. Mr. Watts in his letter on this subject intimates, that he had some apprehensions of such a consequence if Omichund were not satisfied. However, in their conference he evaded a po-

1757 sitive answer, and Omichund was contented by the promise of referring his claim to the select committee.

May.

On the 14th he sent the articles of the treaty, as finally settled by himself, and accepted by Meer Jaffier, and communicated two other instances of Omichund's improbity. The one was, "that "soothed by the seeming acquiescence of Mr. Watts to his claim "of commission and a share of the jewels, he had been led to de-"clare that he intended to secrete as much as he could of the "Nabob's treasures from the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and "to divide this booty with Roydoolub." The other accusation came from Rungeet Roy, the agent of the *Seats*. "When the "Nabob concluded the treaty of the 6th of February, he em-"powered Omichund and Rungeet Roy to offer 30 thousand "gold *mohurs*, a coin equivalent to 29 shillings, as a present to the "English commanders, and promised moreover 200,000 rupees to "be disposed of as Omichund should think proper; who advised "Rungeet Roy to make no mention of the present at that time, "and promised to divide the 200,000 rupees with him. Rungeet "Roy, impatient to receive his share, had frequently pressed "the Nabob to send the present to the English commanders, and "to issue the other money to Omichund. But the Nabob irritated "by the late proceedings of the English, and safe in his capital, "was no longer inclined to confer so costly a favour, in every re-"spect to his own detriment. Omichund observed this repugnance, "and turned it to his own advantage, by telling the Nabob, that "he would be obliged to make the present, if he suffered Rungeet "Roy to interfere any longer in the English affairs; but that he "might save it, by disgracing him. The Nabob accordingly with-"held himself from any farther communication with Rungeet Roy, "but rewarded Omichund, with orders for the delivery of many of "his confiscated effects. Mr. Watts, desirous to put the truth of "these informations to the test, asked Omichund if he should de-"mand the 30,000 gold rupees from the Nabob; to which Omi-"chund replied, that such a request would be very improper at this "time, but that he would himself consider of means to get it."

A stranger,

A stranger, named Govindroy, came on the 3d of May to Calcutta, with a letter as from Ballajerow, the general of the Morattoes, dated from Hyderabad, the capital of Golcondah. In this letter Ballajerow offered to invade Bengal with a hundred and twenty thousand men, within six weeks after he should receive the invitation of the English governor. No mutual interests of great importance subsisting at this time between the English and the Morattoes, the letter and the bearer were suspected of imposture. The man was questioned, but none in the settlement had sufficient criterions to distinguish whether his answers were pertinent. Mr. Watts was consulted, and regarded the letter as an artifice invented by the Nabob to try the real disposition of the English towards himself, by their answer to Ballajerow. Clive, with his usual facility of finding expedients in difficulties, advised the committee to communicate the letter to the Nabob with the semblance of believing its authenticity; whereby, should he have invented it, the artifice would be turned against himself; and if he had not, no better means could be employed to deceive the suspicions which he entertained of their evil intentions. 1757 May.

This resolution was taken on the 17th of May, and at the same consultation the committee deliberated on the final terms they should require of Meer Jaffier, and on the conduct they should hold towards Omichund; having before them the treaty as modelled by Mr. Watts, and his letters concerning Omichund. The terms which Mr. Watts, had stipulated for restitution were, to the Company 10 millions of rupees, to the English and other European inhabitants three millions, to the Gentoos three, to the Armenians one: in all 17 millions of rupees. Three millions were likewise mentioned for Omichund; of which we suppose Mr. Watts had informed him.

The committee really believed the wealth of Surajah Dowlah much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Alliverdy had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasions of ruinous enemies; and even if Surajah Dowlah himself had reigned many, instead of only one year. In this persuasion they increased the restitution to Europeans from

1757 three to five millions of rupees; but allotted only two, instead of three millions to the Gentoos, and only 700,000 instead of one million to the Armenians. But these alterations added only 700,000 rupees to the total of the sums stipulated by Mr. Watts for restitution. It was then agreed to ask a donation of 2,500,000 rupees to the squadron, and the same sum to the army. A member then proposed that it should be recommended to Mr. Watts, to ask a donation from Meer Jaffier to each of the members of the committee; and this likewise was resolved.

May.

They then took into consideration what conduct they should hold towards Omichund; they were astonished at the enormity of his demands, and still more exasperated at the imputed atrocity of his intentions in case of disappointment; and determined that he should get nothing by the revolution more than restitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta; but at the same time they designed to make him believe that they intended to reward his services. The expedient was suggested by Colonel Clive. It was, to send two treaties, both signed by Admiral Watson and the members of the committee, and in the treaty which was to be delivered to Meer Jaffier, to omit any stipulation for Omichund; but, in the fictitious treaty which was to be shewn to Omichund, to insert an article stipulating for him a present of two millions of rupees.

These resolutions being taken, it became necessary that some person deputed from the committee should confer with Meer Jaffier; but, as he lay encamped at Plassy, it was difficult to effect this without raising suspicions in the Nabob. It was therefore resolved that Colonel Clive should write to the Nabob, that he had sent Mr. Scrafton in order to communicate a matter of great secrecy and importance, which was the Morattoe letter brought by Govindroy. Mr. Scrafton was instructed to stop at Plassy, and to make a visit, as of ceremony, to Meer Jaffier, whom he was to inform of the purport of the treaty, and of the other requests, and to obtain his assent to them; he was likewise to explain to him the manner in which the committee were acting towards Omichund; and

 finally

finally to adjust a plan of operations for the subsequent conduct of the revolution. 1757 May.

Colonel Clive undertook to get the treaties prepared with due secrecy. The fictitious was transcribed upon red paper. But the agent of Meer Jaffier having insisted that the King's Admiral should sign, as well as the company's representatives; and Omichund knowing this, it was necessary to the scheme of deceiving him, that Mr. Watson should sign both. He signed the real, but refused to sign the fictitious treaty: on which his signature was counterfeited.

On the 19th of May, Clive dispatched the treaties by a private messenger of the country; but, in this short interval, either some intelligence from Muxadavad, or his own reflections, changed his notions of the vastness of Surajah Dowlah's treasures: and he instructed Mr. Watts, that if Meer Jaffier should disapprove of the great amount of the stipulations for money, the restitution allotted for the company might be reduced from ten to five millions of rupees.

Mr. Scrafton was stopped near Plassy by the advanced guards of the camp; he requested to be conducted to the quarters of Meer Jaffier; but some of the Nabob's spies being present, they interfered, and insisted that he should take the direct road to the capital, where he arrived on the 24th. In the interval between Mr. Watts's letters of the 6th, and Mr. Scrafton's return to Muxadavad, the crafty Omichund had practised another trick on the credulity of the Nabob; for, perceiving by his questions that his suspicions of the English increased, although he had discovered nothing of their project, Omichund, after much artificial hesitation, informed him, as a discovery by which he risqued all his pretensions to the favours of the English, that they had lately sent deputies to Mr. Bussy in the Decan, inviting him to march into Bengal, and proposing that both armies should join in dethroning him, when the spoil was to be equally divided between them. A little knowledge and understanding would have convinced the Nabob, that such an union was im-

practi-

1757 practicable during the war between the two nations, and that it
May would at any time be incompatible with the interest of the English: nevertheless his timidity prompted him to give intire credit to the tale, and he rewarded Omichund for the intelligence, by ordering the sum of 400,000 rupees, which had been taken from his house at Calcutta, to be immediately restored to him, together with all his effects, wheresoever confiscated in the province: he moreover gave him a mandate, ordering the Rajah of Burdawan to repay 450,000 rupees, which Omichund had lent the Rajah some years before. At this time Omichund was not certain what provision might be made for himself in the treaty, and was endeavouring to get all he could from the Nabob clandestinely, but without any positive intention of undermining the confederacy; for nothing was more likely than his fallacy concerning Bussy to divert the Nabob from any suspicions of the real designs and connexions in which the English were engaged; but nothing, at the same time, was more likely to prevent him from removing his army from Plassy, which was deemed absolutely necessary to their success.

As soon as Mr. Scrafton arrived at Muxadavad, Mr. Watts went with him to the Nabob, to whom Mr. Scrafton delivered a letter from Colonel Clive, which, amongst others, had the following subtle expressions. "I have sent Mr. Scrafton to communicate a matter of "the greatest importance. Notwithstanding all that the English "have suffered from you, I give you this last proof of my desire to "live in peace with you. Why do you keep your army in the field? "They distress all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing "our trade. The English cannot stay in Bengal without freedom of "trade. Do not reduce us to suspect that you intend to destroy us "whensoever you have an opportunity." Mr. Scrafton then communicated the Morattoe letter, at which the Nabob seemed much pleased; for he had heard of the arrival, and suspected the business of the messenger, who really came from Ballajerow. After some pause, ruminating on the variety of informations on which he was to form his opinion, he pretended to be convinced that he had suspected the

the good faith of the English without cause: and dismissed Mr. Watts and Scrafton with an assurance that he would immediately recall the troops under the command of Meer Jaffier into the city, but would leave those with Roydoolub in the field, in readiness to join the English on the approach of the Morattoes: who he said would probably invade his dominions. This unexpected resolution would have marred the scheme, since Meer Jaffier would have been as cautious of concluding any thing decisive, whilst one half, as whilst the whole of the army remained in the field. At the next conference Mr. Scrafton represented to him, that the English could not, with common prudence, rely on any of his professions, whilst such a part of his forces were encamped towards Calcutta. The Nabob meditated some time on this argument, and then starting, as a man agitated by suspicion and dismay, said eagerly, "But should the "Colonel deceive me." But Scrafton removed his terrors by assurances, and prevailed on him to issue orders recalling his whole army to Muxadavad. 1757 May.

The nearer the confederacy approached to the event, the more did Mr. Watts's apprehensions of the treachery of Omichund increase. Mr. Scrafton therefore undertook to get him away to Calcutta, and under the pretext of solicitude for his safety, proposed that Omichund should accompany him thither without delay, alleging, that his age and the habits of his life would not permit him to make his escape on horseback in the hour of confusion and danger, when the flight of Mr. Watts would convince the Nabob that the English intended war, and when his utmost vengeance would be excited against all their adherents. But avarice is the most inflexible of the vices; and Omichund, not having received more than half of his plundered money from the treasury, requested Mr. Scrafton to wait until he had got the whole. Mr. Watts imputed this delay to another motive, thinking that he wanted to remain in the city until Roydoolub should return from Plassy, that they might settle between them the scheme of purloining as much as possible of the Nabob's treasures. To counteract his repugnance, whatsoever might be the cause, Mr. Scrafton assured him, that Colonel Clive intended to employ him as the

1757 May. the principal agent of the English in their affairs with the future government after the revolution; and that the emoluments of this office would amply compensate, whatsoever he might relinquish or lose by his immediate departure. At length he consented to go, but it was necessary, and seemed difficult to obtain the Nabob's consent, as he relied principally upon Omichund for intelligence concerning the proceedings and views of the English. But Omichund himself solved the difficulty, by advising Mr. Scrafton to demand of the Nabob the present which he had intended to give to the English commanders at the conclusion of the peace in February; in consequence of which, the Nabob suspecting the secret had been disclosed by Omichund, would immediately hold him in as much detestation, as he had hitherto regarded him with favour. Accordingly this scene was acted. The Nabob denied the promise. Omichund pretended to be terrified; and the Nabob being really irritated, told Mr. Scrafton that he might carry him wheresoever he pleased.

Mr. Scrafton remained three days longer in the city in expectation of the return of Meer Jaffier from Plassy. Meer Jaffier arrived on the 30th, and visited the Nabob, who, having no further need of his immediate service, treated him with insolence. The frown of despotism is always dreadful; and Meer Jaffier returned to his palace, convinced of impending danger, insomuch that he was afraid of conferring in private with Mr. Scrafton, who visited him in the afternoon, but received him in the hall of public audience; on which Scrafton left the city that evening.

He was accompanied by Omichund. They proceeded in palanquins; but when Scrafton arrived at Cossimbuzar, he missed his companion; on which he stopped and dispatched messengers to the city, who found the old man sitting at midnight in the Nabob's treasury, soliciting Moonloll for some more of the money which the Nabob had ordered to be restored to him in reward for his story concerning Bussy; but finding that Moonloll would give him nothing but promises, and pressed by the messengers, he returned with them and rejoined Mr. Scrafton at two in the morning. Continuing their journey, Mr. Scrafton fell asleep, and waking at day-break, missed his

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companion again; and not knowing where to seek him, stopped and waited on the high road until three in the afternoon, when Omichund rejoined him again. He had been to visit Roydoolub at the camp at Plassey, who had told him that no stipulation had been made for him in the agreements with Meer Jaffier. Omichund therefore questioned Mr. Scrafton with much sharpness and suspicion; but now the truth itself served to deceive him; for Mr. Scrafton told him, that Roydoolub could not know any thing of that stipulation, since Mr. Watts had not yet communicated the treaty ultimately adjusted by the select committee even to Meer Jaffier himself. This appeased his anxieties, and they continued the rest of their journey without interruption. On the 8th they arrived at Calcutta, where Omichund was received by Colonel Clive, and the other members of the select committee, with much dissembled cordiality, which, however, could not entirely efface the impression which the words of Roydoolub had made in his mind; in consequence of which he bribed the Persian scribe of the council, to inform him if any deceit to his detriment should appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Persian language. 1757 May.

The palace in which Meer Jaffier resided, is situated on the southern extremity of Muxadavad, on the island of Cossimbuzar. The Nabob resided in a palace called Heraut-Jeel, in the middle of the city, on the other side of the river. Both palaces stand on the bank of the river, are fortified with towers, and were provided with cannon. Meer Jaffier, at his return from the Nabob, had requested all the officers on whose attachment he relied, to keep their troops in readiness to defend his palace. In the same evening he sent a trusty messenger to Mr. Watts, to whom Mr. Watts delivered the two treaties, real and fictitious, together with the separate article of donation to the squadron, army, and committee, and explained the intention of deceiving Omichund by the fictitious treaty; requesting, that all the three papers might be ratified, and returned to him without delay. But Meer Jaffier having promised Roydoolub to conclude nothing without his participation, deferred the ratification until his return from Plassy; which was, however, only a delay

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1757 June. of two days; for Roydoolub came to the city on the third of June. He being informed of the stipulations, objected that all the money in the Nabob's treasury was not sufficient to answer them, and proposed as a just compromise, that whatsoever might be found should be equally divided between the Nabob and the English. Mr. Watts nevertheless would not recede from any of the sums which had been stipulated, and represented to him, that if an equal division was established, the English could not allow the usual commission of five in the hundred to the officer who should be appointed to manage the business of the treasury; but proffered this office with that emolument to him, provided he would consent to all their demands. This argument prevailed: Roydoolub relinquished his objections, and Meer Jaffier signed the treaties on the fourth of June. On the same day the Nabob, not from any suspicion of the confederacy, but from his pre-conceived aversion to Meer Jaffier, ordered him to resign the command of the army to an officer named Coja Haddee.

It still remained necessary that Meer Jaffier should take an oath to observe the treaties. Mr. Watts therefore proposed an interview; which Jaffier wished likewise; but objected, that they could not meet without great risque of discovery, since his palace was strictly watched by the spies of the Nabob. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domestics, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own house in a covered palankin, such as carry women of distinction, and passed without interruption to Jaffier's palace; who, with his son Meerum, received him in one of the apartments of his seraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin. Here they conferred without the risk of observation. Meer Jaffier confessed that the number of troops on whose service he could entirely rely, did not exceed 3000 horse; but expected that several other commanders, whom he knew to be dissatisfied with the Nabob, would turn against him in the day of battle. At all events, he desired that the English troops would immediately take the field, promising, that if the Nabob should determine to defend the city, he would attack his palace as soon as they appeared in sight: if the contest was to be decided by a battle on the plain, he would regulate

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his conduct according to the station which he should chance to occupy; if in the van, he would, on the approach of the English, beat his great drum, display his standard, march off with all the troops under his command, and join them on the right; if on either of the wings, or in the rear, he would display a white flag, charge the main body of the Nabob's army as soon as the English began the attack, and endeavour to take the Nabob prisoner. After these explanations, he gave his full assent to the terms of the real treaty, and to whatsoever other donations had been stipulated; then placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his son, whilst Mr. Watts held the papers open before him, he swore with great solemnity, that he would faithfully perform all he had promised. They then resolved, that Omar-beg, one of his officers who had lately carried several messages between Jaffier and Mr Watts, should immediately proceed with the treaties to Calcutta; and Mr. Watts returned as he came, undiscovered. Having brought this dangerous negotiation to a conclusion, no other affairs required his presence at Muxadavad; but as his retreat would leave the Nabob without a doubt of the hostile intentions of the English, he determined to remain seemingly in his power until the last extremity, and, in the mean time, to make such preparations as would secure his flight. 1757 June.

The public treaty as written in Persic, and signed by Meer Jaffier, is thus translated: "I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to "abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life." These words were written by Meer Jaffier in his own hand, and undersigned by him with his name. The following were as usual in the hand of a scribe. "Treaty made with Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, and "the other counsellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.—Article I. "Whatever articles were agreed to in the time of peace with the "Nabob Surajah Dowlah, I agree to comply with.—II. The ene- "mies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or "Europeans.—III. All the effects and factories belonging to the "French in the province of Bengal, the paradise of nations, and "Bahar, and Orixa, shall remain in the possession of the English,

1757 June. "nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.—IV. In consideration of the losses which the English "company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta "by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of "the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.—V. For the "effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree "to give fifty lacks of rupees.—VI. For the effects plundered from "the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty "lacks of rupees shall be given.—VII. For the effects plundered "from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of "seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted to "the English, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, "shall be left to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, "William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Es-"quires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.—"VIII. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, "are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars: besides these, "I will grant to the English company 600 yards without the ditch. "—IX. All the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, "shall be under the Zemindary of the English company; and all "the officers of these parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The "revenues to be paid by the company in the same manner as other "Zemindars.—X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the English, "I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.—XI. "I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, be-"low Hughley.—XII. As soon as I am established in the three pro-"vinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid. Dated the "15th of the month of Ramazan in the fourth year of the present "reign." The treaty, written and signed by the English, contained the sense of all these articles, but not expressed in the same words; and it likewise had one more of the following tenor:---"XIII. On "condition Meer Jaffier Cawn Bahadar solemnly ratifies and swears "to fulfil the above articles, We the underwritten do, for and in "the behalf of the honourable East India company, declare on the "holy evangelists, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaf-

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"fier Cawn Bahadar with our whole utmost force, to obtain the 1757
"Subahship of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and June.
"further that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, whensoever he calls upon us for that purpose, "provided that when he becomes the Nabob, he fulfils the above "articles." This treaty was signed by Admiral Watson, Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. The donations to the army, squadron, and committee, were written in another treaty.

Omarbeg with the treaties arrived at Calcutta on the 10th, and explained the intentions of Jaffier to the select committee, in the same manner as Jaffier had explained them to Mr. Watts. The troops of Jaffier, without the assistance of others who might join him, were deemed fully sufficient to assure the success of the enterprize, provided they acted with vigour. But he had hitherto behaved with so much irresolution, that Clive began to suspect he would fail still more in the hour of danger. However, it was necessary either to proceed to immediate action, or entirely relinquish the confederacy; for the secret had inadvertently been revealed, and began to be the public talk even of the common soldiers at Calcutta and Chandernagore. It was therefore determined to commence hostilities without delay. Omichund was on the watch to learn the resolutions of this council, and the real purport of the treaties; but the governor having entertained some suspicions of the scribe whom Omichund had bribed, only entrusted him with the fictitious treaty, in which the stipulation in favour of Omichund was inserted; who being satisfied with the report of the scribe, resolved to proceed with the army to Muxadavad.

On the 12th, the troops which were at Calcutta, with 150 sailors from the squadron, proceeded and joined that part of the army which was quartered at Chandernagore. All the necessary preparations had been made, and the whole army began their march from Chandernagore on tho next day, leaving 100 of the sailors to garrison this fort, that every soldier might serve in the field. The Europeans with the field pieces, stores and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats, which

1757 June. which were towed by the Indian rowers against the stream; for the tide flows no farther than Hughley. The Sepoys marched in sight of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hughley to Patna. The Nabob entertaining suspicions of Nuncomar, had lately sent a new governor to Hughley, who threatened to oppose the passage of the boats; but the twenty-gun ship coming up and anchoring before his fort, and a menacing letter from Colonel Clive, deterred him from that resolution. As soon as the army left Chandernagore, Colonel Clive sent away two of the Nabob's messengers, who were in his camp, with a letter of the following purport: "That the Nabob had used every sub-"terfuge to evade the accomplishment of the treaty of February; "that he had in four months restored only a fifth part of the effects "he had plundered from the English; that he had scarcely made "peace, before he invited Mr. Bussy to come from the Decan, and "assist him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; "that the party of French troops, with Mr. Law, were at this very "time maintained at his expence within 100 miles of his capital: "that he had, on groundless suspicions, insulted the English ho-"nour; at one time sending troops to examine their factory at "Cossimbuzar; at another, driving their Vacqueel with disgrace "out of his presence: that he had promised a sum of gold rupees; "then denied that promise; and then sent Omichund from the "city, under pretence that it was he who had deceived the English "commanders in that business. On the other hand, the English "had bore all these injuries patiently, and had even taken the field "to assist him when alarmed by the approach of the Pitans; but "at length seeing no other remedy, their army was now march-"ing to Muxadavad, where they intended to refer their complaints "to the decision of the principal officers of his government, "namely Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, the *Seats*, Meer Murdeen, and "Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would ac-"quiesce, and spare the effusion of blood."

Monickchund, the late governor of Calcutta, having received some hints of the confederacy from Omichund, had proffered his alliance

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to Meer Jaffier. The *Seats* had secured Yar Khan Lattey, and several other commanders had promised their assistance in the hour of need, although they still appeared dutiful to the Nabob. All these, whether Gentoos or Mohometans, confirmed their professions by the usual oaths of their religions. The Nabob, receiving some confused intelligence of these practices, prepared to attack the palace of Jaffier. Messages of threat and defiance passed between them from the 8th to the 11th, when letters from Calcutta spread a report in the city, that the English were confederated with Jaffier; to which, however, the Nabob did not seem to give credit; but Jaffier concluding that he must believe what was so true, sent a message to Mr. Watts, on the 11th, advising him to make his escape without delay. Mr. Watts was prepared, and all the English property and soldiers had been sent away from the factory at Cossimbuzar. Nevertheless he determined to wait still longer, in expectation of a letter from Clive authorizing his departure. He, however, immediately sent away the Armenian Petrus, who had been the most confidential of his agents in the conspiracy, and Jaffier sent one of his own domestics with Petrus; both were instructed to press Colonel Clive to begin his march. Notwithstanding several other warnings, Mr. Watts persevered until the 13th, when Jaffier informed him there was no longer any safety, since the Nabob's artillery would begin to fire upon his palace the next morning: upon this Mr. Watts immediately left his house in the city, travelling in his palankin towards the English factory at Cossimbuzar, where he had lately been several times on pretence of business. There remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a surgeon, who were to make their escape with him, and they had resided for some time at a country-house called Maudipore, about two miles to the south of Cossimbuzar. 1757 June.

Mr. Watts, stopping at the factory of Cossimbuzar, ordered the domestics to prepare a supper, telling them, that he should return in the evening with those at Maudipore, to which he then proceeded. There was in his retinue an Usbeg Tartar, named Mirza Shah Buzbeg, who had served many years in different armies, was an excellent horseman, and on all occasions void of fear: he had attached himself

1757 June. self with much fidelity to Mr. Watts, in return for some services which Mr. Watts had rendered him eight years before at Patna, and now accompanied his flight. The four Englishmen and the Tartar, armed with pistols, mounted their horses at Maudipore about an hour before sunset : they were accompanied by some dog-keepers leading greyhounds, and each horseman was, likewise, attended by his groom on foot. This servant in India is, by habit, capable of keeping pace for several hours with the horse, although going at a great rate. Having proceeded at a gentle pace on the plain, until they were about six miles to the south, they sent back the dog-keepers, saying, that they themselves would return leisurely another way. Immediately after this they met two Cossids, or messengers, dispatched by Colonel Clive, with a letter to Mr. Watts, permitting him to leave Muxadavad, if nothing more required his stay. It being now dark they quitted the road, and struck to the left, where the country at some distance was uninhabited, and covered with thickets, along the skirt of which they proceeded to the south, as fast as they could, until they thought themselves 30 miles from Cossimbuzar. They then turned to the west, and about midnight came to the village of Aguadeep, situated on the bank of the river. At the entrance of the village was a party of the Nabob's horse, picketed on each side of the road in the open air ; but this guard was, as usual at this season of the night, so fast asleep, that not one of them arose to enquire who were come amongst them. Having passed to the southern extremity of the village, they discovered two small boats, which were only capable of containing the riders. The Tartar, unwilling to lose his own horse, undertook to save those of his companions, who, leaving them with him, immediately went into the boats, and rowed down the stream about eight miles, to the point where the Cossimbuzar and Jelingeer rivers unite : here they found a party of soldiers, with some boats, dispatched to escort them to the army. Having thus escaped out of the reach of danger, they took some refreshment, and continued their way before day-break, in the boats with the soldiers ; and the next day, at three in the afternoon, joined the army at Culnah, a town about 15 miles

miles to the north of Hughley. Mr. Watts, immediately on his arrival, sent back one of his own messengers, who chanced to be in the camp, to Muxadavad, with intelligence of his own safety, and of the approach of the army. The Armenian Petrus, with the messenger from Meer Jaffier arrived the same day. The Tartar, with the grooms, soon found a boat in which they embarked, and holding the horses with the bridles lengthened, swam them all safely across the river; they joined the army the day after Mr. Watts. 1757 June.

Intelligence of their flight was carried to the Nabob early in the morning after their departure, just as he was about to commence hostilities against Meer Jaffier. The information overwhelmed him with astonishment and terror; for it convinced him at once of what he had hitherto disbelieved, that the English were confederated with Jaffier: and seeing now the whole extent of his danger, magnified by his own timidity, he determined, if possible, to separate their union; and immediately revoking the orders to attack Jaffier, he employed emissaries to treat with him. At the same time several of the Nabob's officers, on whose friendship Jaffier relied, were exhorting him to a reconciliation; to which he seemingly agreed, but, either through suspicion or scorn, refused to visit the Nabob. Such an objection at any other season would have excluded all further intercourse; but the Nabob, relinquishing his state, went to the palace of Jaffier with a retinue not sufficient to give umbrage. This visit produced an agreement, sanctified, as usual, by mutual oaths on the Koran. Jaffier promised neither to join or give assistance to the English in the impending contest; the Nabob to permit him as soon as peace should be restored, to retire unmolested out of the province with his family and treasures. This interview was on the 15th, and precarious as the reconciliation was, it elated the Nabob so much, that he immediately wrote in terms of defiance to colonel Clive, although he had not received the manifesto fraught with accusations, which Clive had dispatched to him on leaving Chandernagore. "He reproached the English, in the sharpest invectives, "with the flight of Mr. Watts. Suspicion," he said, "that some "trick was intended, had been the real cause which had induced

1757 June. "him to keep his army so long at Plassy; but God and the Prophet "would punish those by whom the treaty was violated." He at the same time ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, to assemble with the utmost diligence at their former encampments at Plassy, and sent orders to Mr. Law, who was waiting with his party at Boglipore, to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition.

The English army arrived and halted on the 16th at Patlee, a town on the western shore of the river of Cossimbuzar, about six miles above the junction of this with the Jelingeer river. Twelve miles above Patlee, on the same shore, is the fort of Cutwah; the walls of which were only of mud; but it commanded the passage of the river. The governor of this fort had promised to surrender after a little pretended resistance, and Major Coote was sent forward on the 17th with 200 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, one field-piece, and a small mortar, to summon the place. The town of Cutwah lies about 300 yards south of the fort, and is separated from it by the Agey, a river which takes rise in the high lands of Berbohin. The detachment landed at midnight, and found the town abandoned; but not being able to make use either of the field-piece or mortar because some of their appurtenances had been left behind, remained quiet until day-break, when Major Coote went to the bank of the river, and waved a white flag, which for some time was answered only by shot. However, the governor at length came down to the opposite bank, but instead of compliance, defied the attack. As soon as he was returned into the fort, the Sepoys crossed the river, and, under shelter of a ridge, fired upon the ramparts, whilst the Europeans marched to the left, in order to ford at some distance from the fort. As soon as the garrison saw them entering the river, they set fire to a shed of matts, which had been raised to protect the walls from the sun and rain, and as soon as all parts were in a blaze, they made their escape to the northward. Within the fort, and in several granaries in the neighbourhood, was found as much rice as would sustain 10,000 men for a year. The main body of the army arrived at Cutwah in the evening, and encamped on the plain;

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but the next day the rainy season began with such violence, that they were obliged to strike their tents, and shelter themselves in the huts and houses of the town. 1757 June.

The Nabob's troops seeing in the impending warfare no prospect of plunder, as in the sacking of Calcutta, and much more danger, clamorously refused to quit the city, until the arrears of their pay were discharged : this tumult lasted three days, nor was it appeased until they had obtained a large distribution of money. Colonel Clive had dispatched a letter every day since he left Chandernagore, informing Meer Jaffier of his progress and stations, but he had hitherto received only one letter from Jaffier, which arrived on the 17th, and was dated the day before. In this Jaffier acknowledged his seeming reconciliation with the Nabob, and his oath not to assist the English against him ; but said, nevertheless, that the purport of his covenant with them must be carried into execution. This ambiguous communication, at so decisive a time, made Colonel Clive suspect that he might betray the English, by leaguing with the Nabob, and determined him not to cross the river into the island of Cossimbuzar until this doubt should be removed. The two next days passed in disappointed expectations of farther intelligence ; but, on the 20th, returned the messenger whom Mr. Watts had dispatched to Muxadavad on his arrival at Culnah. He reported, that he had been introduced to Meer Jaffier and his son Meirum, in a private court of their palace, into which, as soon as they began to question him, came some other persons, whom he supposed to belong to the Nabob ; for as soon as they appeared, Meirum threatened to cut off his head as a spy, and the heads of all the English, if they should dare to cross the river into the island. From this report no consequences could be drawn ; but in the evening arrived two letters from Meer Jaffier, dated on the 19th, one written to his agent Omarbeg, who was in the English camp, and the other to Colonel Clive. This only mentioned that he should begin his march that day from the city, and that his tent would be either on the left or the right of the army, from whence he promised to send more frequent and explicit intelligence ; having hitherto been deterred by the fear of discovery, as guards were stationed on all the roads to intercept all messengers. His let-

1757 June. ter to Omarbeg contained several particulars of the reconciliation between himself and the Nabob, and gave some account of the state of the army. But neither letter explained his own designs in the field, or proposed any plan of operations for the English army. This communication, therefore, although it abated Colonel Clive's suspicions of Jaffier's treachery, did not confirm him in any reliance upon his resolution or assistance: and much confounded by this perplexity, as well as by the danger of coming to action without horse, of which the English had none, he wrote the same day to the Rajah of Burdawan, who was discontented with the Nabob, inviting him to join them with his cavalry, even were they only a thousand. But, recollecting that the princes of Indostan never join the standard which doubts of success, his anxieties increased by the dread of those imputations, to which he foresaw the present caution of his conduct would be exposed, if, after having engaged the public welfare in a project of such importance and risque, he should recede from the attempt in the very hour of event. He, therefore, determined to consult his officers, and assembled them the next day in council. They were 20, and he proposed to their consideration, "Whether "the army should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbuzar, "and at all risques attack the Nabob? or whether, availing themselves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cut-"wah, they should maintain themselves there during the rainy "season, and in the mean time invite the Morattoes to enter the "province and join them?" Contrary to the forms usually practised in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngest officer first, and ascending from this to the opinion of the president, Colonel Clive gave his own opinion first, which was, "to remain at Cut-"wah;" and then descended to the lowest according to the succession of rank. The Majors Kilpatrick and Grant were of the same opinion as himself, but Major Coote reasoned otherwise. He said, "that the common soldiers were at present confident of success; "that a stop so near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour, "which it would be difficult to restore; that the arrival of the "French troops with Mr. Law would add strength to the Nabob's "force and vigour to his councils; that they would surround the

"English

"English army, and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when "distresses not yet foreseen might ruin it as effectually as the loss "of a battle. He therefore advised, that they should either ad-"vance and decide the contest immediately, or immediately return "to Calcutta." It is very rare that a council of war decides for battle; for as the commander never consults his officers in this authentic form, but when great difficulties are to be surmounted, the general communication increases the sense of risque and danger which every one brings with him to the consultation. Thirteen officers were against, and only seven voted for immediate action. The sanction of this council in no wise alleviated the anxieties of Clive; for, as soon as it broke up, he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he remained near an hour in deep meditation, which convinced him of the absurdity of stopping where he was; and acting now entirely from himself, he gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army should cross the river the next morning.

1757 June.

The sick were lodged in the fort of Cutwah, and at sun-rise, on the 22d, the army began to pass: all were landed on the opposite shore by four in the afternoon, at which time another messenger arrived with a letter from Jaffier, which had likewise been dispatched on the 19th, but had taken bye-roads, and was delayed by other precautions. The purport was, "That the Nabob had halted at Mun-"cara, a village six miles to the south of Cossimbuzar, and intended "to entrench and wait the event at that place, where Jaffier pro-"posed that the English shold attack him by surprize, marching "round by the inland part of the island. Colonel Clive imme-"diately sent back the messenger with this answer, "That he should "march to Plassy without delay, and would the next morning ad-"vance six miles farther to the village of Daudpoor; but if Meer "Jaffier did not join him there, he would make peace with the "Nabob." Accordingly the troops proceeded before sun-set, conforming their march to the progress of the boats, which, as before, were towed against the stream; and having, by unceasing toil, advanced fifteen miles in eight hours, arrived at one in the morning at Plassy. The army immediately took possession of the adjoining grove,

1757 June. grove, when, to their great surprize, the continual sound of drums, clarions, and cymbals, which always accompany the night watches of an Indian camp, convinced them that they were within a mile of the Nabob's army. His intention to remain at Muncarra, had arisen from a supposition that the English would advance immediately after they had taken Cutwah, and would arrive at Plassy before his own could get there; but as soon as he found that they were not so active, he continued his march, and arrived at the camp of Plassy twelve hours before them.

The guards and centinels being stationed, the rest of the troops were permitted to take rest. The soldier slept; but few of the officers, and least of all the commander. On the other hand, the despondency of the Nabob increased as the hour of danger approached. Sitting in his tent in the evening of his arrival at the camp, it chanced that his attendants quitted him one after another in order to say their usual prayers at sun-set, until they left him quite alone; when a common fellow, either through ignorance, or with an intention to steal, entered the tent unperceived, until he was discovered by the Nabob; who starting from the gloomy reflections in which he was absorbed, hastily recalled his attendants with this emphatic exclamation, "Sure they see me dead."

The grove of Plassy extended north and south about 800 yards in length, and 300 in breadth, and was planted with mango-trees, in regular rows. It was inclosed by a slight bank and ditch, but the ditch was choaked with coarse weeds and brambles. The angle to the south-west was 200 yards from the river, but that to the north-west not more than 50. A little to the north of the grove, and on the bank of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob's, encompassed by a garden-wall. The river, a mile before it reaches this house, curves to the south-west nearly in the shape of an horse-shoe, including a peninsula about three miles in circumference, of which the neck, from the stream to the stream again, is not more than a quarter of a mile across. About 300 yards to the south of the peninsula, began an entrenchment, which Roydoolub had thrown up to secure his camp: the southern face, fronting the grove of Plassy,

extended

extended nearly in a straight line, about 200 yards inland from the bank of the river ; and then turning to the north-east by an obtuse angle, continued nearly in this direction about three miles. Within this entrenchment encamped the whole army, of which a part likewise occupied the peninsula. In the angle was raised a redoubt, on which cannon were mounted. About 300 yards to the east of this redoubt, but without the camp, was a hillock covered with trees ; and 800 yards to the south of this hillock and the redoubt, was a small tank or pond ; and 100 yards farther to the south was another, but much larger tank : both, as all such public reservoirs of water in Bengal, were surrounded by a large mound of earth at the distance of some yards from the margin of the water. 1757 June.

At day-break, the enemy's army issuing from many different openings of the camp, began to advance towards the grove ; 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon. The greatest part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various arms, pikes, swords, arrows, rockets. The cavalry, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were much stouter than any which serve in the armies of Coromandel. The cannon were mostly of the largest calibres, 24 and 32 pounders ; and these were mounted on the middle of a large stage, raised six feet from the ground, carrying besides the cannon, all the ammunition belonging to it, and the gunners themselves who managed the cannon, on the stage itself. These machines were drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen, of the largest size, bred in the country of Purnea ; and behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. The infantry and cavalry marched in many separate and compact bodies. Forty vagabond Frenchmen under the command of one Sinfray, appeared at the larger tank, that nearest the grove, with four pieces of light cannon. Two larger pieces advanced and halted on a line with this tank, close to the bank of the river. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 7000 foot took their station under the command of Meer Murdeen, and the son of Moonlol. The rest of the army in large columns of horse and foot extended in a curve from the

left

1757 June. left of the hillock near their camp, to the ground about 800 yards east of the southern angle of the grove of Plassy; and in this part were the troops of Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, and Latty. In all the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, two, three, and four pieces together.

Colonel Clive, viewing the enemy's array from the top of the hunting-house, was surprized at their numbers, as well as the splendor and confidence of their array: but judging, that if his own troops remained in the grove, the enemy would impute the caution to fear, and grow bolder, he drew them up in a line with the hunting-house, and facing to the nearest tank. They were 900 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 were sailors; 100 Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys; the artillery were eight field-pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitz: the Topasses were blended in the battalion with the Europeans, the sailors assisted the artillery-men. The battalion with three field-pieces on the right, and the same number on their left, were in the centre; on the right and left of which extended the Sepoys in two equal divisions. The other two field-pieces and the howitzes were advanced 200 yards in front of the left division of Sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns. This line extended 600 yards beyond the right of the grove; but the distance of the enemy in this quarter, prevented any danger of their falling upon the flank before whatsoever troops were ordered could fall back, and range along the east side of the grove. The first shot was fired by the enemy, at eight o'clock, from the tank; it killed one, and wounded another of the grenadier company, which was posted on the right of the battalion. This, as a signal, was followed by the continual fire of the rest of the Nabob's artillery on the plain. But most of their shot flew too high. The two advanced field-pieces answered the fire from the tank, and those with the battalion acted against the different divisions of heavy artillery on the plain; but firing out of the reach of point-blank shot, hit none of the enemy's guns; nevertheless, every shot took place, either in one or other of the bodies of infantry or cavalry. But ten for one killed, was no advantage in such a disparity of numbers, and in half an hour the English

English lost 10 Europeans and 20 Sepoys; on which Colonel Clive ordered the whole army to retire into the grove. The enemy elated by this retreat, advanced their heavy artillery nearer, and fired with greater vivacity than before; but their shot only struck the trees; for the troops were ordered to sit down, whilst the field-pieces alone answered the enemy's cannon from behind the bank. Explosions of powder were frequently observed amongst their artillery. At eleven o'clock Colonel Clive consulted his officers at the drum head; and it was resolved to maintain the cannonade during the day, but at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. About noon a very heavy shower covered the plain, and very soon damaged the enemy's powder so much, that their fire slackened continually; but the English amunition served on. The Nabob had remained in his tent out of the reach of danger, continually flattered by his attendants and officers, of whom one half were traitors, with assurances of victory; but about noon he was informed, that Meer Murdeen, the best and most faithful of his generals, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. The misfortune disturbed him to excess; he immediately sent for Meer Jaffier; and as soon as he entered the tent, flung his turban on the ground, saying, "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." The other bowed, and with his hands on his breast, promised his utmost services; and returning to his troops and associates, immediately dispatched a letter to Colonel Clive, informing him of what had passed, and advising him either to push forward in the instant, or at all events, to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning; but the messenger was afraid to proceed whilst the firing continued. In the mean time, the terrors of the Nabob increased continually: Roydoolub taking advantage of them, counselled him to return to his capital: his advice prevailed, and the Nabob ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments.

1757 June.

Accordingly, about two o'clock, the enemy ceased the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of oxen to their artillery, and as soon as these were in motion, their whole army turned and proceeded slowly towards the camp. But Sinfray with his party and field-pieces still maintained his post at the tank. This was a good

 station

1757 June. station to cannonade the enemy from, during their retreat; and Major Kilpatrick impatient to seize the opportunity, advanced from the grove with two companies of the battalion, and two field-pieces, marching fast towards the tank, and sent information of his intention, and the reason of it, to his commander, who chanced at this time to be lying down in the hunting-house. Some say he was asleep; which is not improbable, considering how little rest he had had for so many hours before; but this is no imputation either against his courage or conduct. Starting up, he ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick sharply for making such a motion without his orders, commanded him to return to the grove, and bring up the rest of the army; and then proceeded himself with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray, seeing his party left without support, abandoned; and retreated to the redoubt of the intrenchment, where he planted his field-pieces ready to act again.

As the main body of the English troops were advancing to the tank, that part of the Nabob's army, which in the beginning of the action had formed opposite to the south-east angle of the grove of Plassy, lingered in the retreat behind the rest, and when they had passed the parallel of the grove, halted, faced, and advanced towards the north-east angle. These were the troops of Meer Jaffier; but their signals not being understood, it was supposed that they intended to fall upon the baggage and boats at the grove, whilst the English army were engaged at the tank. Three platoons of the line, whilst in march, and a field-piece, were detached to oppose them, under the command of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Rumbold; and Mr. John Johnstone, a volunteer, managed the field-piece, the fire of which soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Meanwhile the army being arrived at the tank, got all their field-pieces upon the mound, and from thence began to cannonade into the Nabob's camp; on which many of the troops came again out of the intrenchment, and several pieces of their artillery were likewise preparing to return; on this, Colonel Clive advanced nearer, and posted half his troops and artillery at the lesser tank, and the other half at a rising ground about 200 yards to the left of it. From these stations the cannonade

was

was renewed with more efficacy than before, and killed many of the 1757
oxen which were drawing the artillery, which threw all the trains June,
that were approaching into disorder. On the other hand, the Frenchmen with Sinfray plyed their field-pieces from the redoubt; and matchlocks from the intrenchments, from ditches, hollows, and every hole or shelter, as also from the bushes on the hillock east of the redoubt, kept up a constant although irregular fire, whilst the cavalry advanced several times threatening to charge sword in hand, but were always stopped and repulsed by the quick firing of the English field-pieces. Nevertheless, the English suffered as much in this, as they had during all the former operations of the day. At length the troops of Jaffier appeared moving away from the field of battle, without joining the rest of the Nabob's army; which convincing Colonel Clive who they were, he determined to make one vigorous effort for victory by attacking at once Sinfray's redoubt, and the eminence to the eastward of it, in the cover of which an ambuscade was suspected. Two divisions of the army were appointed to the two attacks, and the main body advanced in the centre ready to support both, and to act, as occasion should offer, of itself. The division on the right gained the eminence without firing or receiving a single shot. At the same time the left marched up to the redoubt, which Sinfray, finding himself again deserted by his allies, quitted without farther resistance, and without carrying off his field-pieces. Thus the whole of the English army entered the camp at five o'clock, without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores, dispersed around them, and abandoned by an army which out-numbered them ten to one, and were flying before them on all sides in the utmost confusion.

The cause of this sudden panic was the flight of the Nabob, who hearing that Meer Jaffier remained inactive on the plain, and that the English were advancing to storm his camp, mounted a camel, and fled at the utmost pace of the animal, accompanied by about 2000 horsemen. The victory was decided, and was confirmed by the arrival of the messenger with the letter sent by Meer Jaffier at

noon;

1757 noon; soon after came another, whom Colonel Clive immediately returned with a note, requesting Meer Jaffier to meet him the next morning at Daudpore.

June.

The English soldiers being told, that they should receive a donation of money, received the orders to march on to Daudpore with acclamations, nor shewed any desire to stop for the plunder which lay spread around them. They halted, however, until the commissaries had taken possession of as many oxen as sufficed for all the artillery and carriages of the army; their own being much inferior to the Nabob's. A detachment was sent forward, under Major Coote, to pursue, or rather to observe if the enemy rallied; and the whole army arrived at eight o'clock, and rested at Daudpore. This important victory was gained with little loss. Only 16 Sepoys were killed, and 36 wounded, many of whom slightly: and of the Europeans about 20 were killed and wounded; of which number, six of the killed, and ten of the wounded, were of the artillery, as were likewise the only two officers who were wounded during the different operations of the day.

In the morning, Colonel Clive deputed Mr. Scrafton and Omarbeg to conduct Meer Jaffier to Daudpore, who received them with reserve, and an air of anxiety, as if he apprehended that the English resented his conduct, in not having joined them, conformably to his promises; he, however, immediately proceeded with them to Daudpore, accompanied by his son, Meirum, and his usual retinue. On entering the English camp, he alighted from his elephant, and the guard drew out, and rested their arms, to receive him with the usual honours. Not knowing the meaning of this compliment, he started back, as if he thought it a preparation to his destruction; but Colonel Clive advancing hastily, embraced, and saluted him Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, which removed his fears. They conferred about an hour, he making some apologies, and the Colonel no reproaches; but advised him to proceed immediately to the city, and not to suffer Surajah Dowlah to escape, nor his treasures to be plundered. Meer Jaffier returning to his troops, hastened with them to Muxadavad, and arrived there in the evening, that is, of

the 24th. Colonel Clive then dispatched letters to Roydoolub, Latty, and Monickchund, and to Monickchund he promised that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta. The army proceeded in the afternoon, and halted six miles beyond Daudpore. 1757 June.

Surajah Dowlah got to the city before the midnight after the battle; and not a few of his principal officers arrived there almost as soon as himself. These he assembled in council. Some advised him to deliver himself up to the English, which he imputed to treachery; others proposed, that he should encourage the army by the offer of great rewards, and appear again at their head in the morning. This he seemed to approve, and, having ordered an immediate distribution of three months pay to the troops, dismissed the council, and retired into the seraglio, where, left to his own reflections and his women, his terrors returned.

The next morning, the 24th, he sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with their furniture and necessaries, and with them a great part of his own jewels, and some gold rupees: and determined to escape himself in the night; but, having lost all confidence in every officer of distinction, whose fortunes either he himself or his grandfather had made, he intrusted his intentions only to the eunuch who governed his seraglio. The arrival of Meer Jaffier in the evening, although he attempted nothing immediately, hastened the Nabob's departure. Having disguised himself in a mean dress, he went secretly at ten o'clock at night out of a window, carrying a casket of his most valuable jewels, and attended only by his favourite concubine and the eunuch. They got undiscovered into a boat, which the eunuch had prepared at the wharf of the palace: it immediately rowed away to the northward. It was his intention to escape to Mr. Law, and with him to Patna, the governor of which province was a faithful adherent to his family. At midnight, Meer Jaffier was informed of his flight, and immediately sent several parties in pursuit of him. In the morning, the whole city was in confusion, no one knowing what was become of their late Nabob, and not perceiving his station occupied by any other. Moonlol, and several others of the Nabob's familiars, were taken in the forenoon, endeavouring to make

1757 make their escape; and the next day the women, with the elephants
June. belonging to the seraglio, which the Nabob had sent away previous to his own departure, were stopped by some of Meer Jaffier's troops at Bogwangolah, a town on the great arm of the Ganges, 15 miles to the N. E. of Muxadavad.

The English army arrived at noon, the 25th, and halted at Maudipoor, from whence Colonel Clive sent forward Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, attended by 100 Sepoys: they arrived at three in the afternoon in the city, and visited Meer Jaffier, who then dispatched more parties in pursuit of Surajah Dowlah. Their visit convinced the inhabitants whom they were to look up to as their future lord, and their exhortations, seconded by the vicinity of the English army, encouraged Meer Jaffier to proclaim himself Nabob.

The next day, the 26th, Watts and Walsh visited the *Seats*, where they met Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, and conferred concerning the payment of the stipulated monies, but Roydoolub insisted pertinaciously that the whole amount of Surajah Dowlah's treasures was not sufficient to supply it. The restitution, with the donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of Secca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds. But other donations were promised, which have since been the foundation of several fortunes, although not then publicly avowed.

Mr. Watts proposed, that the Seats should supply the deficiency, and repay themselves out of the future revenues. Roydoolub replied, that the Seats could not advance crores of rupees; a crore is 10,000,000. His objections raised as unfavourable prejudices of his character, as were entertained of Omichund; but the next day, the 27th, the deputies had real cause to think evil of him; for the Seats sent Rungeet Roy to inform them, that a consultation had been held in the night, between Roydoolub, Meerum the son of Meer Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussain Cawn, an officer of distinction, in which it was proposed to assassinate Colonel Clive, who intended to have gone to the city that day; but changed his resolution on this notice, and waited all the next at Cossimbuzar for farther information concerning this plot; during which, his apprehensions

were

were removed, but by what intelligence we do not known. On the 29th in the morning, he entered the city, escorted by 200 of the battalion and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded to the habitation allotted for him. It was a palace and a garden, called Moraudbaug, and spacious enough to accommodate all the troops which accompanied him. Here he was immediately visited by Meerum, with whom he went to the palace of the late Nabob, where Meer Jaffier with all the great officers in the city were waiting for him. In the hall of audience was fixed the *Musnud* or throne, in which Surajah Dowlah used to appear in public. Jaffier, after the first salutation at the entrance, returned towards the inner part of the hall with Colonel Clive, and seemed desirous to avoid the *Musnud*, which Clive perceiving, led him to it, and having placed him on it, made obeisance to him, as Nabob of the provinces, in the usual forms, and presented a plate with gold rupees; he then, by an interpreter, exhorted the great men to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince, in exchange for such a tyrant as Surajah Dowlah; on which they likewise paid homage, and presented gold. The next morning Jaffier visited Clive, and conferred with him on the state of the treasury, alleging, as Roydoolub had done, that there was not sufficient to answer all his engagements to the English, but that he was nevertheless ready to agree to any reasonable accommodation. Clive proposed, and Jaffier agreed, to refer the matter to the *Seats*; and, in order to extinguish as soon as possible this brand of contention, they proceeded immediately to the house of the *Seats*, accompanied by Watts, Scrafton, Meerum, and Roydoolub. Omichund, who was attending, followed, thinking himself, at this very time, in as high a degree of estimation with Clive, as any one who had contributed to the revolution; but, on his arrival at the *Seats*, finding that he was not invited to the carpet where the others were in conference, he sat down at a distance near the outward part of the hall.

1757 June.

The treaties, as written in Persic and English, were read, explained, and acknowledged. After much conversation, Roydoolub insisting always on the scantiness of the treasury, it was agreed that one half of

1757 June. of the money stipulations should be paid immediately; two thirds of this half in coin, and one third in jewels, plate, and effects, at a valuation; but the other half should be discharged in three years at three equal payments; Roydoolub was allowed a commission of five in the hundred on the sums for restitution, which amounted to 17,700,000 rupees, and this was one of the gratuities which had been held out to Omichund. The conference being ended, Clive and Scrafton went towards Omichund, who was waiting in full assurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune; when Clive said, "It "is now time to undeceive Omichund:" on which, Scrafton said to him in the Indostan language, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; "you are to have nothing." These words overpowered him like a blast of sulphur; he sunk back, fainting, and would have fallen to the ground, had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms; they carried him to his palankin, in which they conveyed him to his house, where he remained many hours in stupid melancholy, and began to shew some symptoms of insanity. Some days after, he visited Colonel Clive, who advised him to make a pilgrimage to some pagoda; which he accordingly did soon after, to a famous one near Maulda: he went, and returned insane, his mind every day more and more approaching to idiotism; and, contrary to the usual manners of old age in Indostan, still more to the former excellence of his understanding, he delighted in being continually dressed in the richest garments, and ornamented with the most costly jewels. In this state of imbecility, he died about a year and a half after the shock of his disappointment. Grounded on his importance, by knowing the secret, he held out the terror of betraying it, to secure his own advantages. Whether he would have betrayed it, if refused, is uncertain: for part of his fortune was in the power of the English, and he had the utmost vengeance of Jaffier and his confederates to fear. However, the experiment was not to be tried. But, on the other hand, as his tales and artifices prevented Surajah Dowlah from believing the representations of his most trusty servants, who early suspected, and at length were convinced, that the English were confederated with Jaffier; the 2,000,000 of

rupees

rupees he expected should have been paid to him, and he left to enjoy them in oblivion and contempt. 1757

July.

On the 2d of July, two days after the conference at the *Seats*, news came to the city that Surajah Dowlah was taken, and the report excited murmurs amongst a great party of the army encamped around. The rowers of his boat, fatigued with excessive toil, stopped in the night at Rajah Mahal, and the Nabob, with his concubine, took shelter in a deserted garden; where he was discovered at break of day by a man of mean condition, whose ears he had caused to be cut off, when at this place about thirteen months before he took the fatal and furious resolution of returning from his intended expedition against Purneah, to the destruction of Calcutta. The injured man revealed him to the brother of Meer Jaffier, residing in the town, and he to the soldiers who were seeking him. They hurried him back to Muxadavad with the eager diligence of men who knew the value of their prize; and to recommend themselves still more to their employers, treated him with every kind of insolence and indignity compatible with the preservation of his life. In this manner they brought him, about midnight, as a common felon, into the presence of Meer Jaffier, in the very palace which a few days before had been the seat of his own residence and despotic authority. It is said that Jaffier seemed to be moved with compassion; and well he might, for he owed all his former fortunes to the generosity and favour of Allaverdy, who died in firm reliance, that Jaffier would repay his bounties by attachment and fidelity to this his darling adoption; who, himself, to Jaffier at least, was no criminal. Surajah Dowlah prostrated himself, and with excessive tremor and tears implored for life alone. But Meerum, the son of Jaffier, a youth not seventeen, fierce, barbarous, and in his nature cruel as Surajah Dowlah himself, insisted on instant death, Jaffier ordered the prisoner to be removed, and the soldiers who had taken led him into a distant chamber, one of the vilest of the palace, which they guarded in expectation of farther orders. Most of the principal men in the government were at this time in the palace, some to testify their respects, others to transact the affairs of

1757 July. their offices. All these Jaffier consulted. Some, although they had before trembled at the frown of Surajah Dowlah, now despised the meanness of his nature, more than they had dreaded the malignancy of his disposition: others, for their own sakes, did not chuse to encourage their new sovereign in despotic acts of blood shed: some were actuated by veneration for the memory of Allaverdy: others wished to preserve Surajah Dowlah, either as a resource to themselves, or as a restraint upon Jaffier; all these proposed a strict but mild imprisonment. But the rest, who were more subtle courtiers, seconded the opinion of Meerum, representing the risques of revolt and revolution to which the government of Jaffier would continually be exposed, whilst Surajah Dowlah lived. Jaffier himself gave no opinion; and Meerum seeing his unwillingness to pronounce, advised him to go to rest; and he himself would take care of the prisoner. Jaffier, pretending to understand these words as if they meant to violence, dismissed the assembly, and retired into the inward apartments of the palace; when Meerum privately sent one of his own menial servants, in whom he most confided, to the guard, with the fatal mandate; which they received with the ruthless alacrity of ruffians who murder for reward. Their boisterous intrusion into the chamber convinced Surajah Dowlah of their purpose, and the instant terrors of death threw him into a strong agony of bitter lamentation. At length he recovered sufficiently to ask leave to make his ablutions, and to say his prayers. A pot of water chanced to be near, which the executioners, impatient to perform their work, hastily threw over his head. The servant then struck with his poignard, and the others finished the massacre with their swords. His mangled remains were exposed, in the morning, through the city, upon an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Allaverdy, where they were buried. The populace beheld the procession with awe and consternation; and the soldiery, having no longer the option of two lords, accepted the promises of Jaffier, and refrained from tumult.

Thus

Thus perished Surajah Dowlah, in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his reign, by the hands of violence, as his father and grandfather had perished before him, and by means not unlike those which were employed by both his grandfathers to destroy the heir of their benefactor, by whom they, as Jaffier by them, had been promoted from obscurity to the highest ranks of the state. There were found with his secretary copies of the letters he had written to Mr. Bussy in Chicacole, and to Mr. Law in Behar. In one to Mr. Bussy, dated a few days after he had sworn to the peace concluded with the English on the 6th of February, he presseth him to send 2000 men under the command of trusty officers, and in another invites him to march himself with his whole force into Bengal. To Mr. Law he writes soon after his departure into Behar, and before the confederacy against himself began to move, that he is determined to attack the English, and orders him to return immediately with his party to Muxadavad. Tyrant as he was, if he had respected the advice of his grandfather Allaverdy, and not have excited the detestation of the Gentoos, at the same time that he was rendering himself dreadful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the English would have found no alliance sufficient to have ventured the risque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the same iniquity of character, which urged him to the destruction of Calcutta, would soon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds. 1757 July.

The party of Frenchmen, with Mr. Law, advanced from Boglipore as soon as they received the last summons of Surajah Dowlah, but so late, that they had not passed Tacriagully, when they heard some confused reports of the battle of Plassy, on which Mr. Law halted, waiting for more certain information. Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles farther, he would the next day have met and saved Surajah Dowlah, and an order of events, very different from those which we have to relate, would in all probability have ensued. After waiting two days at Tacriagully, Mr. Law received intelligence that he was taken; on which he immediately marched back into Behar, intending to offer his service to Ramnarain, the vice-nabob of the province.

1757 July. Of all the Gentoos whom Allaverdy had raised to high appointments, Ramnarain seems to have been the only one, whose gratitude had not been estranged by the despotic caprices of Surajah Dowlah. But they were connected by the same resentments: for, whilst Surajah Dowlah was harbouring grudge against Meer Jaffier at Muxadavad, Ramnarain was at variance with a brother, and a brother-in-law of Meer Jaffier, who held considerable employments at Patna. The knowledge of this animosity had deterred Roydoolub, although connected with Ramnarain by religion as well as business, from attempting to gain his concurrence to the confederacy; nor does it appear that Ramnarain knew any thing of it until it was brought to the point of decision. In the mean while, he regarded the party with Mr. Law as an important resource to Surajah Dowlah, in case hostilities should be renewed with the English, and had accordingly supplied them, although secretly, with the means of subsistence ever since they had retreated into his province. The new regency at Muxadavad had, therefore, no reason to expect his willing acquiescence to the revolution, or not to suspect that he would not entertain the party with Mr. Law, and even strengthen himself still more by alliances with the neighbouring powers to the westward. The best means of averting these consequences consisted in sending a detachment expedite and strong enough to destroy the French party before they reached Patna, or a force sufficient to deter Ramnarain from taking them into his pay when they should arrive there.

Meer Jaffier, notwithstanding the seeming acquiescence of the soldiery to his accession, was afraid to trust any considerable body of them at a distance, and especially in the precarious province of Behar; but was ashamed to acknowledge his mistrust, which Clive penetrated, and determined to undertake the expedition with the English troops alone. The detachment consisted of 230 Europeans, three companies each of 100 Sepoys, 50 Lascars, and two field-pieces, both six-pounders, and Major Coote was appointed to the command. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions, were laden in 40 boats, all of which were very ill equipt, whether with

rowers or tackle; and, nevertheless, were not ready before the 6th of July, when they left Muxadavad; by which time the French party had got half-way to Patna. 1757 July.

The news of the battle of Plassy was brought to Calcutta on the 25th of June in a letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Drake, the governor, who immediately communicated it to the council. The victory was deemed decisive; and all restraints of secrecy being now removed, the purport of the treaties were revealed by the members of the council to all they met. In a few minutes all the inhabitants of the town, impatient to hear or tell, were in the streets. The restitution of public and private property; the donations to the squadron, the army, and individuals; the grants to the company; the privileges to the English commerce; the comparison of the prosperity of this day with the calamities in which the colony was overwhelmed at this very season in the preceding year: in a word, this sudden reverse and profusion of good fortune intoxicated the steadiest minds, and hurried every one into the excesses of intemperate joy; even envy and hatred forgot their energies, and were reconciled, at least for a while, to familiarity and good-will; for every one saw that his own portion of advantages was intimately and inseparably blended with that of every other person in the settlement.

The Presidency immediately prepared a vessel to carry these welcome tidings to England. Mr. Maningham, who had been deputed from Fulta to Madrass, chancing to return at this time to Calcutta, was sent to Muxadavad, where Colonel Clive, Mr Watts, and himself, were appointed to act as a committee in the management of all public affairs. Their first care was to get the money stipulated by the treaties. Roydoolub persisted in his assertions of the scantiness of Surajah Dowlah's treasury, and endeavoured to prove them by facts which were not true. At length, after a variety of discussions and equivocations, the committee by the 6th of July received, in coined silver, 7,271,666 rupees. This treasure was packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of soldiers to Nudiah; from whence they

1757 July. were escorted by all the boats of the squadron and many others, proceeding with banners displayed and musick sounding, as a triumphal procession, to contrast that in which the inhabitants of the Ganges had seen Surajah Dowlah returning the year before from the destruction of Calcutta. Never before did the English nation at one time obtain such a prize in solid money; for it amounted (in the mint) to 800,000 pounds sterling. From real or pretended difficulties, no more money was received until the 9th of August, when Roydoolub paid 1,655,358 rupees; and on the 30th of the same month he delivered gold, jewels, and cash, amounting to 1,599,737 rupees: the three payments amounted to 10,765,737 rupees. The whole sum agreed to be paid, as one half of the stipulations of the treaty, was 11,350,000 rupees: the deficiency, 584,905, was still delayed; but the commission which had been promised was paid to Roydoolub.

During the receipts of the money the committee had likewise attended to the other articles of the treaty. A mint was established at Calcutta, and the first rupees were coined there on the 19th of August. Agents were sent to re-establish the subordinate factories. Mandates from the Nabob were issued for the freedom of the English trade throughout the province, but permitting it only under the usual passport of the company's dustuck, and without exemption from the former prohibitions of dealing in any commodities, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported to sea. It was difficult to define the limits of the lands ceded to the company, south of Calcutta, for they had never been surveyed by the government: and great quantities of salt being manufactured in the districts nearest the sea, the tenants and renters who gained much by this commodity, were averse to the introduction of new masters, who, as merchants, might wish to appropriate this trade to themselves: their patrons, resenting the loss of those presents and advantages, which they received for their protection, suggested every obstacle to prevent the Nabob from giving these districts to the English; and prevailed so far, that it was agreed the company should

not

not exercise any authority in them, until all the lands had been 1757
surveyed, and every man's possession ascertained. July.

All the prosperities which had been imagined on the news of the battle of Plassy were now realized in Calcutta. A committee of the most respectable inhabitants were appointed to distribute the money received for the restitution of the losses of individuals, and executed the office with much discretion and equity. Commerce revived throughout the settlement, and affluence began to spread in every house; but as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undisputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in salt and other articles, which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Meer Jaffier complained of these encroachments within a month after his accession, which, although checked for the present, were afterwards renewed, and at last produced much more mischief than even disinterested sagacity could have foreseen.

Admiral Watson barely lived to see the effects of those successes, to which his conduct had so much contributed: he died on the 16th of August, after five days illness, of the malignant fever peculiar at this season of the year to the lower climate of Bengal. The frankness and integrity of his nature, and his zeal for the honour of his nation, had endeared him to all ranks of his countrymen, wheresoever he appeared in India.

In this interval continual advices had been received from Major Coote of the progress of his detachment, which had met with even more interruptions than might have been expected from the insufficiencies of the outset. The boats, for want of rowers, could not be towed as fast as the troops marched on shore, which obliged him, before they arrived at the head of the island of Cossimbuzar, to press 87 men out of three large trading boats which were coming down the river. On the 10th of July, which was the 4th day after their departure from Muxadavad, the troops, and on the 11th the boats, arrived at Rajahmahal, 40 miles beyond Muxadavad, where a brother of Meer Jaffier commanded; he had sent 120 horse to meet the detachment on the road, and promised every other kind of assistance,

but

1757 July. but afforded none. However, after five days delay, the boats were repaired, but the horsemen refused to proceed without two months pay, which Major Coote had neither money or orders to furnish: he therefore continued his march without them on the 13th, and on the 18th arrived at Boglipore, which is 65 miles from Rajahmahal. Here he received intelligence, that Mr. Law's party had four days before passed the city of Patna, which is 55 miles beyond Boglipore. Major Coote left this place on the 19th, and was followed the next day by 60 horsemen, sent by the governor under the command of his son. On the 21st, the horsemen, troops, and boats, arrived at Mongheir, which by the road is 35 miles farther. The garrison, on the appearance of the detachment, who expected to have been admitted into the fort, manned the ramparts, and shewed their lighted matches, which obliged the troops to march round the walls. On the 23d they arrived at Burhia, 30 miles farther on. By this time so many mischances had happened to the fleet of boats, several having been lost, others stranded, and some continually breaking from the towing lines, that Major Coote landed the field-pieces and ammunition at Burhia, and the same evening proceeded six miles farther to Darriapore. At two in the afternoon of the next day the troops arrived at Panarack, 11 miles farther. During this march all the European soldiers were holding mutinous language in complaints of their hardships and fatigues. Major Coote, impatient to reach Patna, resolved to reserve their chastisement until he arrived there, but, as an immediate disgrace, put them all into the boats, and the same evening marched himself at the head of the Sepoys 5 miles farther to the town of Bhar. Proceeding with them the next day, which was the 25th, whilst the Europeans were following at leisure, he arrived at night at Futwah, which is 26 miles from Bhar, and only seven from Patna. During this day's march he received two letters, and they were the first, from Ramnaraim, apologizing for the escape of the French party, and imputing it to the want of timely notice from Meer Jaffier. Soon after a deputation of his principal officers arrived at Futwah, under the pretence of compliment, but in reality to observe the force, and discover the inten-

intentions of Major Coote. They informed him that Ramnarain had returned only two days before from an expedition against two disobedient chiefs of Moy and Sader, whose districts lay about 30 miles south-east of Patna; that immediately on his return he had proclaimed Meer Jaffier Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa; that he had sent forward 2000 of his troops, horse and foot, in pursuit of Mr. Law, and that he had disbanded the greatest part of the rest. The next day, the 26th, at ten in the forenoon, the whole detachment, as well as the boats, arrived at the English factory, which is a spacious building situated on the bank of the river, just without the western wall of the city. Major Coote immediately prepared to visit Ramnarain, but was prevented by a Message, desiring him to take some repose, and to defer his visit until the next day: in the afternoon three Europeans and some Sepoys, who were leading some cattle to the factory, were, without provocation, assaulted and wounded by a number of Peons belonging to the garrison. Complaint was immediately made to Ramnarain, who shewed no inclination to redress the outrage; and moreover desired Major Coote not to visit him, as was intended, the next day, lest the ceremonial should give occasion to quarrels betwixt their respective attendants. An English officer, likewise, walking in the town, overheard two men of condition, who did not suppose him to understand their language, talking of a design to massacre the English detachment. In the night many of the Europeans got drunk, and 30 of the most disorderly, who had likewise been foremost in the mutiny on the road, were selected, and confined for punishment.

1757 July.

The next day Major Coote conferred with Mahmud Amy, the brother, and Meer Cossum, the brother-in-law, of Meer Jaffier. They informed him that the French party might easily have been stopped, if Ramnarain had so willed; that, on hearing of the death of Surajah Dowlah, he had sent to Sujah Dowlah, the neighbouring and powerful subah of Oude, proposing to render himself independent of Bengal, if Sujah Dowlah would assist him with his forces, and requesting him to protect the French party on the frontiers, until it might be necessary to recal them to Patna; that

1757 July. Sujah Dowlah encouraged his views, but was prevented by events, which more immediately concerned himself, from marching with his army into Bahar. They likewise asserted that Ramnarain had consulted his confidents on the means of destroying the English detachment. This information determined the Major to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oude.

The next day the 30 mutineers were tried and flogged; this punishment was judged adequate to their offence, because of the great fatigues they had endured: for they had marched from Rajamahol to Patna in eleven days and a half, without the intermission of one day's halt, and the distance, measured by a perambulator, is 201 miles.

A day passed in making preparations for the outset; but all the attendants of the camp, and many of the boatmen, finding they were to go farther, took fright and ran away; and it was impossible to collect others without the assistance of the government, which Ramnarain promised, but did not supply half the requisite number. However in this and the succeeding day all the boats, as well as the troops, assembled at Bankipore, a garden belonging to the company about five miles from the city, and on the same side of the river. The next day the detachment moved six miles farther to Dinapore, and
August. the day after, which was the first of August, joined the troops which Ramnarain pretended to have sent forward in pursuit of Mr. Law, with whom they halted at Moneah, a considerable town fifteen miles from Dinapore, situated at the confluence of the river Soan with the Ganges, where Hybutjung, their commander, refused to proceed any farther. The troops of the detachment, with their ammunition, crossed the Ganges, and marched on the other side, whilst the bullocks, baggage, and attendants, crossed the Soan, and proceeded along the southern side of the Ganges until they came opposite to Chuprah, when it took three days to ferry them over; for the bed of the river is in this part three miles broad, and the officer of the district failed to furnish the boats and other assistances he had promised. At Chuprah the company have a house established to collect saltpetre, of which great quantities are made in this, and some

of

of the neighbouring districts. Here intelligence was obtained, that the several chiefs in this part of Behar had enlisted forces to assist Ramnarain; and spies reported that they had left Mr. Law's party at Benarez, which is by the road at least 140 miles beyond Chuprah, and that they were supplied there by Bulwansing, the Rajah of the district, who was dependant on Sujah Dowlah the subah of Oude. Farther pursuit was evidently vain, but certain of producing immediate hostilities with Sujah Dowlah, whose territory commenceth at the river Dewah, which disembogues into the Ganges 18 miles to the west of Chuprah. The Major, therefore, resolved to wait here for farther orders, and on the 12th received a letter from Colonel Clive, instructing him, as a scheme of Meer Jaffier's, to return to Patna, and endeavour, in concert with Mahmud Amy Cawn, to wrest the government from Ramnarain. The troops, leaving the baggage to follow, embarked early the next morning; and such is the strength of the stream at this season of the year, that they arrived at Patna by noon, although the distance along the course of the river is 44 miles. It appeared to the Major that the only means of executing his instructions would be to assault the citadel, in which Ramnarain always resided, and at this time only with 2000 men; but Mahmud Amy represented that there force was not sufficient to invest it so closely as to prevent Ramnarain from escaping by some of the secret passages, and proposed to defer the attempt until he himself should be joined by 1500 of Ramnarain's troops, whom he had engaged to desert. 1757 July.

But by this time Ramnarain had taken the alarm, probably by information from his friends at Muxadavad of the orders sent to Major Coote and Mahmud Amy, which, confirmed by the hasty return of the detachment from Chuprah, frightened him so much, that he now spared no attentions to the Major, and received his visit with much affectation of complacence. Two days after, the Major received a letter from Meer Jaffier, fraught with suspicions that Mahmud Amy had borne false witness against Ramnarain, as a pretext for levying forces, with the intention of seizing the government for himself. Enough has not been discovered of the secrets

 of

1757 of Jaffier to account for this abrupt change and contradiction of an opinion, which had hitherto been the greatest anxiety of his mind.
August. His letter, however, precluded all farther intentions of hostility; and on the 22d a conference was held by appointment in the citadel, to discuss and reconcile all differences. Major Coote and the two brothers, Mahmud Amy and Meer Cossim, came each with strong escorts, and Ramnarain was attended by all his principal officers. The two brothers, with the calmness peculiar to the manners of Indostan, accused him of a design to assassinate them, which indeed had been reported in the city; then of his intention to rebel against Meer Jaffier, in proof of which they urged his connivance at the passage of the French troops through Behar, the oaths he had taken from the officers of his army, his correspondence and proposals to Sujah Dowlah. Ramnarain solemnly denied all these accusations, and produced a letter he had just received from Sujah Dowlah, which indicated no such intentions as were imputed to their correspondence: he then said, it was true, that he had been attached to the late Nabob, because his fortunes had been raised by the princes of his family; but now that Surajah Dowlah was no more, and none of his family remaining worthy or capable of the government, on whom should he so naturally wish to depend as on Meer Jaffier, whom their common patron, Allaverdy, had raised so near his own person and dignity. He then called a bramin, and, in the presence of his officers, and a crowd of attendants, solemnly swore allegiance and fidelity to Meer Jaffier, and friendship and good-will to Meer Cossim and Mahmud Amy. The two brothers returned the compliment, by taking an oath on the koran that their heart was clear of all ill-will to Ramnarain, and should continue so. They then embraced him, and all the three Major Coote, as the mediator of this reconciliation. Nevertheless, neither side believed the other, but each wished to gain time, and to wait events: for Ramnarain knew that the orders from Muxadavad would prevent Major Coote and the brothers of Meer Jaffier from acting against him at present; and they knew that he, disappointed of the assist-

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ance of Sujah Dowlah, would be submissive until he was better prepared to assert independence. 1757 August.

Before this conference Meer Jaffier had determined to recall the detachment; but Major Coote did not receive the orders to return until the beginning of September, and in the interval the troops remained, uninterrupted by any alarms, in the company's factory adjoining to the city. All proceeded in the boats, which left Patna on the 7th of September, and arrived in seven days at Muxadavad, although the distance is 300 miles.

The confederacies of ambition are as liable to be broken by success as disappointment. Meer Jaffier had many relations; and not only they, but all others who were his adherents or dependants before his accession to the Nabobship, thought they had the best right to partake of the change of his fortunes; and those, who without previous connexion had acquiesced to the revolution, thought their title better. Rut the donations to the English had exhausted the treasury, and none of the officers of the government could be removed without infringing the declarations by which Jaffier had obtained the general submission to his sovereignty, and which Clive had ratified. Some money had been distributed amongst the army of the government, but much less than they expected; and their discontent acquired presumption by the complaints of the whole populace of Muxadavad, who had beheld with detestation the gold and silver of the capital ostentatiously carried away by foreigners. A large sum still remained due of the first half of the treaty-monies, and the term of the first payment of the second half was approaching, for it fell in October; and the committee at Muxadavad were continually pressing the treasury for the balance already due.

There is no prince in Indostan, who does not try every means to avoid the payment of money, stipulated at a distant period; and Meer Jaffier imagined his liberalities to individuals, who were the heads of the English nation, would relax their strictness in the public terms. But Colonel Clive had neither asked nor stipulated for the presents he had received; and having refused every other offer from the various interests which composed the government, thought their

obligations

1757. August. obligations mutual, and maintained the independency of his command. Neither Jaffier nor his son had suspected this sternness in his character. He not only insisted on the payments of the treaty-monies, as they became due, but, when tampered with to approve changes in the army and administration, which Jaffier wished to make in order to gratify his own favourites, Clive let him understand, that he would permit none, as deeming them dangerous to the public tranquillity, and contrary to declarations, sanctified by his own. Jaffier felt these restraints with abomination, which turned his head to notions of emancipating himself from the ascendance of the English; but, warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the English would find the same resources against himself, as he with the English had derived from them against Surajah Dowlah. Roydoolub, as the head of the Gentoo line, was first to be destroyed; but, dreading the sagacity of Clive, Jaffier determined to set nothing in motion which might awaken his suspicions, whilst he remained at Muxadavad; and in the interval, both he and his son Meerum carried themselves to him with every appearance of openness and confidence, and Clive often partook of the familiarity of their private amusements.

On the 14th of September, the day after the detachment from Patna arrived at Muxadavad, Clive went away to Calcutta, leaving Watts, Maningham, and Scrafton, to transact the company's affairs with the Nabob and his ministers. The detachment from Patna was stationed in the factory at Cossimbuzar; the rest of the troops, which had served at Plassy, were sent down the river, and quartered at Chandernagore, as a more healthy situation than Calcutta.

We shall now return to the affairs of Coromandel and the Decan.

END *of the* SEVENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

THE presidency of Madrass received no intelligence concerning the success of the armament to Bengal, before the 15th of February, between which day and the 22d, advices arrived, by various vessels, of the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack of the Nabob's camp, and of the treaty made with him on the 11th of that month, in which conjuncture Colonel Clive gave hopes that he should soon return with a great part of the troops. On the 21st Admiral Pocock arrived, as we have said, from Vizagapatam, landed the remaining soldiers of the Company's troops, received 100, the same number of sailors, and sailed the next day to rejoin the squadron in Bengal. 1757 February.

According to the principle adopted on the departure of the armament, the presidency had continued to avoid all hostilities in the Carnatic; but the failure of Lieutenant Rumbold's negotiation with the jemautdars of Madura, in November, raised no improbable apprehensions, that the influence of the government of Pondicherry would, if it had not already, soon insinuate itself into their councils, unless immediately interrupted by some exertion; and the dangerous consequences which would ensue, determined the presidency to revoke the restraint they had laid on Captain Calliaud not to engage in any military operations from Tritchinopoly; and in the end of the year, they allowed him to employ such means as he should think expedient, for the reduction of Madura, and permitted him to command the expedition in person; they likewise sent several

officers

1757 March. officers, with some stores and ammunition, which the garrison of Tritchinopoly could not spare without diminishing its own complements: they went by sea to Devicotah, from whence they were to proceed through the Tanjore country.

Captain Calliaud, whilst waiting for these supplies, went to Tanjore, as well to obtain troops from the King, as to make peace between him and Tondiman; for Monacjee in the beginning of the year had taken the fort of *Killanelly*, which had been so long the object of contention between them; but found the difference, as before, irreconcilable; nevertheless, both proffered every assistance in their power. On the 23d of March, he set out from Tritchinopoly, with 150 Europeans, including artillery-men, 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, and on the 25th arrived at *Anawashul*, a town belonging to Tondiman, 20 miles from Tritchinopoly, where they were joined by 1000 of his horse, and 100 of his Colleries. On the 29th they arrived on the frontiers of the lesser Moravar's country, who being likewise frequently called the *Nellicotah* Polygar, we shall in future distinguish him from the greater Moravar by that title. Here they expected 500 horse from Tanjore; but none were arrived, or near. Scouts sent forward reported, that all the roads and paths in the country before them were obstructed with trees fresh cut down and strewed across the way, and that numbers of Colleries were every where ready to dispute the passage. Messengers were sent to enquire the reason. The Polygar said, that being at enmity with Tanjore, and knowing that Calliaud had asked the king for a body of horse, he had barred his woods, being determined not to admit any Tanjorines into his country. Calliaud, being by this time convinced that the King, notwithstanding his promises, did not intend to send any, made a merit of rejecting what he was not likely to obtain, and assured the Polygar he would not accept of their assistance; on which all obstacles were removed, and the troops, after a halt of three days, entered his country on the 4th of March. In seven days more, of which they halted during the third at *Mangalum*, they arrived at *Paralachy*, the last town they had to pass in the districts of the greater Moravar,

having

having received every kind of hospitality in the countries of both Polygars. Excepting the feet of a few missionaries, this track had never before been trodden by any Europeans. At Mangalum, Calliaud met the brother of the Nellicotah ; and at Paralachy, the principal man of the greater Moravar : and learnt from them that the two Polygars and Tondiman had entered into a league to attack the king of Tanjore with all their forces united, on the very next attempt he should make against the territories of either of the three. The troops having halted a day at Paralachy, continued their march to Tinivelly, through the open country, in districts belonging to this government. 1757 Mcrah.

The Pulitaver, with the Polygars of his alliance, had taken the field in the middle of January, as soon as Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville ; their force amounted to 10,000 men, and the cavalary of Madura under the command of Berkatoolah, to one thousand. This army moved by slow stages to the eastward, the Colleries plundering day and night on either hand, and at length encamped before *Panialumcrutch,* at this time the principal residence of Catabominaigue, the chief of the eastren Polygars, and demanded his assistance ; who, dreading the destruction that would follow his refusal, complied, and joined them with 3 or 4000 men. But the Polygar of *Etiaporum,* the next in importance, made some pretence to withhold his troops, for which the Pulitaver was not sorry ; and the army marched from Panialumcrutch directly to Tinivelly, still plundering all the way ; but were deterred from attacking the town itself, by the activity of the Company's Sepoys stationed there under the command of Bussiponaigue. Returning with their plunder to the northward, they ravaged all the accessible and cultivated districts bolonging to Etiaporum in revenge for his neutrality ; and from hence sent off a detachment with their booty, amongst which were 5000 beeves, to Nellitangaville. In this while Mahomed Issoof the commandant, and Moodilee the renter of these countries, not being certified which way Calliaud would direct his march, expected that he would come in somewhere near Madura, and remained at Chevelpetore, under the hills to the west,

 until

1757 until they received intelligence that the enemy were marching from
March. Panialumcrutch towards Tinivelly; on which they moved to intercept their return, and besides other Polygars of less note were accompanied by Vaniah of Sevagherry, a very large Collery fort situated at the foot of the hills about 20 miles south of Chevelpetore; but the enemy had followed their plunder from Etiaporum, and were arrived at Nellitangavelle before Issoof could intersect their return: he nevertheless, when thus far, remained in the districts mid-way between Chevelpetore and Tinivelly, as the best position to watch their future movements, until he received orders from Captain Calliaud to repair to, and wait for him at this town; in consequence of which, he proceeded and arrived there on the 28th of February. The enemy no sooner saw him removing to a greater distance, than they again came out, and proceeded to Alwar courchy, a town about 20 miles to the westward of Tinivelly, where Moodilee had lately thrown up a mud fort, on which he had mounted three pieces of cannon, and placed in it 150 Peons and Sepoys under the command of his nephew, Algapah. The enemy attacked the fort, which, after more resistance than might have been expected, surrendered, and Algapah was sent a prisoner to Nellitangaville. Intelligence of this loss was brought to Tinivelly on the 4th of March, in the evening, and at 8 o' clock, Mahomed Issoof marched with the greatest part of his own force, and all of the Polygars his allies. At 7 the next morning they came in sight of Alwar courchy, and were surrounded on all sides by the enemy's army, of which the cavalry of Madura were most to be apprehended. The fight continued in a variety of skirmishes, until the evening, when the enemy quitted the fort and the field. The Polygar of *Outamalee* had both his legs struck off by a cannon ball, and the general of the Pulitaver's men was likewise killed; of their troops 2 or 300 were supposed to be killed or wounded; of Mahomed Issoof's only six Sepoys were killed and 30 wounded; however, the action was esteemed a complete victory, and to fix it as such in the opinion of the country, he marched forward to *Shenganpetty*, a fort in the hills belonging to the Polygar of Vadagary, situated about 16 miles to the north-west of Alvar courchy.

The guard abandoned the fort before it was attacked; and Mahomed Issoof, leaving 100 Sepoys to garrison it, dismissed the Polygars, and returned with the renter's and the Company's troops to Tinivelly, where Calliaud with his detachment arrived on the 17th. 1757 March.

The force now assembled at Tinivelly was formidable, but could not proceed to action for want of money, which the renter Moodilee, from whom it was expected, was not able to furnish; and the shroffs had for some time been deterred from supplying him by their apprehensions from the animosity which existed between him and Mahomed Issoof. Captain Calliaud with much difficulty reconciled their differences, at least to appearance, and so far as to induce the shroffs to lend 200,000 rupees, which were immediately disbursed in discharging the arrears due to the troops, and other military expences. The Polygar Catabominaigue was at this time celebrating a great wedding in his family at Panialumcrutch; to which, as usual, the whole country round was invited, and Moodilee as a principal guest. He went, and having long been in habits of acquaintance and business with the Polygar, fixed him in the interest of the company, and concluded an alliance with him against the confederates with whom he had lately united, as well as all other enemies. In return, the Polygar requested that some compensation might be made to his dependant of Etiaporum, for the ravages which his country had lately sustained in consequence of his refusal to join the rebels; and Calliaud, having seen the effects as he marched through, remitted a part of the fine due on the hostages of Etiaporum, who still remained unredeemed with Tondiman. Whilst these affairs were adjusting, the southern monsoon setting in on the coast of Malabar, broke over the western range of mountains with the utmost violence, and descending, with the cataracts it had formed, into the plain, deluged the whole country to the eastern sea: the storm, rain, and inundation, continued without intermission for two days and two nights: the harvests, just ripe, were swept away, and with them the habitations of the cultivators: the rains continued several days after the winds had abated; it required many days labour and sunshine to drain and dry the ground, and more time to repair the

 devas-

1757 devastation which the agriculture of the country had suffered; during which an epidemic sickness broke out, and carried off many of the distressed inhabitants by sudden deaths, which the patient simplicity and superstition of their character imputed to the visitation of a goddess, *Lacheme*, coming, they knew not whence, from the North. The shroffs, who had lent money to Moodilee on the mortgaged harvest, would not suffer him to depart until they saw the country recovering; which obliged Captain Calliaud to remain at Tinivelly some time longer, in order to superintend and encourage the various operations which were necessary to restore the cultivation.

March.

The Presidency, whilst waiting the result of this expedition, had, howsoever unwilling, been obliged to engage in hostilities in the Carnatic. The Nabob, in the beginning of the year, had demanded of his brother Nazeabulla, the governor of *Nelore*, a subsidy of 100,000 rupees above the usual tribute; which the country could afford to pay, having suffered little from the distresses of the war, to which the rest of the Carnatic had so long been exposed; but Nazeabulla equivocated and apologized. Ichlass Khan, the brother of the Nabob's buxey or general, marching at this time with 500 horse, and other troops, to collect the tributes of the northern Polygars, advanced as far as Serapely, a fort 12 miles south of Nelore, and proposed an interview with Nazeabulla, who accepted the visit, giving his oath on the Koran; but requested Ichlass Khan to come with few attendants, lest quarrels should arise between them and his own. The visit produced no change in Nazeabulla's excuses for not paying the money, and Ichlass Khan left the city in the evening without harm; but, after it grew dark, his escort was attacked by an ambuscade of matchlock-men in the bushes near the road, and one of them was killed. The Nabob imputed this outrage to the instigation and example of his other brother Maphuze Khan at Madura, and of an adventurer Meersaeb, who was in possession of Elavanasore, and plundering wherever he listed. The anguish which the Nabob expressed at this second rebellion rising in his own family, determined the presidency to comply with his earnest request to re-

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duce Nazeabulla; but his troops were not ready to march from Arcot before the 1st of April, although the outrage happened on 21st of February; during which Ichlass Khan was waiting for them with his detachment at Kalastry, the town of the polygar Damerlah Venketappah-naigue, 70 miles to the s. w. of Nelore. The force from Madrass was only 100 Europeans, the company of 56 Coffrees, and 300 Sepoys, with one eighteen-pounder, three six-pounders, four cohorns, and one howitz. Lieutenant Colonel Forde, of Adlercron's regiment, was appointed to command the expedition. The Sepoys and bullocks proceeded by land. The Europeans and Coffrees, with the artillery and stores, embarked on the first of April, in a ship and a sloop, which anchored the next afternoon opposite to the mouth of the river Kandeler, seven miles to the North of Kistnapatam, a town of considerable trade, from whence they expected the usual assistances of the port; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the threats of Nazeabulla, abandoned the town on the appearance of the vessels, which were employed seven days in effecting the disembarkation with two massoolas they had brought from Madrass. During this interval the Sepoys and bullocks arrived; but coolies and more bullocks were necessary before the detachment could move from Kistnapatam, and the Nabob's army from Arcot was not near enough to supply them before the 22d of the month. 1757 April.

The next day Colonel Forde marched, and on the 25th joined the Nabob's army at Serapely, which was commanded by his brother Abdullwahab, and had been encreased by the troops of the polygars Bangar Yatcham and Damerlah Venketappah, and all together amounted to 10,000 men, of which 3000 were cavalry. On the 27th the army encamped before Nelore. This town stands about 500 yards to the south of the river Pennar, extending about 1200 yards from east to west, and 600 on the other sides. The walls were of mud, and only the gateway and a few of the towers of stone. The parapet was six feet High, with many port-holes for small arms, made of pipes of baked clay, laid in the moist mud, whilst raising, and afterwards con-

1757 consolidating with the mass; the common method of forming these April. defences in India: the ditch had no water, and was in many parts much choked by drifts of sand. Nazeabulla, on the approach of Abdulwahab, had gone away with 1500 horse, and left the city to be defended by a resolute officer, with a garrison of 4000 Peons, who were instructed and assisted by 20 Frenchmen, sent from Masulipatam. The English troops encamped along the river in face of the town, the Nabob's and the Polygar's at a distance higher up.

On the 29th, the eighteen-pounder, with the field-pieces, together with the cohorns and howitz, began to fire from the mound of a tank at the distance of 300 yards; but by mistake against the strongest part of the wall, on which, in four days, they made no May. impression. In the night of the 2d of May, all the artillery was moved to a battery erected about 200 yards to the left, and 100 nearer the wall, which in this part was visibly in a ruinous condition. The 18-pounder fired briskly during the next day, and by the evening made a breach which appeared practicable; and hitherto only one man had been wounded by the enemy's fire, which had been very few cannon-shot, but continual from small-arms. The next day Abdulwahab summoned the governor, who answered with civility, that he could not deliver the fort to any one without a positive order from Nazeabulla, whose salt he eat. It was therefore resolved to storm the next morning; but, during this interval the garrison had been diligently employed in counterworking the breach. On each side they cut a broad trench through the rampart, and another on the ground within, which joined at right angles with those from the rampart, and enclosed a space of some yards square; these trenches were to be defended by men armed with long pikes, whilst numbers stationed, some along the ramparts, some in various pits dug for the occasion, and others in the adjacent houses, were to annoy the assailants, when on the breach, with stones, arrows, and fire-arms, to which their own pikemen, being intrenched breast-high, would be little exposed. At sun-rise the English troops advanced to the assault. The 300 Sepoys marched first; the company of Coffrees next; the Europeans in the rear. The enemy fired

briskly

briskly as the line was approaching, and more especially from the 1757
tower on the left of the breach, that Col. Forde ordered a six-poun- May.
der from the battery, which, at the distance of a hundred yards, kept up a constant fire on the parapet of this tower, more indeed with the hope of intimidating, than the expectation of doing any detriment. The first few Sepoys who got up the breach were immediately stopped by the pikes from advancing either forwards, or on either hand, and had scarcely discharged their muskets before they were all wounded; on which those immediately behind ran down in confusion, and the whole body in an instant broke; but dispersed to the right and left of the rest of the line. The Coffrees, led by Ensign Elliot, took their place without trepidation, and having mounted, maintained their ground on the breach gallantly, endeavouring, after they had fired, to break down the pikes with their muskets, and even to push into the trenches: but in vain, for, in a few minutes, four of them were killed, and thirteen, with Lieutenant Elliot, wounded; on which the rest were called down. The Europeans, who during this contest had remained thronged at the foot of the breach, now mounted, every man as he stood nearest, without regard to rank, order, or command. This assault continued half an hour, during which Capt. Hunt was shot with an arrow, Callender and Richard Smith, and Mr. Alexander, the commissary, were bruised with stones, and with them four of the soldiers killed, and 27 wounded on the breach, and the enemy still as active as ever; on which Colonel Forde, who was at the foot of the wall, ordered the retreat, which was made with more hurry than became troops who had hitherto behaved with so much courage; for every man, instead of waiting for his officers and colours, ran as fast as he could to take shelter in the battery, and all passed the field-piece without stopping to bring it away, until captain Richard Smith, who, in rotation of duty, brought up the rear, halted with a few of his own company, and afterwards, with the assistance of some of the Nabob's horsemen, who were near, dragged the field-piece to the battery: during which two of his serjeants, and two of the horsemen, were wounded from the walls. The Nabob's army, dur-

ing

1757 May. ing the assault, advanced in several bodies against different parts of the town, but their appearance no where withdrew the attention of the garrison from the defence of the breach.

The vent of the eighteen pounder being run, it was impossible to renew the attack until other battering cannon arrived from Madrass; but Colonel Forde had already been informed by the presidency, that the French troops were acting in the field, and threatened designs which might render it necessary to recall his detachment. By the 13th the wounded were sufficiently recovered to march; and no determination being as yet received from the presidency, Colonel Forde, in compliance with the repeated requests of Abdulwahab, crossed the Pennar with the whole army in pursuit of Nazeabulla, who, it was said, still continued in the neighbourhood: on the 15th they halted at Sangam, a pagoda of note 30 miles west of Nelore, where they were informed that Nazeabulla had quitted the country, and was gone to the French at Condavir; on which the army returned the next day towards Serapely, but by another road, leaving Nelore to the left. On the way Colonel Forde met several letters, signifying the encreasing apprehensions of the presidency; and on his arrival at Serapely, received express orders to return with the utmost expedition to Madrass.

The government of Pondicherry, with the advices of the declaration of war against Great Britain, received orders to refrain from any military operations of risque, until the great armament preparing in France should arrive; which injunctions they had implicitty obeyed: but when they saw Madrass dividing its force, although not stronger than their own, on services at such distance from each other, as Nelore and Tinivelly, they thought they too might attempt some acquisition without much danger. However, they began with great caution. On the 6th of April, the day after the English troops embarked for Nelore, a body of 200 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, which had for some time lain encamped to the westward of Pondicherry, marched under the command of Mr. D'Auteuil, who had lately returned from France; they proceeded, giving out some other objects,

objects, to cover their real intentions, which were to fall upon Elavanasore by surprize. 1757 May.

This place is situated about 60 miles west of Pondicherry; it consists of a fort and a pettah both standing on a plain, and neither having any difficult defences: the districts are of no great extent, but extremely fertile. Before the truce between Mr. Saunders and Godèheu, it was taken posession of by an adventurer named Meer Allumodean, but more generally known by the name of Meer Saheb, who procured his confirmation from the Nabob, then at Tritchinopoly. Under this sanction, he maintained a much greater force, especially of horse, than the incomes of his government could afford, and supported them by plundering the neighbouring districts, pretending, that the managers of them were attached to the French. In an excursion immediately after the truce in 1755, he plundered all the French districts between Seringham and Pondicherry, when the presidency of Madrass rebuking his proceedings he made retribution to the French government, who permitted him to keep a small fort he had taken from them in the neighbourhood of Elavanasore, named Oullagellinoor. This cession raised suspicions in the Nabob, who proposed that the English detachment, which escorted him soon after from Tritchinopoly to Arcot, should attack Elavanasore in the way; and again that the English army should proceed against it, in the beginning of the last year, immediately after it had retreated from Velore. On the other hand, Meer Saheb, knowing himself reprobated by the Nabob, and seeing nothing to be got by uniting with the French, thought the mutual enmity between the two his best protection, and paid no respect to either; but increased his force, and continued his depredations on the possessions of both. Besides driving off the cattle, which he afterwards sold to the owners, it was especially his custom to seize on persons of substance, whom he confined until they had paid heavy ransoms. In the month of September, he, in one excursion, swept away 5000 beeves and 6000 sheep, indifferently from the country round; and in the beginning of the present year again

 plundered

1757 May. plundered the neighbourhood indiscriminately. The Nobob then pretended to suspect him of being in league with Maphuze Khan at Madura, and Nazeabulla at Nelore; but as soon as it was known, that the government of Pondicherry intended to attack Elavanasore, he requested the presidency of Madrass to protect him, rather than suffer such valuable districts to fall into the hands of the French.

Mr. D'Auteuil advancing by forced marches appeared before Elavanasore on the 10th; and, whilst they were encamping, Meer Saheb sallied with all his cavalry and most of his foot, and had well nigh routed the whole of the French force, when he was shot through the body: his troops immediately ceased the fight, but escorted him with much attention back to the fort. D' Autueil, on this trial, sent to Gingee for reinforcements and cannon; and, in the meantime, prepared to make a regular attack: on the 16th arrived 250 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, and the battering cannon; but on the same day Meer Saheb died of his wound; on which his brother, with the families of both, went away in the night, and the garrison after their example likewise abandoned the fort before the morning.

Reports had prevailed in this part of the country, ever since the French troops had taken the field, that they intended to fall upon Tritchinopoly, which, by the absence of the troops with Captain Calliaud, was left with a garrison very inadequate to its extent; and even Capt. Jos. Smith, who now commanded in the city, apprehended and warned the presidency of this danger. But the force which had taken Elavanasore was unequal to the enterprize; and D'Auteuil moved back from Elavanasore to Chilambrum, where he arrived on the 1st of May. From hence he marched and encamped on the skirts of the woods of Warriorepollam, and summoned the polygar to pay his tributes on the same pretensions as Maissin had demanded them two years before. The polygar as usual endeavoured to gain time by discussions, on which the French attacked one of his barriers, but were repulsed with loss: however he was frightened

frightened by the attack, and agreed to pay 40,000 rupees, but took some days to produce the money. 1757 May.

In the mean time, Captain Calliaud, whilst regulating the affairs of the renter at Tinivelly, acquired intelligence, that the confederates were treating with the Mysoreans at Dindigul for aid against the English and their adherents, the Pulitaver offering to pay down 500,000 rupees, and the Jemautdars of Maphuze Khan to give up the districts of *Sholavanden*, in which are comprized a strong pass, and the only road, between Madura and Dindigul. Nevertheless it was not intended that the country, when conquered, should be given either to the Mysorean or Maphuze Khan: it was to be restored to a descendant of the ancient kings, who lived in concealment in the country of the greater Moravar: and Maphuze Khan was to have a suitable establishment in Mysore.

April. This news encreased the necessity of attacking Madura as soon as possible; but the arrangements at Tinivelly were not finished until the 10th of April, on which day, Captain Calliaud began his march from thence, with 180 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, six field-pieces, and 500 horse: Mahmood Issoof commanded the Sepoys, and Moodilee what horse were levied by himself. Six companies of Sepoys were left for the defence of Tinivelly, and the same number in the fort of Palamcotah. On the same day, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck set off from Nellitangavile, with 500 horse, leaving Maphuze Khan with the Pulitaver. Skirting along the hills, they halted one evening near the fort of the Polygar Vaniah, of Shevagherry, which stood 60 miles S. W. of Madura, and 20 below Chevelpetore. The Polygar, having been attached by Mahomed Issoof, sent out his Colleries, who, in the middle of the night, fell upon this body of cavalry, and with their screams and fireworks dispersed the whole, and took 40 of their horses. fugitives re-assembled in the morning, and arrived at Madura on the 17th; from whence Nabey Cawn Catteck immediately went to the greater Moravar, in order to prepare supplies of provisions for the city. On the 20th, the English army arrived at Secundermally, and lodged themselves in the pagoda; from whence Mahomed Issoof, with a party of Sepoys,

1757 poys, was detached the next day to reduce the fort of Sholavanden.
May. It is situated 10 miles north-west of Madura, and, although intended to command the pass, was of little strength ; and the garrison
April. of 200 peons abandoned it as soon as Mahomed Issoof appeared ; but excessive rains, which raised the river *Vigee,* prevented him from returning to Secundermally, before the 26th. In this interval, Calliaud received letters from the presidency, advising him of their apprehensions that the French intended to attack Tritchinopoly ; with orders to hold himself in readiness to march to its relief on the first notice. By this time, he was likewise convinced, that the reduction of Madura was an enterprize of much more difficulty than had been represented to him, and scarcely feasible without battering cannon, of which he had not brought any from Tritchinopoly ; and, excepting the one which Mahomed Issoof himself had deposited in Madura, there was not a single piece in the whole country, of which Europeans would make use. However, not to lose any of the precarious time left him to act, he resolved to attempt the city by surprize. Bamboos were provided, as if for some other service, and no one was suffered to go in or out of the pagoda until the ladders were made. On the night before the 1st of May, all the troops, except a few to guard the baggage and artillery, marched out of the
May. pagoda, and at three in the morning arrived at the watercourse which runs within 300 yards of the western side of the walls.

The inward wall of Madura is 22 feet high, including the parapet, which rises six above the rampart : at the distance of every 100 yards or less (for exact symmetry has not been observed) are square towers. The fausse-bray is 30 feet broad, above which the outward wall rises only five feet, but descending to the bottom of the ditch is 11 on the outside. Midway, between every two towers of the inward wall, is a similar projection in the outward, with loop-holes which command the ditch, and flank the intermediate part of the wall, in which are none : but the whole parapet of the inward wall has loop-holes, so have some of its towers, and the rest embrasures for cannon. The spot chosen to be attacked was the first tower on the left hand of the western gateway, being the only part

part where the fausse-bray was clear of the thick thorny bushes, which had not injudiciously been suffered to over-run it in every other; but the garrison, trusting to this defence, had entirely neglected the ditch, which, by continual drifts after rain, was almost choked up to the level of the plain. The party allotted to the attack were 100 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys; the rest of the troops remained in the watercourse, ready to support the event. Calliaud led the party himself, to whom the method of attack was carefully explained, and strict silence enjoined. The foremost men carried the six shorter ladders intended for the outward wall; the next, the six longer, for the inward; as soon as twenty of the party had got into the fausse-bray, it was intended that they should immediately take over the longer ladders, which they were to plant, as received, against the tower, but not a man was to mount, until all the six ladders were fixed, and then no more than three at a time on each ladder. 1757 May.

The first ladders were planted, and Calliaud, with the first 20 men, had got into the fausse-bray, had taken over one of the longer ladders, and had planted it against the tower, when their hopes were interrupted by one of those accidents which from their triviality escape the most attentive precaution. A dog, accustomed to get his meals at the messes of some of the soldiers, had accompanied them all the way from Secundermally into the ditch, and probably from anxiety, at not being able to follow his masters into the fausse-bray, began to bark; which was soon answered by the barking of another dog on the rampart, and the yelps of both awakened the nearest centinel, who, crying out "The enemy," raised the guard at the gateway, which repaired immediately to the tower. The soldiers in the fausse-bray, finding the alarm taken, instead of continuing to get over the rest of the ladders, endeavoured to mount on that already planted, but crowded on it so many together, that it crushed under them. This communicated the confusion to those in the ditch, and no one any longer did what he ought. In the mean time, the garrison increasing on the rampart hung out blue lights of sulphur, and discovering the whole party

began

1757 May. began to shower on them arrows, stones, lances, and the shot of fire-arms. On which Calliaud ordered the retreat, which was effected with little loss, only one man being killed, and another wounded; both were Sepoys, standing on the glacis.

The troops, after taking some refreshment, marched from the watercourse, and proceeding along the southern face of the town took post in a ruined village, about 600 yards from the south-east part of the walls, which in this quarter were of a much slighter construction than any where else. The division with the artillery and baggage from Secundermally joined in the evening. On the 3d in the morning, a battery consisting of three six-pounders began to fire on the walls, and continued the two succeeding days, without making any impression; on which Calliaud sent away a company of Sepoys, with a sufficient number of bullocks, to bring two eighteen-pounders from Tritchinopoly.

The presidency of Madrass, whilst anxious concerning the success of the expeditions against Madura and Nelore, had received advices, on the 28th of April, from Bengal, by the Revenge, Protector, and Marlborough, belonging to the company, with the welcome news of the capture of Chandernagore, but without a single platoon of the troops which had been sent in the armament; and, the season being now changed, none were to be expected before September. Intelligence of this disappointment was soon conveyed to Pondicherry; and it now appeared, that the French had waited to determine the operations of their own troops by the force which might be sent back from Bengal to Madrass. They immediately barred all their garrisons, and, retaining none but invalids in Pondicherry itself, enrolled the European inhabitants to man the walls: all these parties hastened to join D'Autuil's camp before Arielore, who, sending forward a detachment of 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Seringham, followed himself with the main body on the 12th of May: his whole force consisted of 1000 Europeans, battalion and artillery, 150 Hussars, 3000 Sepoys, 10 field-pieces, with several howitzes and cohorns.

The

The two eighteen-pounders intended for Madura were sent off from Tritchinopoly early in the morning of the 12th, under the escort of two companies of Sepoys; but had not proceeded three miles, before a strong party from Seringham crossed the Caveri, and marched to circumvent them; which being perceived from the town, Captain Joseph Smith re-called the guns, and marched out with a considerable part of the garrison to protect them, on which the enemy returned to the island. On the 14th the van of their main body, with D'Autueil, arrived, and with the garrison of Seringham encamped at the Pagodas of Wariore. It was some time that Captain Smith had expected this visit, and he had made all the preparations which the means in his power admitted to receive it: he had filled the ditch round the town with water by the usual sluices from the Caveri, nevertheless several rocky parts remained fordable: the parapets both of the outward and inward walls, whereever decayed, had been repaired: Tondiman and the king of Tanjore, on his application, had sent, the one 300 Colleries, the other 300 matchlock-men: the Peons entertained by the Nabob's governor, were four hundred: but all these men, excepting the Colleries, were only fit for night-watches, nor for that, without being watched themselves: the Company's where the only troops which could be relied on; they were 150 Europeans rank and file, of which 50 had lately been sent from Fort St. David, 15 artillery men, and 700 Sepoys; but of the whole few had seen much service, for the best had been taken away by Captain Calliaud. This force would scarcely in any time of outward danger have been sufficient to guard the walls, of which the circuit was 6400 yards; much less with the additional ward of 500 French prisoners, who were confined within the town, and from whom more danger was apprehended than from the enemy without: for it was known, and it could not be prevented, that they maintained a correspondence with their countrymen at Seringham; and indeed the hopes of their breaking loose during the attack, had been the principal inducement to the present attempt against the city. More troops were continually

1757 May.

1757 May. tinually coming up to Wariore; and on the 15th, the day after the first arrived, the enemy began to throw shells into the town: during the night several parties at different times and places advanced to the ditch, not with any intention of scaling the walls, but only to keep the garrison from rest by repeated alarms. These alerts and the bombardment were continued during the four succeeding days and nights; and on the 20th, M. D'Autueil, thinking the garrison sufficiently harrassed, summoned Captain Smith in the name of the king of France, to surrender the town, and spare the effusion of blood, warning him that he should resent in the severest manner any ill usage which might have been inflicted on the French prisoners. Captain Smith answered, that he should maintain the town for the king of England; and that the prisoners had always been treated with more lenity than their practices deserved. Some hours after, spies brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a general assault in the approaching night, and at one in the morning the greatest part of their force advanced towards the west face of the town; but a few discharges of canon made them retreat, and the continual vigilance of the rounds, witnessed by their lights and a variety of military music, deterred them from any farther attempt.

By this time several of the neighbouring Polygars had joined the army before Madura, and were of service in supplying the camp with provision, as well as by cutting off such as were going to the town, and Captain Calliaud had entered into a negotiation with some of the Jemautdars, to deliver up the city, or to assist in surprizing it. Colonel Smith, on the first appearance of the enemy's troops on the other side of the Coleroon, had dispatched express messengers to him, with the intelligence, which he received on the 11th at three in the afternoon. At six, he began his march, with 120 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, leaving the rest under the command of Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Issoof, whom he empowered to conclude with the Jemautdars.

The troops marched without tents, baggage, or artillery; a few bullocks carried the spare ammunition, and servants belonging to the commissary

missary were sent forward to provide the meal at the different places 1757
of halt. On the 25th at day-break they arrived and halted at the May.
village of Eliapore, nineteen miles from Tritchinopoly. On the road Calliaud had received advices from Captain Smith, that D'Autueil, apprized of his approach, had quitted his first station at the Pagodas of Wariore, and had disposed his troops in a line of communication which extended from the Faquieres tope, round the Five rocks, the Golden, and the Sugar-loaf, to the French rock; by which all access on the southern aspect of the city was precluded.[1] It had also been discovered that several spies belonging to D'Autueil had mingled with and accompanied the English troops, on which Calliaud ordered them to be narrowly observed by his own, but without appearance of suspicion, intending to make them the instruments of deceiving those by whom they were employed. The troops having taken sufficient rest, and a full meal, marched from Eliapore at two in the afternoon, and at six arrived at Aour, a village in Tondiman's Woods, about twelve miles from Tritchinopoly, where they stopped half an hour. Calliaud then bent his march, as if he intended to come out upon the plain, between the Five rocks and the Sugar-loaf, opposite to the middle of the enemy's line, and advanced in this direction six miles. It was now 8 o'clock, and quite dark, when the French spies, fully persuaded of the intelligence they were carrying, went off to inform D'Autueil where they supposed the English troops intended to force their way. Half an hour after their departure, none of them appearing again, Calliaud entirely changed his rout, striking on the east along the skirts of Tondiman's Woods, until he came opposite to Elimiserum. The ground, from the woods to this place on the south, beyond it to the Caveri on the north, to the west of it as far as the French rock, and a greater space to the east, is a plain mostly laid out in rice fields, which, throughout India, are divided into areas of no great extent; each enclosed by a separate bank, and kept overflowed with water until a fortnight before the harvest is cut down, until which time they remain, as these now were, a heavy swamp of mud. The French, supposing all this part of the country impassable to a body of troops, had not thought

1757 May. it necessary to station a watch either at Elimiserum, or on the bank of the Caveri; and the information which Calliaud had obtained of this neglect suggested the advantage he was now taking of it. The troops entered the rice fields at ten o'clock, the Europeans marching first; the Sepoys were observed by the English serjeants of their companies, and their own Subadars or captains were men of duty: but no discipline could be exerted, where the success entirely depended on silence and darkness; and the spirit of the soldier himself determined, whether he should give out, or persevere in gaining his toilsome way, after so much fatigue already endured. At 2 in the morning two company's of Sepoys were sent off, with orders to push for the town between the French and Sugar-loaf rocks; lest the enemy should be led to suspicions of the real march, if no alarm were given to any part of their line: but, contrary to expectation, these Sepoys passed close under the French rock without being challenged by a single centinel; for all the troops stationed hereabouts had been drawn to the main body, guarding the ground to the south, indicated by their spies. At 4 in the morning, the two companies arrived at the Madura, or southern gate of the town, where they were immediately recognized and admitted. It was near the dawn of day before the main body with Calliaud reached *Chuckleyapollam* on the bank of the Caveri, having employed near seven hours in wading through the rice-fields, although the distance was only seven miles; two more still remained; but the sight of the city inspired the whole line with new alacrity: and their commander, who from the multiplicity of his attentions had endured more fatigue than any of them, now marched at their head, supported by two grenadiers. Captain Smith, apprized, drew out half his garrison, with two field-pieces, ready in case of need to protect them. Every man was received with open arms; the meal and every refreshment was ready for the welcome and exhausted guests; and with the rising sun, a discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon announced their exultation, with the news, to the French troops on the plain. On a review it was found, that 300 of the Sepoys had dropped behind

but

but of the English, only two or three had failed. Mr. D'Autueil could scarcely credit what it was intended he should understand by the report of the cannon; but was soon convinced by some prisoners picked up by his hussars. The very same evening he recrossed the Caveri with his whole army, into the island of Seringham, and the next day passing the Coleroon, proceeded towards Pondicherry. 1757 May.

Intelligence of the French army marching from Arielore to Tritchinopoly, was brought to Madrass on the 15th of May, just after the presidency had heard of the repulse of their own troops in the assaults of Nelore and Madura. Howsoever averse the presidency had hitherto been to encounter the French troops, until they knew what reinforcements they might expect from Bengal and Europe; the importance of Tritchinopoly, and conviction of the danger to which it was exposed, now superseded this reluctance: and they resolved to enter the French territories, as the most probable means of drawing their army back; or even to follow it to Tritchinopoly; but as the troops from Nelore were not yet arrived, those in Madrass, waiting for them, did not take the field until the 26th of May, when 300 men, being the whole of Adlercron's regiment, and 30 of the King's artillery, four field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, marched under the command of Colonel Adlercron himself: but by various delays arising from attention to the modes of warfare in Europe, they did not reach Chinglapet until the 31st, although the distance was only 30 miles: Captain Polier joined them here from the garrison, with his own company of 100 Swiss, and 300 Sepoys: but two days after came the welcome news that Tritchinopoly was relieved.

Whilst the enemy was approaching, Ensign Banatyne, who commanded in Carangoly, marched from thence with 300 Sepoys, and took the fort of Outramalore by escalade, in which he left 40 of his Sepoys; but two days after, the fugitive garrison, which likewise consisted only of Sepoys, returned, with 500 more, sent by the Kellidar of Vandiwash; on whose appearance, the English Sepoys evacuated the fort. This declaration in favour of the French de-

 termined

1757 termined the presidency of Madrass, as the army was abroad, to employ it in the attack of Vandiwash. But, waiting for the troops

June.

from Nelore, and the Nabob's from Arcot, Col. Adlercron still advanced slowly. On his approach, the garrison in Outramalore retreated to Vandiwash, where the army arrived on the 5th of June at night; and early the next morning attacked the Pettah, which they carried, after a slight resistance from 300 Sepoys, whom they pursued towards the fort, until obliged to retreat by the fire from the walls; nor could they remain in the pettah itself, because the principal streets led strait to the fort, and were enfiladed by one or other of the towers. However, the success cost no lives; although 10 Europeans were wounded. By this time, the French troops, as much alarmed by the motions of the English, as the English had lately been by theirs, were returning fast from Tritchinopoly; some were already arrived at Pondicherry, others had halted at Trivadi, others were advanced to Gingee; all preparing to march to the relief of Vandiwash: on the other hand, neither the battering cannon, nor any of the reinforcements, had joined the English camp; and there was no probability of making any impression on the fort before some of the French troops would arrive to its succour; on which Colonel Adlercron resolved to quit the enterprize, but set fire to the pettah before he retired; and on the 11th, the army arrived at Outramalore.

By this time the presidency, straightened in their treasury, were tired of the expence of a campaign which had produced so little effect; and their present propensity to caution, as well as parsimony, was increased by unexpected intelligence that the French had seized the company's factories at Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram which are situated near the sea on different branches of the river Godaveri, in the province of Rajahmundrum. To these losses were added aprehensions arising from various reports, that Mr. Bussy intended to attack the more important factory of Vizagapatam.

In this cloudy hour the presidency injudiciously ordered Adlercron to return immediately with the army to Madrass, although a part of the French troops were arrived and encamped under the

walls of Vandiwash. They were commanded by Saubinet, an officer of enterprize, who no sooner saw the English army retreating from Outramalore, than he advanced and took possession of this place; and, as soon as he heard that they had repassed Chinglapett in their way to Madrass, detached early in the morning of the 15th, 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, to retaliate on Conjeveram the fire which they had set to Vandiwash. Conjeveram is the largest open town in the Carnatic, and the most populous; besides the resort it attracts by the great quantities of grain produced in the vast plain that surrounds it, it is still more frequented from the reputation of its pagoda, and of the college of Bramins, who possess it, and are acknowledged the supreme council of the Indian religion in Coromandel: both the English and French had, during the late wars, kept troops in the pagoda; but its space and proper attentions had still preserved the priests and the holy places from contamination or pollution. There were at this time in the pagoda two companies of Sepoys, under the command of Serjeant Lambertson. The French troops arrived at noon, and, contrary to their expectation, were assailed by the fire of musketry, concealed on each side of the street, which obliged them to beat up the houses as the line advanced; and the English Sepoys, who knew their ground, continually escaped from one shelter to another, renewing their fire, until they retreated into the pagoda. The enemy, exasperated, then advanced against the gate-way, where the serjeant was ready to receive them again, placing his Sepoys, some on scaffolding along the walls, and others amongst the open masonry of the stories which compose the vast tower over the gate-way. The two field-pieces were of little service to dislodge them from such defences, and the serjeant had obstructed the porch with large trees, laid with their branches outwards. On this resistance, Saubinet thought it prudent not to persist, for his time was limited, and eight of his Europeans were killed, more wounded, and of the Sepoys in proportion. They therefore marched to a distant quarter of the town, from whence detachments were sent to collect whatsoever plunder could be conveniently carried away. In the evening they

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1757 they set fire to the town: at midnight they marched away, and the next day arrived at Outramalore.

June.

The terror spread by this incursion was of much more detriment than the mischief done at Conjeveram; for all the inhabitants of the open and fertile country along the Paliar, abandoned their labours and occupations, and the renters as usual amplified the losses they were likely to sustain in the collection of the revenues. The presidency of Madrass, sensible and vexed at their error, immediately ordered the army to march back, and re-cross the Paliar. Col. Lawrence, although he had resolved from the time he was superseded by Colonel Adlercron, never to act under his command, on this occasion offered to join the camp as a volunteer; and Adlercron accepted the proposal with good will. The army marched from the Mount on the 19th. The French, on their approach, retired from Outramalore to Vandiwash, and intrenched strongly within half a mile of the eastern side of the fort, summoning reinforcements from all their garrisons in the rear. The English, likewise waiting for detachments and the Nabob's cavalry from Arcot, did not advance to Outramalore until the 29th, when an uncommon sickness broke out in the camp; men being suddenly seized, and dying in 12 hours, and as many died as recovered. The mortality continued four days, but the camp having moved on the fifth five miles beyond Outramalore, fewer men fell down the next, and in two days more the sickness entirely ceased. On the 11th of July they encamped within sight of the enemy, whose hussars hovered round the line, but came not near enough to receive any harm. By this time the strength of the two armies, although different, was nearly equal: the French had 800 Europeans, of which 100 were hussars, and 1500 Sepoys; the English 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, but no horse, excepting a few troopers, to serve as scouts. On the 16th, 500 of the Nabob's horse arrived from Arcot; and the next morning 300 of them, with five companies of Sepoys, advanced towards the enemy's camp, followed by a picquet of 100 Europeans, with a field-piece, and at the same time the whole line drew out, ready to meet a general action, if the enemy would give the opportunity;

July.

but

but they recalled their advanced posts into their intrenchments, and only sent out their hussars, who, as before, ventured nothing. This trial convinced Col. Lawrence that nothing but the certainty of advantage could bring them to action ; and enough being done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in consequence of fear, he thought it best to put an end to the expence of the campaign. The army marched away on the 26th, and the enemy made no motion to harass them. On the 28th, they arrived at Conjeveram, where 500 Europeans, with 1500 Sepoys, remained in cantonments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Forde : the rest returned to the garrisons and stations from whence they had been drawn. Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force that Madrass and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained 40 days within a few hours march of each other, and separated, without a man wounded on either side. Nevertheless, both were right, according to their different views and circumstances, in refraining from action. 1757 July.

The garrison of Madura was so much elated by the departure of Captain Calliaud with the best of the troops, and by the cause in the danger of Tritchinopoly, that the Jemautdars, who had made proposals to him, would not continue any communication with Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Issoof ; who ordered up six of the 12 companies of Sepoys from Tinivelly and Palamcotah, and moved the camp from the S. E. to the N. E. of the town on the other side of the river Vigee, in order to cut off the communication of the garrison with the river, from which they drew their water, as all in the tanks of the town and plain was putrid. *May.*

The four sides of Madura front nearly to the four cardinal points. The river passing from the N. W. washes the walls at the N. E. angle ; the bed, unless immediately after heavy rains, lies in dry flats of sand, on some of which are buildings ; the channels between are shallow. The English camp extended on the northern side of the river, opposite the angle, and within point bank of part of the walls on the east and north sides ; for nothing was feared from the decayed artillery of the town. The

1757 July. The gate-way of the north side, from whence the garrison got their water, was near the N. W. angle, and about 80 yard from the river; on the side of which, opposite to the gate, they threw up a retrenchment, in which they kept a guard to protect the water-carriers. Lieutenant Rumbold, with the Europeans, passed the river under cover of a field-piece, and having dislodged the guard from the post on the other side, kept possession, strengthened it with better retrenchments, and stationed two companies of Sepoys to maintain it. This immediately obliged the enemy to opnen another gate, it was that to the south, and to get their water from the tanks within and without the town, which soon threw many of them into fluxes.

Rumbold and Mahomed Issoof remained three or four days without doing any thing more, hoping to put the enemy of their guard, and then, taking a night when the wind blew very strong, advanced with a large party of Sepoys, carrying bundles of straw mixed with more effectual combustibles, which they piled and set fire to against the outward doors of the gateway; which were soon consumed, and the party suffered very little, being concealed by the thickness of the smoke, and still more protected by the indifference of the garrison, who knew their own security; for, when advanced with a petard through the windings of the gateway to the second door, which opened immediately into the city, the troops, to their great surprize, found the front of it bricked up with a strong wall; upon which they retired without delay. By this time, the Sepoys from Tinivelly were advancing; and Captain Calliaud, being convinced that the French army were not likely to return again to Tritchinopoly, had detached a platoon of 30 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, and an 18 pounder, which were likewise on the road to Madura. The garrison hearing of the approach of these reinforcements, resolved to make a vigorous effort before their arrival. Intelligence was received of their intention, and to be prepared against it, the ground on each side of the camp was sluiced by cutting the mound of a large tank at some distance in the rear; and Mahomed Issoof undertook to defend the post

post on the other side of the river with the usual guard of two companies of Sepoys, and the addition of a field-piece. On the 9th of the month the enemy made the sally at noon day. There were 300 Sepoys, 200 cavalry dismounted, and 200 more on their horses. The riders came round from the west, and crossing the river, kept galloping on this side the camp, but without venturing to pass the swamp; but the foot issuing from the north gate, which they had unbricked, advanced straight forward to the watering post. A shot had scarcely been fired, before the two companies of Sepoys, either from panic or spite, for Mahomed Issoof was a severe commander, abandoned him, and dispersed, all but ten men, with whom he retreated to a choultry, on an island in the river, to which they were followed by part of the enemy, whilst the rest seized the gun. Lieutenant Rumbold on the danger advanced with the company of Coffrees, and one of Sepoys, leaving the four other companies, and the field-pieces for the defence of the camp. He made his way good to the choultry, where he found the small party of defenders reduced to their last cartridge, having killed more than their own number of the enemy, who retreated as soon as the reinforcement came up. On the 11th of June, arrived the detachment from Tritchinopoly; when Rumbold mounted the eighteen pounder they had brought on the recovered post. It fired three days, until most of its ammunition was spent, but without being able to make a practicable breach; and in the mean time the enemy threw up a retrenchment with a deep ditch before the breach, and strengthened the ditch with palisades; so that nothing could be done by assault without more force. The presidency had foreseen this; and notwithstanding their other alarms, still continued intent on the reduction of Madura, as the most dangerous advantage of which the French were likely to get possession, if not immediately recovered; of which sense nothing could be a greater proof than their insufficient efforts; for the attempt required a complete army. They therefore left it to the discretion of Calliaud, to proceed again to the attack, with such a force as should not leave Tritchinopoly exposed again to too much risque. Some days passed in waiting the

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1757 July. return of a detachment of 50 Europeans, which had come from, and had been lately sent back to Fort St. David; and as soon as they returned, he took the field with 90 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, an eighteen-pounder, and 200 horse supplied by the king of Tanjore; more than half the Europeans were French and Dutch deserters, chosen, that none but the English soldiers might be left to guard the French prisoners in the city. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, and awed by the imperious temper of Mahomed Issoof, had quitted the camp, and followed Calliaud when he marched to the relief of Tritchinopoly; from whence he now again returned with him to Madura. The detachment set out on the 25th of June, and arrived on the 3d of July. The Sepoys called from Tinivelly had joined a few days before; but Mr. Rumbold had nevertheless been obliged to reduce his operations to preventing the garrison from getting water from the river, and provisions from the country.

Calliaud, seeing the dexterity with which the enemy had counteracted the battery of Rumbold, resolved to prevent them from opposing the same obstacles to that which he intended to erect, by keeping them in ignorance of the part he should attack, until the first shot was fired. The gabions, fascines, and platforms, were prepared in the camp; and as soon as all were ready, the troops allotted marched on the 9th at night to the watercourse which runs to the west of the city, and raised the battery against the curtain between the gateway and the tower which had been attempted by escalade of the 1st of May. It mounted two eighteen-pounders, with four field-pieces, was finished before the morning, and at daybreak began to fire. The parapet of the fausse-bray was soon beaten down, and the inward wall, although strong, was by noon shaken so much, that the parapet of this likewise fell entirely, and the wall itself was sufficiently shattered, to permit a man to clamber to the top: but, in this short time, the, garrison had staked the rampart behind with the trunks of Palmeira trees set on end: a few shot knocked down some, nor could any of them have been firmly fixed, and to leave the enemy no more time to prepare farther defences, Calliaud,

liaud resolved to storm immediately. Of the Europeans, only the artillery-men were left at the battery: all the battalion-men, who were 120, marched, followed by the company of Coffrees, and they by 400 Sepoys. Calliaud led the Europeans, and Mahomed Issoof the Sepoys. The garrison had disciplined 300 of their matchlock-men as Sepoys; who, although much inferior to these troops, were improved far beyond their former state; these were posted on the western gateway, which, projecting beyond the fausse-bray into the ditch, flanked the tower attacked; and a multitude were crowded on the ramparts behind and on each side of the breach. The troops, although galled, advanced resolutely through the ditch and fausse-bray, and four of the most active scrambled up the breach to the rampart, but were immediately tumbled down dead, or mortally wounded. This repressed the ardour of those who were following: an officer threw out imprudent words, and the infirmity visibly caught the whole line, notwithstanding the exhortations and activity of Calliaud, who was in the frausse-bray directing the assault. Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top, pretending the impossibility, although the danger was as great in the fausse-bray below; for, besides the shower of other annoyances, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with mere powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants, and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable. Nevertheless, Calliaud continued the assault half an hour; when finding that no command was any longer obeyed, and that much loss had been sustained, he ordered the retreat. Four of the bravest serjeants were killed, and as many wounded, and 20 other Europeans were either killed or desperately wounded; of the Coffrees 10; of the Sepoys 100 were disabled, but few of this body were killed, and fewer died afterwards of their wounds.

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The presidency received intelligence of this repulse on the 25th, and on the same day two Peons, escaped from Vizagapatam, brought news, that Mr. Bussy had taken that settlement, in which were 150 European soldiers. These evils were aggravated by the circumstances

1757 July. stances of the times: for there is no country in which the slightest successes and mischances of war weigh so much in the opinions both of friends and enemies, as in Indostan, and a large body of Morratoes had encamped a few days before on the western frontiers of the Carnatic, threatening the Nabob to enter and ravage the province, if their demands were not complied with.

The *Nana* Balagerow, after his return from Sanore, in the last year, remained at Poni, in appearance attentive only to the affairs of Delhi, and the northern countries of Indostan, to which he detached a very large force in October; but when he saw Salabadjing and Mr. Bussy proceeding with their respective armies, the one to Aurengabad, the other to the ceded provinces, he took the field himself with 60,000 horse, and proceeded to the southward, passed the Kristna, and having purified his army in the streams of the Beamraw, a sacred river in Viziapore, they set off from hence in the middle of February, and marched rapidly towards Mysore, carrying terror and destruction wherever they came. Most of the forts on the way surrendered on the first summons, and such as held out, were invested, or at least watched by detachments, whilst the main body pursued its course without interruption to the capital *Seringapatam*. It was some apprehensions of this invasion, which had recalled the General, Hyderally, from Dindigul in the beginning of the year; who nevertheless was not sufficiently prepared to resist the invasion, and the Delaway or Regent, being much frightened, they negociated, and agreed to pay Balagerow two millions of rupees. The terms were concluded in the middle of April, and Balagerow, on his return to the northern division of Mysore, continued to reduce the forts he had left in his rear; although many of them were, at this time, in the dependance of this kingdom. The principal of these, and indeed the strongest in the whole country, is Serah, which is likewise called Sirpi. It is situated on a great mountain, 120 miles north of Seringapatam; the Governor resisted in the beginning, but the bribes and batteries of the Morattoe induced him in three weeks to surrender. The rainy season was now approaching, when the Kristna overflows, and becomes impassable; and

February.

April.

and it was a maxim with Balagerow, never to remain to the southward, with that obstacle between himself and his capital. He accordingly marched away from Sirpi, with the greatest part of his army, 45,000 men, but left 15,000 horse, as many foot, and a large train of artillery, under the command of a general named Balaventrow, to execute the other purposes of the campaign, who, after receiving the submissions and fines of a variety of petty Polygars under the subjection of Sirpi, proceeded 40 miles to the S. S. E. and encamped between two forts called the greater and lesser Balabarum, of which the greater refused to make any submission, but the kellidar of the other paid 50,000 rupees. From hence they proceeded 20 miles farther east, and, after a siege of 10 days, took Ouscotah. This fort, although far distant from the territory of Cudapah, belonged to the Nabob of that province. Proceeding, they summoned the fort of Colar, situated 20 miles beyond Ouscotah, and being refused, left it in their rear, and sat down before Mulliavaukel, twenty miles farther on. This fort stands on the highest rock of a large mountain, and is impregnable by open force. Balaventrow therefore tried money, which in four days gained the place. They were now within 30 miles of the great range of mountains which bound the Carnatic to the west; and on the 27th of June encamped before the fort of Cudapanatam, sixty miles N. by W. from the city of Arcot, and commanding the entrance of one of the passes into the Carnatic. Balaventrow, whilst preparing to attack the fort of Cudanapatam, sent forward letters from Balajerow, with his own, to the Nabob, and the presidency. During the expedition to Seringapatam, Balajerow had likewise written several to the presidency, in which he complained, that the government of Bombay had given him no share of the plunder of Gheria; and held out his intentions of visiting the Carnatic on his return from Mysore, in order to settle, as he said, the affairs of the province; but these were deemed expressions merely designed to intimidate, insomuch that the presidency, in answer, invited him to come and assist them in expelling the French, as the only means of restoring tranquillity to the country. They were therefore not a little surprized to find in the letters now received from Balajerow

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1757 Balajerow and his agent, to themselves, and in stronger terms to July. the Nabob, a peremptory demand of the *Chout* or tribute due to the king of the Morratoes from the Nabobship of Arcot, which Balajerow asserted had been settled by Nizamalmuluck at six hundred thousand rupees a year, four for the Carnatic, and two for Tritchinopoly and the southern countries; but that he had received nothing for six years, that is, since the death of the Nabob Anwarodean Khan: the sum he required was four millions of rupees.

The city of Arcot was struck with consternation by the arrival of the Morratoes at Cudanapatam, and the Nabob himself apprehended the incursion of some of their parties even into the town, on which the presidency invited and advised him to send the women and childern of his family to Madrass; but his mother, the widow of Anaverdi, having some prejudice against the air of the sea coast, chose to remain at Arcot; the rest arrived on the 10th of July, passing without danger, as the English army were then before Vandiwash. In the mean time a correspondence by letters and agents was carrying on between the Nabob and Balaventrow. Cudapanatam, after a breach, surrendered on the 15th of July; when a strong detachment of Morratoes immediately came through the pass and invested Ambore, from which they levied a contribution, and their parties scoured the valley of Vaniambaddy, quite up to the gates of Velore: but Balaventrow himself, with the main body, remained at Cudapatnam, and sent an officer of distinction and great prudence named Armetrow, to negotiate with the Nabob: he arrived at Arcot on the 20th: he demanded 400,000 rupees as arrears from the Nabobship in general, with the reserve of collecting from the forts and Polygars of the Carnatic in proportion. After much discussion, he consented to take 200,000 in ready money from the Nabob, and his rescripts on the forts and Polygars for 250,000 more. These terms, considering all circumstances, were moderate; and the Nabob thinking that the presidency would be as well satisfied with them as himself, requested they would furnish the money out of the rents he had assigned to the Company for the expences of the war. But the presidency wished to annul a claim, which if admitted under

their

their sanction, might never be relinquished. They had however, no alternative but to pay or fight; and no contemptible means of resistance were tendered to them at this very time. The Morattoe Morarirow, in consequence of his submissions to Balajerow in the preceding year at Sanore, had joined and accompanied him with 6000 horse in the expedition to Seringapatam. They parted after the reduction of Sirpi, and Morarirow returned to his own country without having got any thing by the campaign, not even the pay of his troops, which Balajerow regarded as military vassals to the Morratoe sovereignty. The Nabob of Cudapah had been summoned to pay the chout, and had refused; on which Balaventrow had taken Ouscotah, and the Nabob armed. The neighbouring Nabobs of Sanore, Canoul, and Condanore, all, as well as Cudapah, Pitans, took the alarm, and Morarirow, whose territory is contiguous to theirs, pretending to fear as much as they, proposed that all together should make an alliance with the English, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Mysoreans, not only to oppose Balaventrow at present, but to prevent the invasions of Balajerow to the south of the Kristna in future. All consented, and Morarirow, taking the lead, made the proposal to the Nabob and the presidency in the most explicit terms; Cudapah did so likewise; and both proffered to march immediately and give battle to Balaventrow at Cudapanatam, if the English troops would join them there. The presidency could spare no troops, and was as much afraid of them, as of the Morratoes, entering the province; and in this dilemma resolved, if possible, to procrastinate with Armetrow until the arrival of supplies, or intelligence from Europe, should give some certainty to their conduct; and invited him to come to Madrass, who, on the offer of the Nabob to accompany him, consented: they arrived on the 8th of August, and the next day conferred with the governor, who represented the merit of the English nation in preserving the Carnatic from the dominion of the French, from whom the Morratoes would never have received any tribute, since they had paid none for the northern provinces; in the reduction of which he proffered to join Balaventrow with a body of English troops. But both these arguments admitted the claim; and Armetrow perceiving the evasion,

1757 July.

August.

1757 August evasion, demanded a positive answer. The next day arrived a vessel from Bombay, dispatched with letters from England, which had been sent over the desert of Arabia, and were dated the 5th of January; they gave intelligence, that four ships of the line, with a frigate, under the command of Admiral Stevens, were sailed for India. This news produced no change in the temper of Armetrow, whom the utmost entreaties of the Nabob could hardly prevail on not to depart that evening. A consultation was held in the morning, when it was finally deemed expedient to pay the money; but on condition that 3000 horse should immediately join the English troops at Conjeveram, and proceed with them to attack the French army, which still remained at Vandiwash. A second conference passed, in which Armetrow was as before inflexible, asserted the chout as a right, would receive nothing with any condition; when the money was paid, he was ready to treat for the loan of a body of horse. Various messages and explanations, however, detained him until the 14th, when in the middle of the night he ordered his retinue, 300 Morratoes, to be in readiness to march in the morning: on which the presidency resolved to pay the money without reserve; and he staid two days more to receive it, part in coin, and part in bills on the shroffs. During the embassy, Balaventrow went with 3000 horse from his camp at Cudapanatam to the pagoda of Tripetti, which stands 120 miles N. E. of that place; they passed through the straits of Damalcherry, and when arrived within ten miles, he, at the request of the renter who farmed the offerings, halted his troops; and, proceeding himself with a few attendants, paid his devotions with much reverence one day on the top of the mountain, and the next, in the temples below. During the march and return of this pilgrimage, he restrained all the troops which accompanied him from committing any violences in the country through which they passed: but several parties from the camp were at this time ravaging the skirts of the province of Cudaph.

With the other advices from England came orders for recalling Col. Adlercron and his regiment; but according to permission from the

the war-office, most of the common men inlisted in the Company's troops; and there being no conveyance ready to carry away the rest, no alteration ensued in the strength of the army. 1757 August.

The French army at Vandiwash, as soon as the English cantoned themselves in Conjeveram, employ their Sepoys and horse to ravage the country. A detachment immediately took possession of Outramalore, and from thence plundered the districts of Salawauk: a much larger, with two field-pieces, marched into the districts of Chittapett, where they were surprized and beaten by 200 Sepoys and 500 horse from the fort. This routed body being reinforced, divided into two, one of which plundered as far as Timery within five miles of Arcot, and the other to Cavantandalum within ten of Conjeveram; but these incursions were so sudden and transitory, that no motions were made by the troops there to repel them. However, 100 Sepoys were sent from the fort of Arcot, to assist Chittapet, who were attacked and made their way through a stronger party of the enemy's. The month of August passed in these alarms, which were then succeeded by one of more consequence. Of the three feasts which are annually celebrated at Tripetti that which falls in the beginning of September is held in much higher devotion than either of the other two, and more money is collected in proportion, since the number of pilgrims is much greater. In the beginning of June Nazeabulla, the rebel governor of Nelore, returned from Masulipatam, accompanied by eighty French soldiers. He, however, remained quiet until the Nabob's troops under the command of Abdulwahab, had marched away to Arcot, and those of the two Polygars, Damerla Venkytapah and Bangar Yatcham, had withdrawn to their homes. He then took the field, but confined his operations to incursions into the opener country of the Polygars, until the middle of August, when he marched suddenly with his whole force, and sat down before the fort of Cadawah, situated within twelve miles of Tripetti, and belonging to the Nabob. This motion left no doubt of his intention to collect the revenue of the approching feast, which had for some years been assigned to the company. On the first advices of the danger, the presidency

 ordered

1757 ordered a detachment of 100 Europeans, with two field-pieces, their
August. artillery-men, and 300 Sepoys, to march with all expedition from Conjeveram, under the command of Captain Polier, and at the same time ordered the two Polygars to act in concert with this de-
September tachment, which set out on the first of September.

On the 6th, four of the company's ships from England anchored in the road of Madrass. It was some time that the Triton, a frigate of twenty guns, belonging to the Company, and commanded by Commodore James, had been stationed to cruize off Pondicherry, in order to intercept any of the enemy's vessels, or give the intelligence of the coast to all the English ships they might meet; and they were likewise instructed to take out of the first from England the recruits they might bring; which were to be immediately landed at Fort St. David, as the safest and most expeditious means of restoring to that garrison the men which had lately been taken from it to serve in the expedition to Madura, and in the campaign of Vandiwash. The cruizers discovered the four Indiamen between Pondicherry and Fort St. David, joined them off of Alamparvah, and took on board all the recruits, which were 200; but having fallen 30 miles to leeward, it was the 7th at 10 at night before they anchored again in the road of Fort St. David. At the dawn of day they discovered 11 ships at anchor, extending from the east to the south, and none at more than three miles distance. The cruizers immediately got under weigh, and were soon convinced that the strangers, although they shewed English colours, were French ships. Nevertheless, Commodore James resolved to disembark the recruits in the Revenge, sending as many as the three boats of the ship could carry to the outside of the surf, where they were received and landed by the massoolas of the shore, which always begin to ply at day-break. The boats returning, took the rest of the recruits, but before they could reach the ship again, the foremost of the enemy's squadron were come so nigh, that it was necessary to fly, and leave the boats to the shore. The Triton not sailing so well as the Revenge, and being under other restrictions of service, had not ventured the delay of landing the recruits she had taken on board, but had advanced on her

way

way, although slowly, waiting for her comrade, which soon joined her, when both, under such a cloud of sail as amazed the enemy, stood before them; but were nevertheless so pressed by two of their prime sailers, which kept without, that they were obliged to sail through the road of Pondicherry itself; where a ship of force was riding, which, instead of cutting her cable, and beginning an engagement, suffered the cruizers to pass, whilst she was weighing her anchor at the capstone to pursue them. As soon as they were beyond Pondicherry, the enemy, afraid of falling to leeward of their port, ceased the chase, and anchored in the road. The cruizers then hailed, and agreed, that the Revenge should proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal, and the Triton to Madrass, where she anchored early the next morning.

1757 September

The council was immediately summoned, and their determinations were soon taken. All the scribes in the settlement were not adequate to the orders and advices which it became immediately necessary to issue. The main body of the army at Conjeveram was ordered to come into Madrass, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tripetti: Calliaud with the Europeans to return from Madura, whether taken or not, to Tritchinopoly; if taken, to bring away likewise Mahomed Issoof, with 1000 Sepoys. Instructions were sent to the English garrisons in Carangoly, Chinglapet, and Arcot; and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country subject to, or in the interests of, the Nabob: advices to the presidency of Bengal, and the squadron there; to Bombay and all the factories on the Malabar coast. A vessel was dispatched to cruize off Ceylon, with intelligence for the ships daily expected from England. Another was sent to anchor off Cobelong, 20 miles to the south of Madrass, in order to make signals on the first appearance of the French squadron now at Pondicherry.

The Council at Fort St. David, not observing, or not discerning, the motions of the cruizers, fancied the ships they saw arriving, were the men of war expected from England, with some of the company's ships under their convoy, and in this persuasion sent one,

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1757 of the agents in a massoola to compliment the admiral, and to deliver
September a letter from the presidency, in which, "the admiral was requested to cruize off Ceylon, in order to encounter or intercept "the enemy's, and to protect the English ships expected on the "coast in that track of navigation; and it was confidently supposed, that Mr. Watson, with the ships under his command, would "arrive from Bengal, in the other track, by the middle of September, "when every success might be expected from the junction of the "two squadrons, and even Pondicherry itself brought to risque." The agent did not perceive the mistake until too near to escape, but had time to conceal, as he thought, the letter between two planks of the seat: he was received on board with civility, and with the massoola carried to Pondicherry.

Several anxious days passed in expectation that the French ships would bear down from thence, and scour the road of Madrass, where the loss of the China ships would have been of much evil consequence to the company's commerce. Several days more, before even an imperfect account could be obtained, what the French ships were, what force they brought, and what their proceedings after their arrival; and it was long after, before the motives of their conduct at this time were discovered.

The squadron consisted of four ships of 60 guns, two of 50, three, of 36, 30, and 22, and two of 16 guns, with a bomb-ketch; in all 12 vessels, most of which sailed from France in the end of December, but being separated by a gale of wind, the last did not arrive at Mauritius until the 25th of June. They brought from France the regiment of Lorrain, with 50 of the King's artillery, the whole under the command of the Marquis de Soupires, of the rank of marshal de camp, which answers to that of Major General with us. They sailed on the 1st of July from Mauritius to the Isle of Bourbon, where they took on board Mr. Bouvet, who was appointed to conduct the squadron to India; he was governor of this Island, and one of the ablest navigators belonging to France. On the 15th, they arrived at Foule Point on Madagascar, where they remained the rest of the month taking in provisions, of which their own islands were not

not able to furnish a sufficiency. From hence they sailed on the 1757
1st of August, add on the 9th of September, the day after their ar- September
rival at Pondicherry, landed 983 men of Lorrain, of which 63 were sick, the 50 artillery-men, and 60 volunteers from Bourbon, with their equipages; besides which had been embarked in the ships, 20 pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls. M. Soupires, who by his commission took the direction and command of all military operations, summoned a mixed council, of the military, the marine, and the civil government, in which he proposed that the ships and troops should immediately invest and blockade Fort St. David; but the letter from the presidency of Madrass to the English Admiral had been discovered in the Massoola, and raised such a consternation in the French squadron, by the apprehensions of seeing every hour a force superior to their own, that Mr. Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and should sail immediately back to the islands: no arguments could change his resolution, nor would he wait to disembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, because they served as part of the ballast in the different ships, which it would require fifteen days to shift and reinstate in a condition fit for sailing. Thus was much detriment prevented by the accident of discovering the letter, which, at the time it happened, was deemed a great mischance.

The sudden departure of the French ships diminished in some degree the apprehensions which had been raised by their arrival. The army from Conjeveram was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madrass; the detachment with Polier, which had returned as far as Tripassour, to march back and protect the feast at Tripetty, until concluded: and Calliaud was permitted to continue before Madura, if any chance remained of getting the place.

This officer, very infirm before, fell dangerously ill immediately after the repulse of the last attack, and was obliged to retire to the neighbouring village of Trivalore, where he remained until the 4th *August.*
of August, before his health was sufficiently restored to endure the fatigues of the camp; however, this time was not entirely lost. The greater and lesser Moravars, at his solicitation, sent their troops as far as

1757 as Coilguddy, ready to act on call. The Polygar Catabominague came himself with 1000 Colleries. Myanah, who was the fugitive governor of Madura when Maphuze Khan came into the country, quitting the recesses of Nattam, and disclaiming all farther connexions with the rebels, came to the camp, with a large retinue, some troops, and, a as proof of his sincerity, brought his family: by his influence the assistance of most of the Nattam colleries was secured. Nabey Cawn Catteck, the ancient colleague of Myana, kept himself concealed in the woods of Moravar, without making any efforts to assist the garrison; and what perhaps was equal to any one of these advantages, 50 Europeans, and a nine-inch mortar, had arrived at the camp from Tritchinopoly.

September

August.

With the other defections, the Jemautdars in Madura had reason to doubt of the assistance they expected from Maphuze Khan with the western Polygars of Tinivelly, and from the Mysoreans at Dindigul.

Five hundred horse and a thousand foot remained with Maphuze Khan at Nellitangaville, when Berkatoolah left him and came away to defend Madura, which Calliaud at the same time was marching to attack with the main body of the English troops from Tinivelly. As soon as Calliaud was out of sight, Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver took the field, and were joined by other Polygars, which all together made up a camp of 10,000 men. This army marched from Nellitangaville in the latter end of April, and advanced beyond Alvar Courchy within 15 miles of Tinivelly, but were deterred by the Sepoys left there from attempting the town; nor did they immediately plunder or terrify the inhabitants of the open country, because the harvest, from which they intended to collect money, would not be reaped until the middle of June; however, they published their mandates that all who were accountable to the renter Moodilee should then become accountable to them. In the mean time Maphuze Khan negotiated with the king of Travancore for assistance, with the proffer of Calacad and all the other districts to which the king had ever made any pretension, and more; but, lest this should fail he, with his usual uncertainty renewed his negotiations

ations with the English, and sent off an agent with letters to Calliaud, proposing to rent the country from them on the security of substantial shroffs. Lieutenant Rumbold received these offers whilst Calliaud was returned to the relief of Tritchinopoly, and, thinking them worth attention, sent a Jemautdar of Sepoys named Ramanaig, with an intelligent Moorman, to confer with Maphuze Khan in his camp. They were accompanied by an escort of 50 Sepoys; but just before their arrival, Maphuze Khan had received information, that the six companies of Sepoys, of the twelve left at Tinivelly and Palamcotah, were ordered to join the camp at Madura; which changed his schemes, and instead of negotiating, he surrounded the two deputies and their escort with his horse, and threatened to put them all to the sword, if they did not send an order to the Sepoys in garrison at Palamcotah to deliver the fort to him. The deputies with their escort stood to their arms, and said, they would rather die; but, just as the fight was going to begin, one of Maphuze Khan's Jemautdars, named Ally Saheb, declared his detestation of the treachery, and joined the Sepoys with the horse of his command; on which the rest recollected themselves, and retired; but Ally Saheb, having still some suspicions for the safety of the deputies and their escort, marched with them to Palamcotah, and delivered them safe into the fort. Soon after the six companies of Sepoys began their march from Tinivelly to Madura, and the harvest began, on which the enemy's army entered the town, where Maphuze Khan proclaimed his dominion, which his agents and dependants exercised with much violence and injustice. Even the shroffs, or bankers, did not escape; although the necessity and neutrality of their occupation protects their persons and property throughout Indostan from the violence either of the despot or the conqueror. The main body of his army invested the fort of Palamcotah, which the Sepoys within easily defended, and with loss to the enemy; but there was danger from scarcity of provisions; to prevent which, Bussaponiague, the commander of the Sepoys, solicited the assistance of the Polygar Catabominaigue, who stipulated the cession of some lands convenient to his districts; which being promised, he took the field with his

1757 September

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1757 September. own troops, and those of his dependant of Etiaporum, On their arrival the garrison sallied, and in a slight skirmish obliged the enemy to raise the siege; after which, the two Polygars returned to their homes, and Catabominaigue from his, came and joined the English camp before Madura. Maphuze Khan continuing at Tinivelly, neither sent money or troops to the Jemautdars, but suffered the incomes to be dissipated, notwithstanding Berkatoolah had continually represented to him, that the scarcity of provisions in Madura was daily increasing from the want of money to pay for them, and of parties in the field to facilitate their importation.

Berkatoolah was at the same time equally disappointed of the arrival of the Mysoreans, which had long been promised from day to day, and more lately with assurance that Hyderally himself was come to Dindigul to command them in person; but, on more diligent enquiry, it was discovered that Hyderally was still at Seringapatam, and that the troops at Dindigul did not exceed the usual garrison. Thus deserted, he resolved to treat with Calliaud, and proffered to deliver the city, if the English would pay the arrears due from Maphuze Khan to the troops within; but made no stipulation for those who had been their former comrades and were now either with Maphuze Khan, or any where else out of the town. The arrears he stated at 1,600,000 rupees, but, on account of sums levied in the country, offered to abate 400,000: these proposals were signed by himself and four of the principal Jemautdars. Calliaud, after treating them for some time with contempt, proposed his own; which were, to pay 100,000 rupees for the arrears of the troops, 20,000 as a present to Berkatoolah himself, 8000 to each of the four Jemautdars who had signed with him, and 2000 to each of the commanders of the three companies of Sepoys; in all 150,000. Many days and messages passed in chaffering concerning the money; during which the Polygars kept their watches so strictly in the country round, that no provisions could be carried in, and the inbabitants were reduced to rice alone, and that without salt; on which all, not occupied in military services, left the town, and were permitted to go away unmolested. At the same time the former battery was strength-

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ened, and enlarged to the capacity of receiving all the artillery, 1757
which were two eighteen-pounders, 10 field-pieces, and a nine-inch
mortar. Every day the distress increased; and in the beginning of September
September, horsemen daily came over to the camp. On the 7th Calliaud informed Berkatoolah that his battery was ready, and would open the next morning; after which, no terms of composition would be received. The negotiator was a relation of Berkatoolah, whom Calliaud had attached by generosities, and Berkatoolah believed: his representations in this decisive moment prevailed; and he returned on the morning of the 8th with the treaty signed: the sum agreed was 170,000 rupees, 20,000 more than the first offer; and at noon Calliaud with the troops were received into the town. This important acquisition was made on the very day that Mr. de Soupires with the French forces landed at Pondicherry.

The presidency received the news on the 16th. It was the only advantage which had been gained during the losses and distresses to which the company's affairs in Coromandel had been exposed since the departure of the armament to Bengal: it would have been deemed of the highest importance even in fortunate times; and at present was the more acceptable, because scarcely within expectation; for, had the surrender been protracted until the arrival of the French squadron had been known to the garrison, little chance would have remained of gaining the place; which continuing in the possession of enemies confederated with the French, would have greatly influenced many subsequent events, by means which were now entirely precluded.

In the mean time the French at Pondicherry were holding councils what to do with their new force. It having been determined not to attack Fort St. David, from apprehensions of the English squadron, Tritchinopoly would probably have been the object, if Mr. Soupires had not been instructed to refrain from any distant enterprize, which might impair the force under his command, before the arrival of a greater which was following from France; when both united might attempt any thing. It was therefore resolved to

1757 act in the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, and to begin by the siege of Chittapet. The French troops, which had taken the field before the arrival of the squadron, were still remaining in their camp at Vandiwash, and on the 21st appeared in sight of Chittapet, where, on the 25th, they were joined by 300 of the regiment of Lorrain, and a train of artillery from Pondicherry.

September

The advance of the French troops created no little consternation in the city of Arcot, and incidentally became the cause of much confusion there. The Nabob had left the government of the city to his brother Abdulwahab, assisted by the councils of his mother, of Sampetrow, who had been the Duan or minister of his father, and of Ebrar Cawn, the Buxey or general of the troops. Many of the cavalry levied for the expedition to Nelore, had lately quitted his service for want of pay; some had enlisted with the French at Vandiwash, others with Mortizally at Velore. The desertion continuing, one Dana Sing, a straggling Jemautdar, came in the beginning of September, and encamped near the suburbs of Arcot with a hundred horse, intending to increase the number, by enlisting such as left the Nabob's service, and then offer the whole to the best bidder. These practices are so common in Indostan, that a body of cavalry may encamp between two opposite armies, and remain unmolested by either, whilst undecided which to join; and Dana Sing, relying on the customs he knew, prosecuted his business without reserve, and even with the knowledge of the English commandant in the fort, whom he sometimes visited. But malicious persons, who were in possession of the confidence of the commandant, began to insinuate, that the former as well as the present desertions were the effects of collusion and treachery, between the troops and Abdulwahab with the others to whom the Nabob had entrusted the government. Their artifices awakened his suspicions, which began to see the phantoms of plots and conspiracies, after which the slightest incidents became proofs to his credulity, and unluckily one happened, which might have raised mistrust in a more sagacious mind. The Nabob's mother had in appanage the fort of Chitore, situated in the mountains, about 20 miles from the pagoda of Tripetti, and governed

governed it with the adjacent domain, without the interference of any other authority. Being old and infirm, she was so much frightened by the reports and approach of the French troops, that she packed up her treasure and valuable effects with some of Abdulwahab's, intending to send them to Chitore. The same malice which had already prejudiced, easily persuaded the commandant, that both the mother and son intended to make their escape from, the city, and take refuge with some or other of the Nabob's enemies. Every person and every circumstance were now suspected of treason; a party of Sepoys seized Sampetrow, another the Jemautdar Dana Sing; and both were put into confinement. Ebrar Cawn was obliged to depart from the city, the very interpreter and the news-writer of the Morratoes were likewise compelled to go. The first carriages which were proceeding to Chitore, were likewise stopped and brought to the fort, and with them several female attendants belonging to the Nabob's mother, over whose palace a strong guard was set, to prevent her escape; and all letters were intercepted. Abdulwahab, suspecting as much mischief as he was suspected of, went off with 40 horsemen in the night, it was the 24th of September, nor thought himself safe until he reached Chitore; the next day his house was searched and the most valuable of his effects, with all his papers, were seized. For three days and three nights all the Sepoys of the garrison were marching and countermarching, taking and changing posts, as if the town had been invested, and in danger of being forced by an army of 40,000 men; whereas, luckily, it was not necessary to fire a single musket; nevertheless the commandant could not be persuaded of this security, and obliged the Nabob's mother to quit the city on the 27th, under a strong guard from his garrison, which escorted her to Covrepauk. The Presidency heard these tidings with amazement, and finding by the intercepted letters that no evil designs had been intended by any of the aggrieved, made candid apologies to all; and immediately sent another officer to take the command of the fort. The Nabob and his mother were convinced and appeased; but Abdulwahab, either from pride, or some hopes of obtaining an

1757 September

1757 independent establishment, would not return from Chitore, but levied troops, and corresponded with the Morratoes.

October. On the first of October, Mr. Soupires encamped the rest of the Lorrain regiment at Valdoor, as a body of observation ready either to intercept any succours which might be sent from Fort St. David, or to march to the Paliar, if the main body of the English force at Madrass should take the field to interrupt the siege of Chittapet. The kellidar, on the first motion of the French troops, saw his danger, and asked in pressing, but manly terms, the assistance of the presidency. It was then almost too late, for the English had no force at hand, sufficient to make their way through the first division which had set down before his fort; nevertheless stratagem and activity might have conducted some. Unfortunately the Nabob Mahomedally bore a deep grudge against the kellidar, for offences which power rarely pardons. He had received his appointment from Murzafajing, which had been confirmed by Nazirjing, and by his successor, the present Subah, on the conditions of the ancient governors of forts in Indostan, appointed by the Mogul to restrain instead of strengthening the hands of the Nabob, against whom the kellidar is obliged, in many instaces, to shut his gates. Nizar Mahomed never quitted this idea of his own dignity, keeping his court, constituting officers and levying troops, without asking the Nabob's consent or approbation; and some months before aggravated his offence by receiving a commission from Salabadjing, appointing him, in addition to his own, and with equal privileges, governor of the neighbouring fort of Polore, from which his districts had been often molested. The patents were ushered into Chittapet with much ceremony, and proclaimed to the garrison and vassals with ostentation, immediately after which the kellidar took the field with the greatest part of his force and marched against Polore. The Nabob, stung and exasperated, reproached the presidency with the proceedings of their ally, whom, having formerly served in Bengal under the Nabob Allaverdy, he accused of a strict connexion with his successor Surajahdowlah, from whom he alleged the kellidar had lately received a large sum of money, to be employed in conjunction with the French at Pondi-

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cherry, to the distress of his own government and the English affairs 1757 in the Carnatic. The presidency reprimanded the kellidar for the October. intemperance of his conduct against Polore, who immediately retired, and apologized with a frankness scarcely compatible with dissimulation; and from this time, which was the end of the last year, he continued to inform them of his wants, transactions, and apprehensions. Nevertheless, the Nabob's representations, (such is the infirmity of human nature, which enters even into public councils) left suspicions; otherwise means would, in all probability, have been contrived to have thrown 100 Europeans into the fort at this juncture; nor would they before have neglected to supply it with some pieces of cannon, which the kellidar had often solicited. The fort of Chittapet is built of stone, and is extensive, being within the ditch 540 yards from north to south, and 430 on the other sides: it has round towers at the angles, and in each of these a high cavalier; besides which, it has only 10 square towers, three on the longest, and two on each of the other sides. But all these towers are much more spacious than in the generality of the forts of Coromandel; and the gateway on the northern side is the largest pile of this construction in the Carnatic, being capable of containing on its terraces five hundred men drawn up under arms. The fausse-bray is skirted by a straight and slight parapet without projections into the ditch, which is supplied with water, but with the usual negligence of Indian fortifications, was at this time in some parts fordable. Adjacent to the western side of the fort, nearly of the same extent, is a pettah, enclosed by a mud wall with round towers. The French carried the pettah by assault, in which they established their breaching battery; erecting likewise two others without, to enfilade. The principal battery, as soon as completed, was rendered useless by an excessive fall of rain, and as soon as repaired, the kellidar sallied, killed part, and drove the rest of the guard away, dismounted the cannon, and carried off the ammunition and tools.

The

1757 October. The news of this success determined the presidency to support the kellidar; they ordered the commandant at Arcot to send a reinforcement of Europeans and Sepoys with a supply of ammunition requested the Nabob to send what horse he had ready, and Armetrow, with his detachment of Morratoes, to join and accompany the reinforcement; and, moreover, promising to bear the expence, solicited Balaventrow to detach a larger body of Morratoes to harass the enemy's posts, and intercept their convoys. But the Nabob's horse seeing no ready money, would not expose themselves; Armetrow was gone to pay his devotions at Tripetti; and Balaventrow, with the main body of his army had left Cadapanatam, and was advanced several marches towards Viziapore. In this interval the French troops which had been kept back at Valdore, arrived before Chittapett, and with the former force were sufficient to invest it on all sides, and prevent the introduction of any succours.

By the 13th, the breach was practicable, when the French summoned the kellidar, who answered, that he waited the assault. In the ensuing night a party, in which were the grenadiers of Lorrain, concealed themselves near the great gateway, where the ditch was fordable, and at dawn of day the main body advanced from the battery to the breach, when the signal was thrown up for the other party to escalade, which succeeded beyond their expectation, meeting few to oppose them; for the greatest part of the garrison were assembled with the kellidar at their head at the breach, which they defended manfully, until he fell dead, shot by two musket balls: at the same instant the escalade had gained the terrace of the gateway, from which they proceeded along the rampart, driving all before them until they came in flank of the breach, where their fire and onset confounded the resistance against the main assault, which a few minutes after gained the rampart likewise, when the conqueror spared neither the prostrate nor the fugitive, excepting the English soldiers, who were nineteen, to whom quarter was offered, which they accepted. None of other the garrison escaped, excepting such as jumped from the walls, and gained the plain;

plain; amongst whom were about 50 of the English Sepoys. Fire was set to the dwelling of the kellidar, probably because the women had barricaded their appartments; and an event is told concerning the fate of his principal wife, which, to save a disgrace to human nature, we shall not repeat. Thus fell Nizar Mahomed, a Victim to his good faith, although suspected of treachery, and with the utmost galantry, although scarcely believed to be brave. The presidency much regretted his fall, because owing in some measure to their own neglect, by which their other allies might be rendered diffident of their assistance in the hour of danger and distress.

1757 October.

Nazeabullah, on the approach of the detachment with Polier, broke up his camp before Cadawah, and retired to Nelore; where he stopped all the votaries passing from the northward through his territory to the feast at Tripetti, of which the income by this interception was considerably diminished; as soon as concluded, the detachment returned to Madras, where they arrived on the 25th of September, but in the way Polier sent off two companies of Sepoys to reinforce those already at Conjeveram. The fall of Chittapet alarmed the presidency for all their out garrisons; and precautions were taken in proportion to their importance. Carangoly standing 15 miles s. w. of Chinglapet, on the south side of the Paliar, and near the late acquisitions of the French, was garrisoned by 300 Sepoys; but as its walls were in a ruinous condition, they were ordered to retreat, on imminent danger, to Chinglapet, and to repair thither if Chinglapet were threatened before them. What districts were beyond Carangoly, and occupied only by slight parties of the enemy's troops, were consigned to the recovery and management of Murzafabeg, a partizan recommended by the Nabob, who was to account for nothing, and maintain them as he could, out of the revenues he might collect. Stores, ammunition, and some Europeans were sent to Arcot; and Timery, Covrepauk, Cavantandelum, and two or three other, but smaller forts, were ordered to act in respect to Arcot, as Carangoly to Chinglapett. But the French army, fearful of venturing too far from Pondicherry, and still more of crossing the Paliar,

1757 Paliar, as the rains were approaching, unexpectedly turned from Chittapet to the south, and went against Trinomalee.

October.

During these operations and alarms in the Carnatic, the arrival of the French squadron had created equal apprehensions in the southern countries. Calliaud received the intelligence from Devi Cotah and Fort St. David several days before the advices from the presidency could reach Madura, and without delay began his march back to Tritchinopoly, with all the Europeans; but left Mahomed Issoof with the Sepoys and the rest of the camp, to defend Madura and its dependencies, and to recover and protect, as far as the force and occasions allowed, the districts of Tinivelly: for the timidity of Modilee could not stand the field; and dreading still more to be left alone with Mahomed Issoof, he again accompanied Captain Calliaud; who the day after he left Madura, met at Nattam the first letters of the presidency ordering both himself and Mahomed Issoof to return immediately to Tritchinopoly; nevertheless several arrangements, necessary on a new acquisition of such importance, induced him to continue Mahomed Issoof ten days longer at Madura. On the 20th, he himself arrived with the Europeans, 250, at Tritchinopoly, where he was soon after informed, that the whole of the French force had taken the field; and although in the interval he received orders countermanding the return either of himself or Mahomed Issoof, he now preferred the first idea of being ready to make head at Tritchinopoly, with a strong force, until the season, intelligence, or the chance of war, might determine what might justly be apprehended from the opperations of the enemy. Accordingly Mahomed Issoof with a thousand Sepoys, followed him and arrived at Tritchinopoly on the 8th of October. In the mean time Berkatoolah had been sent with proposals to induce Maphuze Khan to quit the Tinivelly country, but the arrival of the French force had elevated him with such hopes, that he rejected all terms excepting the government both of Madura and Tinivelly at certain tributes, which he never intended to pay. This answer Mahomed Issoof received before he left Madura; as also certain intelligence that Hiderally, the Mysore general, was at length arrived with a considerable force at Dindigul: and, as the setting

setting in of the rains in the Carnatic had by this time removed all apprehensions of immediate danger to Tritchinopoly, notwithstanding the reduction of Chittapet, Calliaud resolved that Mahomed Issoof should return again to Madura with the troops he had brought, as soon as they were refreshed and furnished with some additional equipments. They accordingly set out on the 20th of October. 1757 October.

On the 16th, the same day that the presidency received the news of the loss of Chittapett, arrived a vessel from Bengal with authentic advices of the revolution in that province produced by the success at Plassy : the succeeding days and vessels brought to the company, and to individuals, some part of the treasure which had been poured into Calcutta by that extraordinary event, and the reputation of a credit, adequate to the utmost wants of the English affairs in Coromandel : but this unexpected prosperity was somewhat clouded by the certainty of not receiving back any part of their troops in this season of necessity. Nor were any of the ships of war to be expected ; for Admiral Pococke, on hearing of the French squadron, had taken the resolution of remaining in the Ganges until January, for the protection of Calcutta, and in expectation of being joined there by the ships coming from England ; soon after, arrived the Queensborough frigate, dispatched by Commodore Stevens in August, from St. Augustine's bay in the Island of Madagascar, with information of his intentions to proceed with the four ships under his command, to Bombay, from whence they could not reach the coast until the beginning of the next year ; but the approach of the tempestuous season lessened this disappointment, as it was known that the French themselves expected no more ships of force during this interval.

The French army from Chittapet appeared before Trinomalee on the 18th. This place, notwithstanding the gallant defence of Berkatoolah in 1753, is more famous for its sanctity than strength ; it is situated 30 miles S. S. W. of Chittapet, and 30 W. of Gingee, a craggy mountain, about two miles in circumference, and rising in the middle to a great height, hath, besides others, on the highest

 rock,

1757 rock, a small chapel, which is held in extreme veneration, from a persuasion, that whosoever, except the appointed Bramins, should presume to enter it, would immediately be consumed by a subterraneous fire, rising for the occasion. On the eastern side is a large pettah, surrounded by a slight mud wall; it was this Berkatoolah defended; from which are the only paths leading to the chapels, and in the innermost part, immediately under the mountain, is a spacious and well-built pagoda, the residence of a multitude of Bramins and their families, as well as of the images to which the whole mountain and pagoda are consecrated. The mountain, pettah, and a space of arable land to the westward, is enclosed by a bound hedge, such, although not so thick set, as that of Pondicherry. The Nabob's governor and garrison abandoned the pettah on the appearance of the French army; which then separated into various detachments against various places. The neighbouring kellidar of Polore surrendered on the first summons, and the stronger fort of Arni, redeemed the attack, which was threatened, although not intended, for a sum of money. On the 4th of November the strongest of the detachments commanded by Saubinet appeared before the fort of Thiagar, otherwise called Tagadurgam. This stands 30 miles south of Trinomalee, in the high road to Volcondah and Tritchinopoly. It consists of two fortifications, on a high mountain, one above, but communicating with the other, and a pettah on the plain to the eastward, which has not only the common defence of a mud wall, but his likewise surrounded at a small distance by an impenetrable hedge; from which the cannon and musketry of the French detachment could not remove the matchlock men who defended it, concealed themselves, and hitting every thing that appeared in sight: after two days trial, Saubinet received orders to return to Pondicherry, and all the other detachments were recalled at the same time. They had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trinomallee, and Gingee, and established renters in the districts which depended on them.

October.

November

As soon as the rains abated, the garrisons of Outramalore and Chittapet sent out parties to attack the districts and smaller forts de-

pendant

pendant on Carangoly and Arcot, and flight skirmishes ensued with 1757
various success. The harvest ripening in the beginning of November, November
Murzafabeg took post with 300 Sepoys levied by himself, and other force, in the fort of Trivatore, which, standing midway between Outramalore and Arcot, was the most central situation to protect the districts under his own management: the fort being strong enough to resist a sudden assault, parties detached from it frequently beat away those of the enemy, sent to levy money from the villages for the redemption of their grain in the field, until the enemy invested the fort with 800 Sepoys, joined by some Europeans, with three field-pieces. Captain Richard Smith commanding at this time in Arcot, on notice of the danger, detached five companies of Sepoys with a platoon of Europeans, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, who, halting near Trivatore during the night of the 13th of December, fell upon the besiegers at day-break the next December
morning, beat up all their posts, and took their field-pieces, with which he returned the day after to Arcot; but left one of his companies of Sepoys to reinforce Trivatore. On the 28th, 500 Sepoys came again and took possession of the pettah, but were driven away by the garrison on the last day of the year. At the same time another party from Outramalore blocked up two companies of Sepoys, placed in the mud fort of Cavantandelum, which stands about 10 miles to the N. of Outramalore, and about midway between Salawauk and Conjeveram. Ensign Banatyne marched with five companies from Carangoly, and beat the enemy away; but deeming the post untenable, withdrew the guard. Thus ended the year in the districts of the Carnatic near the Paliar.

The Morratoe, Balaventrow, immediately after the conclusion of Armetrow's negotiation, and his own devotions at Tripetti, marched with the main body of his army from the pass of Cudapanatam, into the country of Cudapah. The Nabob of this province had assembled his force, 6000 horse, and had been joined by those of Canoul, with 3000 more, all reputed, although not really, Pitans. This army waited for the enemy near the city of Cudapah, which stands about 150 miles N. and by W. of Arcot,

1757 and is an open town. The Morratoes, contrary to their usual warfare, were as eager for a decisive battle as the Pitans. It was fought December on the 24th of September with much fury, and ended with the death of the Nabob of Cudapah ; the city fell a prey to the conquerors, who plundered every thing, and found a valuable booty. Balaventrow soon after received, with the request of the presidency, an order from Balajerow, to assist the English, and immediately detached 1000 horse to Arcot ; but they did not arrive until Chittapet wes taken ; and the subsequent motions of the French threatening no forts of importance, which it was in the power of the English force to protect without risquing a general battle, the presidency spared the expence of taking this cavalry into their pay ; which however did not join the French, but remained with Armetrow at Arcot until the 5th of December ; when he proceeded with them and his former escort to Velore, where they remained qietly until the end of January, waiting the orders of Balaventrow.

The only attempt made by the French troops, after the retreat of their army into Pondicherry, was against Palamcotah near the Coleroon, which they invested, in the beginning of December, with 100 Europeans, some field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, from the garrison of Chilambarum, but, having no battering cannon, they were only able to get possession of the pettah, from whence they collected the revenues of the lands dependant on the fort, which, as we have said in a former part of our narrative, were an appanage of the Nabob of Cudapah, and were commanded by one of his near relations. The death of the late Nabob did not alter the dependance, and as he had been for some time on friendly terms with the Euglish, 30 Sepoys, with as much ammunition as they could carry, were sent from Fort St. David, and found means to get into the fort.

Whilst Mahomed Issoof was waiting the decision of his return from Tritchinopoly to Madura, Hyderally had marched from Dindigul, *November.* took the fort of Sholavanden without resistance, and entered the districts of Madura without opposition. He continued several days under the walls of the city ; but, finding it much stronger than he expected, contented himself with plundering the country, sending

* ing

ing off the cattle and other booty to Dindigul. On the approach of Mahomed Issoof, he took post with a part of his army near the issue of the pass of Nattam, in order to intercept his march. Mahomed Issoof without hesitation attacked, and, with the advantage of superior discipline, and the execution of his field-pieces, obliged the Mysoreans to give way: who, decamping the ensuing night, crossed the country to Chevelpetore. By this time, the mischief they had done having left nothing more to get worth the expence of remaining in the country, Hyderally collected his detachments, and returned to Dindigul. Mahomed Issoof, on his arrival at Madura, enlisted 400, the best of Berkatoolah's cavalry; the whole of which were remaining encamped 15 miles from the town, waiting for the second payment of the agreement, having as neutrals, neither given molestation to the Mysoreans, or received any from them. He, at the same time, sent invitations to those with Maphuze Khan, and whatsoever other bodies were acting as independent plunderers in the Tinivelly country. As soon as the Mysoreans were gone, he began his march to Tinivelly, with a very considerable force. Passing along the districts of Etiaporum, the Polygar redeemed his hostages, which were in the camp, paying 18,700 rupees, the balance of his fine. The army arrived at the town of Tinivelly about the middle of November, from whence Maphuze Khan on their approach had retired to Nellitangaville. He had, during his residence there, made various attempts to get possession of the fort of Palamcotah, but had taken Calacad, and given it to the king of Travancore. Mahomed Issoof, with a part of the army, marched immediately against this place, which the Travancores abandoned without resistance, and, being followed by him, retired behind their walls in the passes of the mountains, at the foot of the promontory. At the same time, the appearance of other detachments drove away the guards which Maphuze Khan had placed in Papancolam, Alvarcourchy, and Bermadats; and those stationed by the Polygar of Vadagherry, in Tirancourchy. All these places lie to the N. W. of Tinivelly, about Nellitangaville; and parties of Sepoys were left to maintain them. Mahomed Issoof had returned to

1757 December *November.*

1757 December to Tinivelly by the end of November; and on the 28th of this month, a Jemautdar of horse, lately enlisted, endeavoured, with some of his troops, to break through his guards to the apartment in which he was, as usual, laid down to sleep in the afternoon. Mahomed Issoof starting up joined his guards, and more coming, all the intruders were cut down on the spot, but killed some of their opponents. At this time he received intelligence that the French garrison in the pagoda of Seringham had sent a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys with artillery, to Hyderally at Dindigul, who, on their arrival, it was said, was preparing to return against Madura: the news, although premature, was believed, and determined Mahomed Issoof to be there before them. Accordingly, on the 1st of December. he began his march from Tinivelly, leaving there and in the other posts, a sufficient force to make head against Maphuze Khan and his allies, and on the 4th arrived at Chevelpetore, where he remained waiting for more certain advices concerning the Mysoreans, until the end of the month; and in the mean time, sent a strong detachment to repair the fort of Sholavanden. Before this time, no farther expectation remained of Moodilee's abilities to manage the revenues; and he was called to Madrass, in order to exhibit and explain the details of his administration; but remained sick and settling his accounts in the woods of Tondiman. Calliaud had sent Lieutenant Rumbold in the month of August to communicate the state of the country; but this officer died on the way at Fort St. David in the month of September: and the presidency, as soon as the rains were set in, ordered Calliaud himself to come. He arrived on the 14th of November, under the safeguard of a passport from Pondicherry, and having communicated his knowledge and opinions, returned on the 4th, aud reached Tritchinopoly on the 12th of December; his representations convinced the presidency, that the disturbances would never cease, nor any revenue be collected adequate to the military expences, whilst Maphuze Khan maintained his force, pretensions, and alliances in these countries. It was therefore proposed to the Nabob, who still continued at Madras; that Maphuze Khan should be assured

sured of receiving an annual income, sufficient for his decent maintenance, out of the revenues, provided he would quit the country with his cavalry, and disband his other troops. By this plan, if nothing should be got, nothing would be lost; and the French, frustrated of all connexions, would find it impracticable to get footing in these provinces. The Nabob approved the proposal, and sent an agent to treat with Maphuze Khan. 1757 December

Thus ended this busy anxious year in the Carnatic and its dependencies, during which almost every day brought the solicitude of some suspended event, or the expectation of some important mischance; but unremitting caution and vigilance, directed by knowledge and sagacity, supplied the defect of force. The only error committed by the presidency was their neglect of Chittapet, which was severely atoned by its loss. The only advantage obtained was the acquisition of Madura; but this much more than compensated all the detriments of the year. Thus the English councils. To those of Pondicherry no blame could be imputed, because they were restricted by the most positive orders from France, and even ventured more than they were authorised to risque.

Mr. Bussy, the commander of their forces in the Decan, had during this year employed them with much more activity, because uncontrouled in his operations. His army, continuing their march from Hyderabad, arrived at Bezoara on the Kristna in the end of November of the preceding year, from whence, instead of going to Masulipatam, they struck to the north-east, and proceeded by a frequented road, through the province and city of Elore, from whence they arrived on the 19th of December at the city of Ramundrum, situated on the Godaveri, about 30 miles from the sea, and a day's march from the English factory at Ingeram. On their approach, Ibrahim Cawn, whom Mr. Bussy had raised to the government of this and the province of Chicacole, dreading the punishment of his ingratitude during the distress of Charmaul, quitted the country, and went away to Aurengabad; but the Rajah Vizeramrauze, confident in the proofs he had given of his attachment, met their army accompanied by several other Indian chiefs, with their forces, which, with his own, amounted to 10000 men; he

was

1757 December was received with every mark of respect, and employed the favour in which he stood to the gratification of an animosity, which had long been the leading passion of his mind. The tradition of these countries says, that many centuries before Mahomedanism, a king of Jaggernaut, in Orixa, marched to the south with a great army, which subdued not only these provinces, but, crossing the Kristna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram: these conquests he distributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial servants, from whom several of the present northern polygars pretend to be lineally descended, and to govern at this very time the very districts which were then given to their ancestor. All who claim this genealogy, esteem themselves the highest blood of native Indians, next to the Bramins, equal to the Rajpoots, and support this pre-eminence by the haughtiest observances, insomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution: their women never transfer themselves to a second, but burn with the husband of their virginity; and, although this cruel practice is not unfrequent in most of the high families and casts throughout India, yet it is generally optional: but with the women of these antient Polygars, the most indispensable of necessities.

The first in rank of these Polygars, who all call themselves Rajahs, was Rangarao of Bobilee: the fort of this name stands close to the mountains about 140 miles N. E. of Vizagapatam; the districts are about twenty square miles. There had long been a deadly hatred between this Polygar and Vizeramrauze, whose person, how much soever he feared his power, Rangarao held in the utmost contempt, as of low extraction, and of new note. Districts belonging to Vizeramrauze adjoined to those of Bobilee, whose people diverted the water of the rivulets, and made depredations, which Vizeramrauze, for want of better military means, and from the nature of Rangarao's country, could not retaliate. Vizeramrauze used his utmost influence and arguments to persuade Mr. Bussy of the necessity of removing this neighbour; and Mr. Bussy proposed, that he should quit his hereditary ground of

of Bobilee, in exchange for other lands of greater extent and value, in another part of the province; but Rangarao treated the proposal as an insult. Soon after, it became necessary to send a detachment of Sepoys to some districts at a distance, to which the shortest road lay through some part of the woods of Bobilee: permission was obtained; but, either by some contrivance of Vizeramrauze, or the predetermination of Rangarao, the detachment was sharply attacked, and obliged to retire with the loss of 30 Sepoys killed, and more wounded. Vizeramrauze improved this moment of indignation; and Mr. Bussy, not foreseeing the terrible event to which he was proceeding, determined to reduce the whole country, and to expel the Polygar and all his family.

1757 December

The province of Chicacole has few extensive plains, and its hills increase in frequency and magnitude, as they approach the vast range of mountains that bound this, and the province of Rajahmundrum, to the N. W. The hills, and the narrower bottoms which separate them, are suffered to over-run with wood, as the best protection to the opener vallies allotted for cultivation. The Polygar, besides his other towns and forts, has always one situated in the most difficult part of his country, which is intended as the last refuge for himself and all of his own blood. The singular construction of this fort is adequate to all the intentions of defence amongst a people unused to cannon, or other means of battery. Its outline is a regular square, which rarely exceeds 200 yards; a large round tower is raised at each of the angles, and a square projection in the midddle of each of the sides. The height of the wall is 22 feet, but of the rampart within only 12, which is likewise its breadth at top, although it is laid much broader at bottom; the whole is of tempered clay, raised in distinct layers, of which each is left exposed to the sun, until thoroughly hardened, before the next is applied. The parapet rises 10 feet above the rampart, and is only three feet thick. It is indented five feet down from the top in interstices six inches wide, which are three or four feet asunder. A foot above the bottom of these interstices and battlements, runs a line of round holes, another two feet, lower and a third within two feet of the rampart:

1757 December These holes are, as usual, formed with pipes of baked clay: they serve for the employment of fire-arms, arrows, and lances; and the interstices for the freer use of all these arms, instead of loop-holes, which cannot be inserted or cut in the clay. The towers, and the square projections in the middle, have the same parapet as the rest of the wall; and in two of the projections, on opposite sides of the fort are gateways, of which the entrance is not in the front, but on one side, from whence it continues through half the mass, and then turns by a right angle into the place; and, on any alarm, the whole passage is choked up with trees, and the outside surrounded to some distance with a thick bed of strong brambles. The rampart and parapet is covered by a shed of strong thatch, supported by posts; the eaves of this shed project over the battlements, but fall so near, that a man can scarcely squeeze his body between: this shed is shelter both to the rampart and guards against the sun and rain. An area of 500 yards, or more, in every direction round the fort, is preserved clear, of which the circumference joins the high wood, which is kept thick, three, four, or five miles in breadth around this center. Few of these forts permit more than one path through the wood. The entrance of the path from without is defended by a wall, exactly similar in construction and strength to one of the sides of the fort; having its round towers at the ends, and the square projection with its gateway in the middle. From natural sagacity they never raise this redoubt on the edge of the wood; but at the bottom of a recess, cleared on purpose, and on each side of the recess, raise breast-works of earth or hedge, to gall the approach. The path admits only three men abreast, winds continually, is every where commanded by breast-works in the thicket, and has in its course several redoubts, similar to that of the entrance, and like that flanked by breast-works on each hand. Such were the defences of Bobilee; against which Mr. Bussy marched, with 750 Europeans, of whom 250 were horse, four field-pieces, and 11000 Peons and Sepoys, the army of Vizeramrauze, who commanded them in person.

Whilst the field-pieces, plied the parapet of the first redoubt at the entrance of the wood, detachments entered into the side of the recess with

with fire and hatchet, and began to make a way, which tended to 1757
bring them in the rear of the redoubt; and the guard, as soon as convinced of their danger, abandoned their station, and joined those in the posts behind; the same operations continued through the whole path, which was five miles in length, and with the same success, although not without loss. When in sight of the fort, Mr. Bussy divided his troops into four divisions, allotting one, with the field-piece, to the attack of each of the towers. Rangarao was here, with all his parentage, 250 men bearing arms, and nearly twice this number of women and children.

December

The attack commenced at day-break, on the 24th of January, with the field-pieces against the four towers; and the defenders, lest fire might catch the thatch of the rampart, had pulled it down. By nine o'clock, several of the battlements were broken, when all the leading parties of the four divisions advanced at the same time, with scaling ladders; but, after much endeavour for an hour, not a man had been able to get over the parapet; and many had fallen wounded; other parties followed with as little success, until all were so fatigued, that a cessation was ordered, during which the field-pieces, having beaten down more of the parapet, gave the second attack more advantage; but the ardour of the defence encreased with the danger. The garrison fought with the indignant ferocity of wild beasts, defending their dens and families: several of them stood, as in defiance, on the top of the battlements, and endavoured to grapple with the first ascendants, hoping with them to twist the ladders down; and this failing, stabbed with their lances, but being wholly exposed themselves, were easily shot by aim from the rear of the escalade. The assailants admired, for no Europeans had ever seen such excess of courage in the natives of Indostan, and continually offered quarter, which was always answered by the menace and intention of death: not a man had gained the rampart at two o'clock in the afternoon, when another cessation of the attack ensued; on which Rangarao assembled the principal men, told them there was no hopes of maintaining the fort, and that it was immediately necessary to preserve their wives and children from the violation of

January.

1757 December January. Europeans, and the more ignominious authority of Vizeramrauze. A number called without distinction were allotted to the work; they proceeded, every man with a torch, his lance, and poignard, to the habitations in the middle of the fort, to which they set fire indiscriminately, plying the flame with straw prepared with pitch and brimstone, and every man stabbed without remorse, the woman or child, whichsoever attempted to escape the flame and suffocation. Not the helpless infant, clinging to the bosom of its mother, saved the life of either from the hand of the husband and father. The utmost excesses whether of revenge or rage, were exceeded by the atrocious prejudices which dictated and performed this horrible sacrifice. The massacre being finished, those who accomplished it returned, like men agitated by the furies, to die themselves on the walls. Mr. Law, who commanded one of the divisions, observed, whilst looking at the conflagration, that the number of the defenders was considerably diminished, and advanced again to the attack: after several ladders had failed, a few grenadiers got over the parapet, and maintained their footing in the tower until more secured the possession. Rangarao hastening to the defence of the tower, was in this instant killed by a musket-ball. His fall encreased, if possible, the desperation of his friends; who, crowding to revenge his death, left the other parts of the ramparts bare; and the other divisions of the French troops, having advanced likewise to their respective attacks, numbers on all sides got over the parapet without opposition: nevertheless, none of the defenders quitted the rampart, or would accept quarter; but each fell advancing against, or struggling with, an antagonist; and even when fallen, and in the last agony, would resign his poignard only to death. The slaughter of the conflict being completed, another much more dreadful, presented itself in the area below: the transport of victory lost all its joy: all gazed on one another with silent astonishment and remorse, and the fiercest could not refuse a tear to the deplorable destruction spread before them. Whilst contemplating it, an old man, leading a boy, was perceived advancing from a distant recess: he was welcomed with much attention and respect, and conducted by the crowd to Mr. Law, to whom he presented the child with

these words: "This is the son of Rangarao, whom I have preserved 1757
"against his father's will." Another emotion now succeeded, and December
the preservation of this infant was felt by all as some alleviation to January.
the horrible catastrophe, of which they had been the unfortunate authors. The tutor and the child were immediately sent to Mr. Bussy, who, having heard of the condition of the fort, would not go into it, but remained in his tent, where he received the sacred captives with the humanity of a guardian appointed by the strongest claims of nature, and immediately commanded patents to be prepared, appointing the son lord of the territory which he had offered the father in exchange for the districts of Bobilee; and ordered them to be strictly guarded in the camp from the malevolence of enemies.

The ensuing night and the two succeeding days passed in the usual attentions, especially the care of the wounded, who were many; but in the middle of the third night, the camp was alarmed by a tumult in the quarter of Vizeramrauze. Four of the soldiers of Rangarao, on seeing him fall, concealed themselves in an unfrequented part of the fort until the night was far advanced, when they dropped down the walls, and speaking the same language, passed unsuspected through the quarters of Vizeramrauze, and gained the neighbouring thickets; where they remained the two succeeding days, watching until the bustle of the camp had subsided; when two of them quitted their retreat, and having by their language again deceived those by whom they were questioned, got near the tent of Vizeramrauze; then creeping on the ground they passed under, the back part, and entering the tent found him lying on his bed, alone, and asleep. Vizeramrauze was extremely corpulent, insomuch that he could scarcely rear himself from his seat without assistance: the two men, restraining their very breath, struck in the same instant with their poignards at his heart; the first groan brought in a centinel, who fired, but missed; more immediately thronged in, but the murderers, heedless of themselves, cried out, pointing to the body, "Look here! We are satisfied." They were instantly shot by the crowd, and mangled after they had fallen; but had stabbed Vizeramrauze

1757 December January. rauze in 32 places. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the forest were bound by the same oath to perform the deed or perish in the attempt.

The army hastened to quit this tragic ground. They proceeded through the hills to the north, summoning the tributes of a variety of polygars, who, terrified by the fate of Bobilee, paid without resistance ; nor did they meet any opposition, until they arrived at the districts of Gumseer. This country is much more extensive than that of any other of the ancient Polygars ; it commences about 40 miles to the North-west of Ganjam, extending about 50 miles in that direction, and 20 in breadth ; it is even more impenetrable than the country of Bobilee, its forests consisting entirely of bamboes, which grow closer, and resist the axe and fire better than any other vegetation ; relying on which, the inhabitants do not think it necessary to erect redoubts for the defence of their paths, but obstruct them with frequent and temporary barriers of bamboes, wrought in a variety of entanglements. The polygar of Gumseer refused his tribute, of which the arrears amounted to 180,000 rupees ; and Mr. Bussy, intending for other views to remain awhile in the northernmost parts of the Chicacole province, resolved to employ some of the time in reducing this country. Day by day the troops were employed with excessive toil and fatigue in rooting up, cutting down, and endeavouring to burn a way through the forest. The whole district is esteemed one of the hottest regions of Indostan, and is peculiarly subject to strokes of the sun ; by which seven Europeans were in one day killed ; several barriers were forced, or past, and the Polygar, beginning to think himself in danger, made proposals, which Mr. Bussy was equally willing to accept, having lost 30 Europeans, and a much greater number of Sepoys, in the little progress which the army had made ; this accommodation was concluded in the middle of April.

Some time before, Mr. Bussy had received letters from Surajah Doulah, the nabob of Bengal, requesting his assistance to expel their common enemy, the English, out of that province ; the Nabob offered to defray all the expences of the French army, and promised

further

further explanations: which Mr. Bussy supposed would be brought by some principal officer of his court, furnished with the means of conducting the army through the province of Orixa; in which expectation he resolved to remain near the frontiers of this province, and the army marched from Gumseer to Ganjam, which is the last town in Chicacole. It is a sea-port much frequented by coasting vessels, and the French had at this time a factory there; the army remained in the neighbourhood until the 10th of May, but, instead of further overtures from Surajah Dowlah, received intelligence, that the English had taken the French settlement of Chandernagore; which convincing Mr. Bussy of the imbecility of the Nabob, who had suffered them to gain such an advantage in his country, he relinquished all ideas of further connexion with him; but resolved immediately to make retaliation on the English settlements in the northern provinces. 1757 December April. May.

In consequence of his orders the Europeans he hand left in garrion at Rajahmundrum, when joined by more from Masulipatam, marched against the factories of Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which stand near the sea on three different arms of the Godaveri. The natives here weave excellent cloths at cheap rates, and the three factories annually furnished 700 bales for the Company's market in England. Ingeram only had soldiers, and only 20, and all the three factories surrendered on the first requisition. The reduction of Vizagapatam, as being nearer, Mr. Bussy reserved to himself; but being sure of his prize, remained in the city of Chicacole until he had settled the affairs of this government. On the 24th of June the van of his army appeared before Vizagapatam. A river coming from the north and turning short eastward to the sea, forms an arm of land, a mile and half in length: and 600 yards in breadth. Nearly in the middle of this ground stands the fort, of which the construction by repeated mistakes was become so absurd, that it was much less defensible than many of the ancient barons' castles of Europe. The face towards the river was choked by houses. A whole town lay within 300 yards to the north, a village at the same distance to the south, and several buildings on each of these sides stood much nearer the June.

walls;

1757 December June. walls; towards the sea, the esplanade was clear, excepting a saluting battery, where a lodgment might be easily made; after many injudicious additions of works round the fort, which only made it worse, it was found necessary to throw up an entrenchment to the north, beyond the town, in the shoulder of the peninsula, quite across from the river to the sea, with a battery at each extremity, and another on a hillock near the center, but this was commanded by a sand-hill directly opposite, and within point-blank. The access across the river from the south, was sufficiently secured by batteries, which commanded not only the passage, but the entrance of the river itself, through which all embarkations from the sea must gain the shore, as the surf prevents even a boat from landing on the beach: indeed the whole scheme of the defences seemed to have been calculated only to oppose the attempts of pirates and polygars. The garrison consisted of 150 excellent Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; the English families in the town were 50 persons. On the same day that the van of Mr. Bussy's army appeared in sight, the Company's ship Marlborough anchored in the road, on board of which was the chief engineer of Madrass proceeding to Bengal. He landed, and having the next morning reviewed the works, with Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the troops, both gave their opinion that the extent could not be defended, even with a much greater force; and advised that all the Europeans should be immediately embarked, and the Sepoys, with two or three officers, left to make the best capitulation they could; but all the boat and fishermen had deserted in the night, and the wind blew so strong from the sea, that none but those accustomed could manage the boats over the bar, which that of the Marlborough carrying back the engineer, experienced, being twice overset and a man drowned before she got out. At noon, cannon appeared on the sand hill; soon after, the main body of the enemy, and a summons to surrender; after two or three messages, the capitulation was signed at 11 at night. All the Europeans, whether troops or inhabitants, were to be prisoners of war; the Sepoys and natives free to go where they liked; the Company's effects, capture; individuals, Mr. Bussy said, should have no reason to

to complain: he kept his word with the utmost liberality, resigning without discussion whatsoever property any one claimed as his own. The Marlborough having anchored at the Dutch factory of Bimlapatam, 12 miles to the northward, he permitted the chief, Mr. Percival, Captain Campbell, and several others, to proceed in her to Bengal. 1757 December

From Vizagapatam, the army proceeded to Rajahmundrum, where they remained some time, and then took the field, and advanced again to the northward, to awe the tributaries who shewed any tendency to disobedience; but were not obliged to exercise any hostilities of consequence. Thus ended the year 1757, in the northern provinces: during which, the absence of Mr. Bussy from the court of Salabadjing, gave his enemies the opportunity they wished, of taking measures to weaken the future effects of his influence over that prince, in the administration of his government.

Nizamally and Bussalut Jung were the two brothers of Salabadjing, who, as well as himself, were prisoners in the camp of Murzafajing, when the death of this prince in Cudapah, with the influence of Mr. Bussy in his army, raised Salabadjing to the throne of the Decan. The early sagacity of Mr. Bussy then foresaw, that the two brothers would be made the ensigns of faction and revolt, if they were admitted to any participation in the councils of the government; since by their birth, their employments, if any, must be great. He therefore advised Salabadjing to allow them incomes sufficient for all indulgencies, but to give them no appointments of trust and power, and to oblige them, under pretence of distinction, to accompany him wheresoever he moved. In this restraint, tempered by all exterior attentions, they continued, and seemed satisfied, until the open rupture between Mr. Bussy and Salabadjing's administration of Sanore; when Shanavaze Khan resolved to raise them into public importance, as his own future patrons, with the very views, of which the apprehension had led Mr. Bussy to prevent their promotion. Balazerow was, as we have seen, encamped at that time before Sanore; to whom Shanavaze Khan communicated his intention, suppressing the motive, and requested him to urge the advice to Salabadjing,

 with

1757 December with the document of his own example, who always employed his brothers, or his son, in the most important expeditions, which he could not attend himself. Balagerow knew that his own policy could not be the rule of a different state, and weaker understanding; but saw the views of Shanavaze Khan, and wishing for the very divisions they would create in the administration of the Decan, gave the advice; and Salabadjing, always easily led, appointed Nizamally, the elder of the two brothers, to the government of Berar, the most extensive in the empire, but of which more than half had been dismembered by the conquests of the Morratoe Janogee; and to Bassalut Jung he gave the country of Adoni, which lies south of the Kristna and north of Mysore; Bassalut Jung went from Sanore to his government, but Nizamally not until after the reconciliation of Charmaul.

The brothers being then established, Mr. Bussy could do no better than appear indifferent to the arrangements he could not reverse without renewing the immediate effect of unappeased animosities, before he was in a state to encounter them. He therefore went away, as we have seen in November, to the ceded provinces, as the most certain means of providing money, without umbrage, for future contingencies. On the 17th of December, Salabadjing began his intended march from Golcondah to Aurengabad. The army consisted of 10,000 horse, and 15,000 foot, with the French detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, whom Shanavaze Khan could find no pretence to prevent from accompanying Salabadjing. They arrived at Beder in the beginning of January, when Balagerow was *January.* taking the field at Poni. And Shanavaze Khan desiring to gain his concurrence to the designs he had formed, resolved to loiter in this part of the country, hoping that the approach of Balagerow might give opportunities of an interview between them. He accordingly led the army against a considerable Rajah named Chundersain, whose territory lay near Calberga, 40 miles to the south of Beder, and whilst hostilities were carrying on against the Rajah he summoned Bassault Jung to join the standard of the Subahships with the forces from his government of Adoni; which added another delay until

their arrival. But advices being received that Balagerow was marching straight to the south, and intended to cross the Kristna, the Subah's army renewed their march to the northward, when in the beginning of February news arrived, that the Affghans had taken Delhi, that a large detachment of their army were plundering Agra, and that parties from this detachment were on the road to Brampour; which, from some conclusions of which we are ignorant, determined the Subah's council to proceed no farther to the north, whilst the Pitans were supposed to have any intentions of advancing to the south; so that they did not approach Aurungabad until the beginning of May. In this interval Seid Lascar Khan, who had been Duan of the Decan, and had given the northern maritime provinces to the French, died at Aurengabad; his treasures were reported to be great, and with all his effects reverted, according to the institutions of the government, to the sovereign; but they were deposited in the fortress of Doltabad, of which the governor was his near relation, and had always been obsequious to his will. 1757 December May.

This place is called, and deemed impregnable, standing on the summit of a mountain, which is surrounded with two other inclosures, of which that on the plain contains a large town: notwithstanding the necessity of communication to admit troops and provisions, each has its particular governor; but the two lower forts are so overtowered by the upper, that they rarely resist the will of the governor there, who, until the late confusions of the empire, was always especially appointed by the Great Mogul.

Shanavaze Khan had succeeded Seid Lascar in the office of Duan, of which one of the most beneficial duties is to take possession for the emperor of the estates of all who die, holding, or having held, any office in the government: he therefore proceeded several days before the army, with a large detachment and some artillery, and summoned all the forts; the lowest, after a slight resistance, and much parley, surrendered on the third day; the governors of the two others being leagued together held out a month; but having neglected to lay in a stock of provisions, and being surrounded by the whole of Salabadjing's army, they at length yielded to money;

1757 December and Shanavaze Khan immediately changed the garrisons, and placed one of his own dependants in the command of all the forts, with the unwilling compliance of Salabadjing, and the approbation of the Emperor's Duan, Mahomed Hussein, whom Shanavaze Khan had lately gained over to his views. He found in the fort a great treasure belonging to Seid Lascar Khan, of which 700,000 rupees were publicly avowed, and more suspected. In the end of September a body of 6000 Morratoes from Poni, under the command of Vizvazrow, the eldest son of Balagerow, arrived near Aurengabad, with pretensions of which we are ignorant: their march had been expected, and gave Shanavaze Khan a pretence to call up Nizamally from Berar with the troops of his government, who arrived at the same time as Vizvazrow; the Morratoe chiefs dependant on the Subahship, and several others, had been likewise summoned, and were come up, so that the whole force under the standard of the Subah was near 40,000 horse, besides the foot. The Morratoes, notwithstanding their inferiority, proceeded to hostilities, but confined them to skirmishes, in which they were always repulsed by the artillery of the French detachment; nevertheless Nizamally assumed the merit of these successes, and working at the same time by his emissaries amongst Salabadjing's troops, instigated them to clamour, and insult him in his palace for the arrears of their pay, of which 22 months were due. During this tumult Shanavaze Khan, as if afraid of the resentment of Salabadjing, took refuge in the fort of Doltabad.

Salabadjing was terrified, without money, and, by the means of Shanavaze Khan, without credit; and Nizamally taking the advantage he had prepared, proffered to interfere and appease the troops, provided he was intrusted, whilst necessary, with the administration of the government, and the disposal of the great seal of the Subahship. This instrument ratifies all treaties, confirms all governments, authenticates all grants and boons of consequence, and warrants all assignments of the revenue: it therefore always remains at least in the dwelling of the prince, and generally under his own eye, excepting at Delhi, where it is usually confided to the Vizier. Salabadjing being without resource, consented: and Nizamally immediately became

came invested with sovereign power, but left the appearances to Salabadjing, whom he affected to consult; and abrogated none of his indulgencies, which this prince was naturally inclined to prefer to the cares of his state. Nizamally immediately gave additional honours and jaghires to his brother Bassaulet Jung, and with a subtle affectation of indifference concerning the seal, committed it to his care. Both the next day introduced Shanavaze Khan to Salabadjing, who received him with the exterior ceremonials of good-will and favour. The officer who commanded the French detachment had neither experience nor force sufficient to counteract the progress of this plot; but redoubled his attention in guarding the person of Salabadjing, which perhaps saved his life. It was the general opinion that the expedition of the Morratoes with Vizvazrow had been concerted by Shanavaze Khan, as the leading means of accomplishing this revolution. 1757 December

It happened in the middle of December; Mr. Bussy received intelligence of it at Rajahmundrum in the beginning of January, and immediately began his march, with all his force, to release Salabadjing from these bonds. We shall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

THE first news of the French squadron was brought to Calcutta on the 17th of September, by the Revenge, which had escaped from them on the 8th, in the road of Fort St. David. Other advices followed, with information of the troops they had brought, and of the expectations at Pondicherry of much greater force in the beginning of the ensuing year; in consequence of which the presidency of Madrass repeated with much solicitude the request they had often made, that the troops with Clive might be immediately returned to the coast: but they could not now be sent away, without risquing the accomplishment of the treaties with Meer Jaffier, if he should require their service in the field; and the loss of Calcutta itself, if a French force should arrive in the river, whilst they were employed in a distant part of the Nabob's dominions. This apprehension rendered the French prisoners, and even their vagabonds in the province, an object of solicitude. The prisoners amounted to 200, of whom War of BENGAL.

1757 50 being men of better condition, were not confined. The party which served with Sinfray at the battle of Plassy, had escaped into

September the districts of Berbohin, were the timidity of the natives suffered them to remain without molestation; and other stragglers from various parts had increased the number to sixty Europeans. Thirty had gone away in boats from the French factory at Dacca, under the conduct of the chief, Mr. Courtin, and proceeding along the rivers, had entrenched themselves near the mountains in the northern part of the district of Rungpore, which adjoins on the west to Purneah. It was suspected that some of the prisoners, who were at large, were corresponding, not only with both these parties, but also with Mr. Law's in Oude, and with the army of Mr. Bussy in Chicacole. It was therefore resolved to send away all the higher sort to Pondi-

October. cherry; and in the beginning of October, thirty-four, of whom two were Jesuits, were embarked in a ship hired for the purpose, and called the Restitution. From reliance on their parole the ship was manned, as usual, by lascars, or mariners of the country, with only three Englishmen to command them. As soon as they were at sea, the Frenchmen, as they easily might overpowered the crew, and carried the ship to Masulipatam, where they declared themselves free, and the ship a lawful prize.

Before Colonel Clive left Muxadavad, the Nabob had summoned Ramramsing, the Rajah of Midnapore, who was head of the spies, to come there, in order to settle the accounts of his districts, on which, as usual, a considerable balance stood due from him in the books of the Treasury. Ramramsing had always been in close connexion with Roydoolub, who, to remove suspicions, advised him, at least openly, to obey; but Ramramsing sent his brother and nephew, whom the Nabob immediately put into prison; and prevented the disapprobation of Clive, by representing, what was true, that Ramramsing had been the enemy of the English, having carried on for Surajah Dowlah the Correspondence with Mr. Bussy and Mr. Law; and that he had forwarded whatsoever Frenchmen had escaped to the south, through Orixa to Chicacole. Roydoolub had no doubt that this proceeding of the Nabob's was a preparation for

his

his designs against himself, but concealed his persuasion, and wisely refrained from claiming the English guarantee until the danger should come nearer. These coincidences prevented Clive from entertaining any suspicions of the real motives of Jaffier's conduct towards Ramramsing, before he returned to Calcutta; but Ramramsing, as soon as he heard of the confinement of his brother and nephew, assembled his force, which consisted of 2000 horse, and 5000 foot, and wrote to Colonel Clive, that if he were attacked he should seek refuge wherever it was to be found; which his country well afforded by the jungles or thickets with which it is covered, and the mountains to which it adjoins. He however proffered to pay a lack of rupees as a present to Meer Jaffier, and even to make his obeisance to him in person if Clive would warrant his safety. Clive immediately recommended the reconciliation to the Nabob, who at the same time received intelligence, that the people of Purneah, under the command of Ogul Sing the Gentoo, whom Surajah Dowlah had appointed to govern this province after the defeat and death of his cousin Seid Hamed, had taken up arms, and proclaimed a brother of Seid Mahomed, on hearing that the Nabob had given the government to his relation Coddum Hussein, whom they dreaded for his character of rapaciousness and tyranny.

1757 October.

Both these insurrections arising under the standard of Gentoos drove the Nabob from all the dissimulation with which he had, intended to conceal his purposes, until he had cut off Roydoolub, and the other principal heads of the nation; and in his vexation he openly perhaps not unjustly, imputed both rebellions to the practices of Roydoolub. He immediately commanded 6000 horse and foot to march with Coddum Hussein to Purneah, and 500 horse with Cojee Haddee to Midnapore; both divisions were to set out on the 6th of October, and Cojee Haddee proceeded; but the troops appointed to Coddum Hussein, abetted by their officers, refused to move until they had received their arrears, and clamoured other discontents. The city was in agitation. Roydoolub assembled his force, and would no longer visit the Nabob; who a few days after received intelligence from

1757 from Colonel Clive, to whom it had been sent by an express-boat from the English resident at Chuprah, signifying that "his spies had "met messengers on the road, who said, that they had delivered let-"ters from the widow of Allaverdy to Ramnarain, the governor of "Behar, and were carrying others to Sujah Dowlah the Nabob of "Oude, requesting him to march, and join Ramnarain against Meer "Jaffier." This, if true was the most powerful confederacy which Jaffier could have to fear, and bore strong marks of originating from Roydoolub, from his attachment and respect to Allaverdy's widow, which he openly continued, notwithstanding the elevation of Jaffier. Clive foreseeing the animosity which the intelligence would occasion, suppressed his own suspicions; but ordered the troops at Cossimbuzar to join the Nabob on the first call; and promised to march himself, if necessary, with the main body from Calcutta and Chandernagore. These proffers abated the tumult of the Nabob's troops; and the mediation of Mr. Watts produced an interview between the Nabob and Roydoolub, on the 17th of October, when each swore oblivion of former distrusts, and future friendship; and upon this apparent reconciliation, the Nabob ordered his whole army to assemble on the plains of Geriah, six miles from the city.

October.

A few days after, a fresh insurrection appeared in another part of the province. The two sons of the Nabob Suffraze Khan, whom Allaverdy had spared when their father fell, defending his diadem, remained on the accession of Jaffier in the city of Dacca, where they had lived 16 years, without shewing either abilities or inclination to raise disturbances. Nevertheless they immediately became objects of suspicion to Jaffier, who in the first days of his government brought back the elder, Haffizally Chan, to Muxadavad: there seemed little occasion to fear him, for his letter to Clive on this occasion was written with the humility of a beggar: but the other, Ammannee Chan, either from nature or despair, exerted more resolution. The governor sent to Dacca by Meer Jaffier came very poor; and so much money of the revenues had been drawn to Muxadavad, that the force he kept up even in the fort did not exceed 200 men, who were ill paid, and the

the troops of the districts were, as usual, a rabble fit only to distrain upon the unarmed and timorous inhabitants; this weakness of the government, and the attachment of a few friends, encouraged Ammannee Chan to tamper with a part of the garrison in the fort, and they agreed to seize the governor, when Ammannee Chan was to declare himself; the day fixed for the execution was the 22d of October; but two days before, one of the conspirators revealed the secret to the governor, who immediately seized Ammannee Chan with several of his adherents; and asked assistance of the English factory, who sent 60 Buxeries, which was half their force, and wrote to Calcutta for a company of Sepoys, which were immediately detached, and marched across the country. This conspiracy could not be imputed to Roydoolub, but it increased the perplexities of Jaffier. 1757 October.

Of the troops which were ordered to march with Coddum Hussein, only 3000 had moved, who were waiting at Rajahmahal for the rest, and their arrears. Three months pay were due to the whole army, of which not less than 10,000 men, horse and foot, were under the immediate command of Roydoolub, who had influence with the commanders of many more; and notwithstanding the late oaths of reconciliation, kept his house under pretence of sickness, nor would suffer any of his troops to march from the city. These examples, and perhaps his instigation, encouraged the Nabob's troops to refuse likewise, unless they were paid in full. The Nabob distributed some money, and, as another means to recall their obedience, pitched his tent and displayed his standard in the camp, and went to reside there on the 7th of November, waiting for the main body with Clive. He left his son Meerum to command in the city. November

Meerum, as soon as his father was gone, spread the report of advices he pretended to have received from Patna and Delhi. The Nabob's relations at Patna gave information, that Ramnarain the governor had encamped to the west of the city with his whole force, 12000 men; that Sujah Doulah, the subah of Oude, had likewise taken the field with his army from Lucknow, together with Mr.

1757 November Law's party of Europeans, and intended, in conjunction with Ramnarain, to march into Bengal. The letters from Delhi said, the ministry there disapproved of the accession of Jaffier to the Nabobship; that Mirza Mundee, the son of Surajah Dowlah's younger brother, an infant, ought to have been proclaimed, and that Roydoolub had proposed he should be appointed by the Mogul, with assurances that he should be able to carry the nomination into execution with the assistance of the English. Many probabilities stood against the authenticity of the intelligence from Patna, and the advices from Delhi bore still stronger marks of fiction. On the 10th in the morning the whole city was in consternation, and the troops in their different quarters in tumult. A band of ruffians sent by Meerum, had in the night entered the palace of Allaverdy's widow, with whom lived the widow of Zaindee Hamed, and her infant grandson Mirza Mundee. They murdered the child, and gave out that they had likewise slain the two mothers. In the morning the three biers were carried publicly to burial, amidst the silent grief and abhorrence of the people; for the two women, exclusive of the high condition from which they had fallen by the death of Surajah Dowlah, were the most respectable of their sex for their virtues and the nobility of their sentiments. The cause was disbelieved. Roydoolub asserted that all the accusations against himself were the inventions of his enemies. The English troops at Cossimbuzar turned out to keep the peace and preserved it. On the 13th Scrafton visited and reproached Meerum, who, amongst other vindications, still preserving a secret, said, "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooley to stir up the Jemautdars against my father?" A few days after it was discovered that the two women had not been murdered, but had been taken out of the palace, and put into boats, which set off immediately for Dacca; and their pretended biers were exhibited, in order to prevent any interruption to the removal of their persons.

Nevertheless, the death of the child left detestation sufficient to extort farther apologies. The Nabob declared, that he neither commanded nor even had any knowledge of the deed, until it was perpetrated

petrated, and both he and his son avowed that the intelligence from 1757
Delhi was communicated by the Seats. The Seats positively denied November
the assertion; on which a new reconciliation was proposed with Roydoolub, who, accompanied by Scrafton, visited Meerum on the 17th, and oaths of friendship and confidence were again renewed; and Roydoolub sent the greatest part of his troops to the camp. The Nabob, receiving no reproaches from Scrafton, thought all resentments sufficiently quieted, at least for a while, and marched away from the plains of Gheria on the 17th, in order to oblige the detachment loitering at Rajahmahal to cross the Ganges, and attack the rebels in Purneah.

The rainy season in the lower parts of the country had this year been less unhealthy than usual, and only 40 men had died of the English troops quartered at Chandernagore and Calcutta; but the intemperance produced by the distribution of the prize-money of Plassy, had spread such sickness, after the rains ceased in September, that two thirds of the rank and file were in the hospital at the end of October. Their recovery retarded the departure of the whole until the 17th of November, when they embarked and proceeded from Chandernagore.

In this interval Colonel Clive had prevailed upon Ramramsing to come to him from Midnapore. To avoid the Nabob's troops with Cojah Haddee, who, at Clive's request, were halting at Burdawan he embarked at Pipley with a party of European soldiers, which had been sent thither to escort him to Chandernagore, from whence he proceeded with the army to Muxadavad. The Rajah of Berboin, on hearing that the English troops were preparing to take the field, sent parties to surround and seize the Frenchmen with Sinfray; but they got warning of his intentions, and of sixty, thirty-six escaped. The other twenty-four were made prisoners, and conducted to Cossimbuzar, and from thence sent to Calcutta. Four of them were agents of the French company, who had been taken and had given their parole at Chandernagore.

1757 November The troops with Clive arrived at Muxadavad on the 25th of November. Meerum, dreading his resentment for the murder of the infant Mirza Mundee, had released the brother and nephew of Ramramsing from their imprisonment before his arrival, and received Ramramsing himself, whom Clive introduced to him, with much courtesy; to Clive he demeaned himself with every simulation of humility. Roydoolub, when pressed by Clive to march with him, continued his pretext of sickness, adding the better plea of the public business, which required his presence for some days longer in the city; but his apprehensions of the Nabob and Meerum were at this time encreased by new suspicions, which they pretended to entertain of him.

Mirza Sallee, the renter of the province of Orixa to the Morratoe Janogee, having been deficient in his payments and accounts, came to Muxadavad a little before the death of Surajah Dowlah, to whom he proposed some project for restoring that province to the government of Bengal. A Morratoe named Subut then obtained the government from Janogee, and he likewise had lately been at Muxadavad, where he contracted a connexion, supposed to be more intimate than it was, with Roydoolub: he was at this time at Jonagee's court, but sent forward his agent, named Chemnesaw, to manage, until he himself should come. Chemnesaw arrived at Cutteck in the beginning of November, and received the visit of the English resident there with much insolence, and his attendants talked publicly that a body of six thousand Morratoes were coming with Subut himself, who intended to march into Midnapore, and demand of Meer Jaffier the cession of all that country to the south of the river Piply, which anciently used to be rated as a part of Orixa. These discourses induced the English resident, and gave pretence to the friends of Meer Sallee, to represent Subut and Roydoolub as engaged with one another, Roydoolub to give the Morratoe the country he wanted, and the Morratoe to assist Roydoolub in time of need against Meer Jaffier. Meerum pretended to believe the plot; but Clive gave no credit to the imputation, and seeing that Roydoolub's mistrust of the Nabob was the principal cause of his unwilling-

ness

ness to be near him, acquiesced to the delay he required, and promised to effect an entire reconciliation between them. 1757 November

On the 30th Clive marched from the city, taking all the Europeans at Cossimbuzar. They were 250, and not 10 of them ill having been preserved by the excellence of the climate here from the effects even of equal intemperance with those below, of whom more than 100 of those which came with Clive were unable to proceed any farther, and were left to garrison the factory. The Sepoys, in whatsoever quarters, had been preserved by the usual regularity of their lives from all extraordinary illness. The whole force was 550 Europeans, including the artillery-men, and 1500 Sepoys. On the 3rd of December they arrived at Rajahmahal, and encamped within half a league of the Nabob's army. He visited Colonel Clive the next day, when the whole line was drawn out to receive him, and performed their exercise and some evolutions, which he admired, and ordered 10,000 rupees to be distributed amongst the soldiers. December

Coddum Hussein, with 2000 horse and 5000 foot, had some days before crossed the Ganges opposite to Rajahmahal, where a river coming from the north leads into the midst of the Purneah country. The rebels, more dispirited by the approach of the English troops, than the appearance of the Nabob's, quitted their intrenchments, which were strong, and dispersed before they were attacked. Soon after Ogulsing was taken prisoner, on which all the other officers either submitted or fled the country; and in less than a fortnight, by the 9th of December, Coddum Hussein was in quiet possession of the government.

The extinction of this rebellion, the submission of Ramramsing, and no appearance of the renewal of disturbance at Dacca, left the Nabob without any farther apprehensions for the tranquillity of Bengal, and determined him to march immediately to Patna, fully bent on removing Ramnarain, who was still standing on his guard, but had been disappointed in his expectations, if he ever entertained any, of being joined by Sujah Dowlah, whom his own affairs detained in his own country. Clive, seeing the time he had waited for, re-

fused

1757 fused to accompany the Nabob to Patna, before all that remained to
December be paid and settled of his agreements with the English should be discharged and fulfilled. In aggravation of this dilemma, it was impossible to satisfy the English claims immediately, without the assistance of Roydoolub, through whose office, as duan, all money, bills, and patents, must pass; and on this ground Clive represented to the Nabob the absurdity of their variance, and proposed a serious reconciliation, of which he himself would be the guarantee. The necessity of marching to Patna prevailed, and the Nabob, at least in appearance, acquiesced; and on the notice, Roydoolub recovered, left the city, and arrived in the camp on the 23d of the month. He was the next day introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, who received him with every demonstration of cordiality. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Omarbeg, came to the tent of Clive, and Mr. Watts assisted at the conference. Before other business, the Nabob, and Roydoolub made a solemn renunciation of all their former suspicions and animosity. On the state of the account of the treaty monies, there was now due near twenty-three lacks of rupees. Orders on the treasury at Muxadavad were signed for the immediate payment of twelve and a half lacks, and rescripts given on Omarbeg, as Phousdar of Hughly, and on the Rajahs of Burdwan and Kisnagur, for the remaining half of the 23 lacks. These rescripts are called tuncaws, and entitle the holder to receive to the amount from the treasuries of the districts on which they are given, as the revenues come in. Tuncaws were likewise given on the same districts for the next payment, amounting to 19 lacks, which would fall due in the ensuing April. The Nabob ordered Roydoolub to issue under the seals of the Nabobship and Duanny the patents empowering the company to take possession of the ceded lands south of Calcutta, with the authority of Zemindarry; which, being feudal lordship of land, does not extend to life; but to imprisonment on any occasion, and to the scourge, even for the evasion of debt, especially to the government: but the Nabob reserved to himself the annual sum of 222,958 rupees arising on these lands, and allowed by the Mogul government, as on many

3 others

others in the province, as a jaghire, or pension for his expences without account. All these points were adjusted without dispute, or even the appearance of dissension; but it was still more necessary to settle the object of the present expedition. The Nabob's intention to remove Ramnarain, in order to give the government of Patna to one or other of his more immediate dependants, would inevitably be productive of long disturbance and confusion; for it could not be doubted that Ramnarain, knowing the Nabob's enmity to him, would, on the approach of the army, offer any terms to Sujah Dowlah for his assistance, unless prevented by assurances he could rely on, that it was not intended to displace him. Obnoxious as Clive knew the proposal would be, he made it; adding to the obvious arguments, the necessity to which the English troops might at any time during the campaign be reduced, by the arrival of a French force in the river, to return on sudden warning to defend Calcutta; when the Nabob and his army might be left fighting with their own enemies in Behar. He then, as before in the case of Ramramsing and Roydoolub, offered his mediation if necessary, promising to preserve every right of the Nabob's demands and authority. The Nabob again having no valid alternative to propose, consented that Clive should write a letter to Ramnarain, advising him to come and pay his respects to the Nabob on the road; and assuring him of safety and favour. All these material points being settled, it was resolved to march forward without delay. Thus ended the conference with seeming amity, but real grudge in the Nabob to Roydoolub and Clive, and not without suspicions in them of him.

1757 December

On the 2d of January, three days after the conference, the army began to move from Rajahmahal. At the Nabob's request the English led the van. Roydoolub, with his, amounting to 10000 men. and the artillery of the government, followed next; and the Nabob with the main body, amounting to 40000, brought up the rear: each had their fleet of boats; and for the convenience of provisions and encampment, as well as to prevent the occasions of quarrel amongst the respective soldieries, it was agreed that the three divisions should always make their halts at the distance of one day's march from each

1758 January.

1758 each other. They followed the same road as Major Coote had marched. The progress of the troops of the government was continually interrupted by halts to bring on their baggage and repair their artillery; and the English were obliged to wait, as the Nabob did not like they should be far before him. On the 29th he received letters from Delhi, advising that the patents of his confirmation in the Nabobship had been made out, and titles granted to his son and several others of his family; and the Seats informed Colonel Clive, that he likewise was created a munsubdar or commander of 6000 horse, with several names. All the advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ramnarain to be taking measures for his defence, and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna; but he had not then received the letter from Clive: as soon as it reached him, he wrote an answer, without any stipulation, or sign of mistrust, that he should proceed without delay to wait on Clive and the Nabob. Accordingly on the 22d he embarked in his boats, whilst his retinue of cavalry marched along the road, and on the 25th visited Clive. The next day he proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to the Nabob, who received him with the attentions usually testified to his rank in the state, and requested him to follow in the rear, in order to facilitate their communications on business; but in reality to mark his inferiority to the province. This intention escaped not the observation of the camp, but even produced reports that the Nabob had placed him there, out of the reach of succour, in order to destroy him; and Clive himself, not receiving either letters or intelligence from him for several days, had the same suspicions, and wrote for explanation to Omarbeg and Roydoolub; from whom, as well as Ramnarain, he received letters on the 3d of February, which satisfied him of the safety of Ramnarain's person, but did not remove his apprehensions that the Nabob meant him ill in other respects. On the 4th the English troops halted at Jaffier Cawn's garden, two miles from the Kelah or fort which stands at the east end of the city of Patna. Early the next morning, a large body of the Nabob's troops were perceived marching to the left, and passing beyond the English towards the city, and Clive received private

January.

February.

vate information that Coja Haddee, who commanded them, was ordered by the Nabob to suffer no troops, excepting his own division, to enter the gates until the Nabob himself should arrive there. This arrangement was intended to give a notion to the capital of the province, that the English troops were as subservient to the Nabob as his own. Clive waited until Coja Haddee's division were in possession of the gate, and then marched up, demanding admittance. Coja Haddee being attached to Roydoolub, and knowing his respect and reliance on Clive, mentioned the general order he had received from the Nabob; but said, that it could not be meant to extend to his friends the English, and admitted the troops with more pleasure than reluctance. Clive, satisfied with having established the point of honour, did not stop, but continued his march through the city to the English factory; which stands on the farther side, very near the western gate. The next day, being the 6th, he received a letter from the Nabob, with inconsistent excuses for the forced march of Cojee Hadde's division, and requesting Clive to encamp at Bankapoor, which is five miles beyond the English factory, where the company have a large garden. Clive had before determined to do so; and the troops proceeded thither immediately. The day after, another letter desired him to move to Dinapoor, five miles farther, because the Nabob himself intended to encamp at Bankapoor. This design of removing the English troops to such a distance, and of keeping the whole of the Nabob's army between them and the city, raised suspicions, which corresponded with other intelligence. Promises, delays, distresses, relief, were to be alternately employed, and bribes as the last resource, to draw Clive to an acquiescence to the Nabob's designs, which continued invariably to deprive Ramnarain of the government of Patna, and to confer it on his own brother Meer Cossim, when the other offices and departments of the province would be shared amongst the favourites and dependants of his former fortune. Roydoolub, who had always suspected, was now convinced that such were the Nabob's intentions, and, seeing his own destruction blended with Ramnarain's, united their councils, whatsoever might have been their former connexions, without reserve.

1758 February.

1758 Both by their emissaries, for they dared not write, and the order
February. of encampment prevented visits, explained their ideas of the Nabob to Clive, and artfully insinuated dangerous intentions even against the English. Clive knew not what to apprehend, but did not entirely reject the opinion of treachery; and to prevent it, crossed the whole of his army with the boats and stores, into a large island in the Ganges, which lies opposite to Bankapoor, where they were separated from immediate communication with the shore. He at the same time sent Mr. Watts to the Nabob, to discover the meaning of his last request, and to complain seriously of his conduct to Ramnarain, whom he had kept in the camp instead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promises at Rajahmahal. Mr. Watts perceived no symptoms of treachery in the Nabob, but likewise no willingness to conclude the business of Ramnarain, which he said he should defer until he saw colonel Clive. On the 12th, the Nabob came into the city; and Ramnarain likewise, but without any marks of authority. The Nabob kept his army on the eastern side, instead of encamping them, as he had proposed at Bankapoor, to the west. On the 14th, Clive visited him, and this was the first time they had met, since they parted at Rajahmahal. The Nabob imputed the delay of Ramnarain's appointment to Roydoolub, who had the accounts and arrangements to settle. It is probable that Roydoolub, finding Clive less impressed with resentment against the Nabob than he wished, thought this delay would not fail to exasperate him; which the Nabob now turned on himself, and had well nigh made a quarrel between them, if Clive had not recollected the necessity of suspecting the views of all, and of entering into none beyond what was conducive to the public welfare.

Much more time would probably have been wasted in the conflict of these intrigues, if news had not arrived from the westward, which renewed the former apprehensions of the approach of Sujah Dowlah from Lucknow, who was now to be accompanied by a great body of Morratoe horse, and as before by the party of Europeans with Mr. Law, who were remaining under his protection and sup-

port at Allahabad; and with these reports, arrived in the camp the Morratoe Subut, who, instead of proceeding directly to his government of Orixa, came from Nagore with a commission from Jonagee and Balagerow, to demand the arrears of chout due to the Morratoe nations from the province of Bengal, which amounted to 24 lacks of rupees. The vicinity of an army of Morratoes at this time in the Doab, not only protected Subut from indignity, but obliged Meer Jaffier to suppress any manifestation of his former suspicions of the union between him and Roydoolub; and the same dread rendered the English as necessary to him as when he took the field at Muxadavad; and on the 23d, he performed the ceremony of disposing of the government of Patna, sitting in full Durbar, attended by all his courtiers. A suit of dress with jewels on a golden plate was laid before him, which he ordered to be carried away immediately with an escort to his son Meerum at Muxadavad, whom he called Nabob of Patna. Then another suit of the same presents, which he gave with his own hand to Ramnarain, pronouncing him deputy to Meerum in the Nabobship. The appointment of Meerum was merely nominal, not derogating from the authority of Ramnarain, which continued responsible to the Nabob alone, but rendering him liable to some additional presents; and the bargain for Ramnarain's appointment had been settled at seven lacks of Rupees, which were exacted under the pretext of a balance remaining due on the adjustment of the accounts of the province. Other sums, unknown, but supposed not inconsiderable, were likewise collected by the Nabob; for the chiefs of all the districts, as well Moors as Indians, were summoned, as usual in such visitations, to pay homage, and none came empty-handed; and those against whom were any real or fictitious causes of complaint, were severely fined. Of these Comgar Cawn and Sundersing, two petty rajahs in that part of the mountains which lie between the province of Behar and the district of Berboin in Bengal, had been fighting for three months, and only laid down their arms on the approach of the Nabob. Both were summoned to attend the Durbar. Comgar Cawn, who was most in fault, evaded; and Sundersing would not come until he received

1758 February.

 assurances

1758 February. assurances from Clive of being treated with justice. Pulwansing, another of these Indian chiefs whose districts lye at the s. w. extremity of the province amongst the mountains along the banks of the Caramnassa, was a notorious plunderer, and had incurred the resentment of Ramnarain: he likewise refused to appear until he had received the same security. These attentions to the mediation of Clive grated the Nabob's mind, which returned to its former antipathies, on intelligence that neither the Morratoes nor Sujah Dowlah were likely to prosecute their intended project of invading Behar. Clive, nevertheless, did not relax the rein.

All the salt-petre provided by the European settlements in Bengal is made in the country on the other side of the Ganges above Patna. The farm was always monopolized, and had long been in the hands of Cojah Wazeed, the great merchant of Hughley. Disputes had often risen between his servants and those of the English factory at Patna; and two months before they had come to blows, when two of the factory's servants were killed. This accident gave Clive the plea of asking the Nabob to grant the farm to the English company, as the only means of preventing such disputes in future. He offered the highest terms at which the farm had ever been rated; but the Nabob knew, that he could not exact on any pretence from the company the additional presents, which the renter, whilst his subject, could not refuse. This motive of his repugnance was, however, below his dignity to acknowledge, and after many objections he consented, reserving the receipt of 20,000 maunds, or 1,600,000 pounds weight a year, for his own use. The agents of the Dutch East-India company protested against the grant; which Clive answered by producing a letter, in which they had asked the farm of Surajah Dowlah for themselves. However it was agreed to supply them with the quantity they used to purchase.

The obtainment of this favour did not induce Clive to any remission in the authentic demands. The troops were in the fourth month of the campaign, and only the pay of two, amounting to two lacks, had been supplied. Although the Rajahs of Burdwan and

and Kisnagur had accepted the tuncaws given on their districts, they 1758
had hitherto paid nothing ; and Omarbeg, as Phousdar of Hughley, February.
declared that he had no means of satisfying any part of the 6,500,000
rupees charged on him, excepting by giving a quantity of salt, which when sold might produce two lacks. On this, Clive wrote to Roydoolub that he should send his troops to ask their money of him, and signified to the Nabob that he might spare the English five out of the seven lacks he was to receive from Ramnarain. The Nabob replied, that this very sum was appropriated to pay the Mogul's tribute at Delhi, but offered bills on Ramnarain for two lacks, payable at 50,000 rupees a month, which Clive was contented to receive.

The to and fro of these official discussions had brought the time to the 18th of March ; and the Nabob having now nothing to March.
fear from foreign enemies before the end of the rainy season in September, resumed his first views of giving the government of Patna to Meer Cossim, but, still afraid to venture whilst the English troops remained in Behar, resolved to outstay them, and became as anxious to send them away as he had been to bring them with him. Knowing their want of money, he thought the more he should delay to supply it, and postpone their other business, the sooner they themselves would become desirous of departing, to save expence to no purpose.

Clive, suspecting this cunning, insisted that Roydoolub should immediately give security for the deficiency of the Hughley tuncaws ; but Roydoolub was on the point of making a visit of devotion to Guyah, a town of great sanctity and pilgrimage, situated at the foot of the mountains, 60 miles to the south of Patna. He set out on the 19th of March, and Clive resolved to remain until he returned :
but on the first of April sent forward the main body of the English April.
troops on the road to Bengal, with orders to proceed slowly. They were augmented by 1000 Sepoys, who had been levied in the Bodgepore country, where the natives are much hardier than in Bengal, and even more than in any part of Behar. On the 7th, Roydoolub returned

1758 April. returned from Guyah, and by this time the Nabob had taken the resolution of going to pay his devotions likewise, at a famous, *durgar*, or tomb of a saint, near the town of Bahar, which is situated 40 miles to the south-east of Patna : by this journey he said no time would be lost, as it would require ten days to adjust some affairs and accounts in dispute between his brother Meer Cossim and Ramnarain : he hoped in this interval that the English troops would have been far advanced on their way, and Clive have joined them, in which case he intended to return to Patna, and remove Ramnarain. But Clive resolved not to separate himself from Ramnarain until he saw him out of danger, and advised Roydoolub likewise, although in the field, to keep at hand. A momentary instant of general satisfaction and compliments occurred on the 14th by the arrival of messengers from Delhi, with the authentic patents of the honorary titles conferred on the Nabob, his relations, and Clive : they likewise brought *sunnuds*, or the commission for the Nabobship, but deficient in some essential formalities, which were withheld until the Nabob should have remitted a sum of money to Delhi : the sunnuds were, nevertheless, proclaimed as fully valid, and few knew the contrary. The next day, the Nabob proceeded to Bahar ; and, seeing that Clive still remained at Patna, instructed his brother Meer Cossim to dissemble, who accordingly pretended to be perfectly satisfied with the adjustment of his affairs with Ramnarain, and promised to leave Patna and come to Muxadavad as soon as he had settled his more private concerns ; and the Nabob himself, instead of returning as he had intended from Bahar to Patna, proceeded from thence on the 24th straight across the country to Bahar on the bank of the Ganges, about 35 miles below Patna, where the main body of his army and their fleet of boats were assembled ; on which Clive left the city, carrying Ramnarain with him, to take leave of the Nabob. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Ramnarain, met by appointment on board of Clive's budgerow. The Nabob expressed perfect satisfaction in Ramnarain's integrity and fidelity, assured him of being continued in the government, and permitted him to set out the same day on his

return:

return: he then ordered a part of his army to march on to Muxadavad, and kept the rest to amuse himself with in huntings along the hills; but consented that Roydoolub should accompany Clive, in order to discharge the deficiencies of the balances of money due on the treaties. Thus ended this political campaign, in which an army of 50,000 men had marched 300 miles out of their own province, and continued four months in the field, without firing a musket; but produced the full accomplishment of all that Clive intended, who maintained his decision over all interests, by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality, or the proffers of private advantage. 1758 April.

The French party which had escaped from Dacca to Rungpore, had raised a mud fort not far from the foot of the mountains, on the bank of the river Testa, in which they maintained themselves unmolested, until Cossim Ally, the Phousdar of the country, received the Nabob's orders to attack them; when they were surrounded by a great number of his people, who in less than a month reduced them to famine; on which they embarked in their boats, and went down the river, intending to regain the Great Ganges; but were followed and harassed so much, that they landed again, but on the other side of the river, and marched to the neighbouring town of Dinagepore, the capital of a Rajah, who with much timidity was a good man, which Mr. Courtin knowing, refrained from any violence to his people; who were all as timorous as the Rajah himself, and maintained the party with provisions, until an officer at Mr. Courtin's request came from Cossimbuzar, to whom they surrendered prisoners, and were received with some terms of indulgence. Their number was reduced from 30 Europeans to 11, and from 100 to 30 Sepoys.

The small number of troops left in Calcutta after the army took the field with Col. Clive was not sufficient to keep up the necessary guards with sufficient strictness; which encouraged the French prisoners to attempt their escape. The building of the gaol was not sufficient to hold them; and, as the enclosure had very high walls, they were

permitted

1758 April. permitted to remain in the area; taking advantage of this liberty, they dug under the wall in a part unfrequented and covered with bushes, and in the night of the 18th of December, all of them, being 90, escaped through the hole, and before morning most of them had crossed the river, and not one was immediately retaken. Some were suspected to have gone to the Danish factory opposite Hughley; but the agents there would not permit the search. A month after fifteen were stopped in Midnapore; and in the month of March, 30 more at Cutteck, going through Orixa, to join their countrymen in Chicacole.

The squadron with Mr. Pococke sailed for the coast of Coromandel, in the beginning of February; the condemnation of the Kent, and the dispatch of the sloop to England, had reduced it to three ships of the line, and two frigates of 20 guns. Their departure, frequent although vague reports from sea of French armaments, the expectation of sending a great part of the English force into the field again with the Nabob, and above all the recent remembrance of calamity, had determined the presidency to provide for the future safety of Calcutta, by raising a fort capable of the utmost defence; and all the natives which could be hired were continually employed in the work. The spot was chosen 1200 yards to the south of the old fort; but not so near the river.

Various reports had been brought to Muxadavad, during the campaign to Patna. In February, soon after Ramnarain joined the camp on the road, it was said that the Nabob had caused him to be assassinated; but, at the same time, came other news, that the Rajah Sundersing, by the instigation of Roydoolub, had fallen on the Nabob's quarters in the night, and had killed him in his tent. However improbable, Meerum believed both reports, and assembled all the forces quartered round the city: this alarm was soon quieted by authentic letters from the camp; but the same principles of suspicion and animosity had driven Meerum to greater excesses of apprehension, on the approach of Colonel Clive and Roydoolub returning from the campaign.

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The Cossimbuzar river from January to June is too shallow for boats of burthen, which obliged the English troops, with their fleet, to keep along the great river, until they came to Bogwongola, and from whence they marched across the island to Muxadavad, where Clive arrived on the 15th, and found the whole city in the utmost consternation; and, on the same day, he received advices of great importance from the coast of Coromandel; to which our narrative now returns. 1758 April.

END *of the* EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK IX.

THE new year opened in the Carnatic with as little activity as the last had closed. The French troops remained in Pondicherry waiting the arrival of their expected armament from Europe, during which, Mr. Soupire, as he says in a memoir he has published, entered into a negociation with two Jemautdars of the English Sepoys to surprize Tritchinopoly, by means of the French prisoners. Four hundred were in confinement in the city, and 50 or 60 had at various times been received into the English service, and in the end of December, soon after Calliaud returned from Madrass, two of the enlisted Frenchmen accused one De la Forge, who had been accepted as a surgeon's mate, that he had tampered with them to concur in a project, by which the foreigners in the service of the garrison were to murder the English guards in the night, then open the prisons, arm the prisoners, and with their assistance, overpower the rest of the troops. Four other Frenchmen avowed the same conversation with De la Forge, who, with much obstinacy, denied that he had ever spoken one word to any one of them: he was however hanged two days after his trial. This might have been the first opening of Mr. Soupire's scheme, although he says nothing of it; but nothing was discovered of his conspiracy with the Sepoys, which he seems to have protracted until the end of April. 1758 January.

Ensign Banatyne at Outramalore, receiving intelligence that 200 of the French Sepoys at Carangoly had deserted on some dispute

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1758 January. with the renter, and that the rest were inclined to mutiny, marched on the night of the 25th of January, with 500 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, and an hour before day-break made an assault by escalade on a part of the wall, which was in a ruinous condition; but they were repulsed with the loss of 11 Sepoys killed, and 2 Europeans wounded. Slight as this was, no action of equal enterprize passed in the contending districts until the end of April, although the mutual incursions were as frequent as before; but being always levelled at defenceless villages, they carried the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war; and each side losing as much as it gained by these depredations, the French officer at Vandiwash proposed a conference to put an end to them, and Banatyne was permitted to treat with him.

The reports which the French government spread with much diligence, of their approaching superiority on the coast of Coromandel, encouraged even the most insignificant chiefs, which held under the Nabob, or the company, to question or insult their authority. In the vast plain which occupies the Carnatic, from the latitude of Puliacate to the river Coleroon, are many tracts of sandy ground spread amongst the richest districts of the country. These soils having always been neglected by the labourer, and left to nature, propogate abundance of useless vegetation. In some, which with care would rear the cocoa-nut, the eastern palms prevail, a few of which, rising to their full growth, spread their seeds with the wind, which in a succession of time cover the whole extent with plants, that strangling one another by their multitude, remain stunted, and create the stubbornest of thickets. Others of these tracts, instead of bearing the palm kinds, will only produce a strong and spreading shrub, which rises to the height of eight or nine feet, and forms one continued coppice. Many of these wilds are from 15 to 40 miles in circumference, and all of these extents are possessed by petty Polygars, with their clans of half-savage subjects, whose occupation is to rob the neighbouring villages in the night, and in the day to take all kinds of venison and game, in which they are so expert, that they rarely fail, on the shortest notice, to produce the quantity demanded

demanded by any person in authority. By these obeisances, and sometimes a small present of money, and now and then ridding the country of a tiger, they compensate their thefts, which are rarely attended with bloodshed or violence; when they are, troops march, their hamlets are burnt, and prisoners taken, the chief himself in preference, who atone severely for the misdeeds, whether of themselves or their fellows. Two of these Polygars, between whose woods the fort of Trepassoor is situated, ventured in the end of January to make incursions, not only into the districts dependant on this fort, but even into those of Pondamalee, within 15 miles of Madrass, and carried off large quantities of grain and cattle from the villages; on which the commandant, Jemaul Saib, who had returned from Tinivelly to Madrass, was ordered to march against them with four companies of Sepoys. The one, named Rangapah Naigue, immediately asked pardon, and made restitution and atonement: but the other, Wardapah Naigue, stood on his defence, until Jemaul Saib had penetrated into his woods, and burnt several of the hamlets concealed in them; on which, he submitted likewise, and the Sepoys were withdrawn. 1758 February.

The army of the Morratoes under the command of Balaventrow, which, in the preceding year, had defeated the Nabob of Cudapah, who fell in the battle, found notwithstanding this victory, that they could not easily complete the reduction of the country; for Abdull Nabey Cawn, the cousin-german and nearest relation of the deceased Nabob, threw himself with a strong force into the strongest fortress of the province called *Sidout,* near the town of Cudapah and the late field of battle; and others of the Pitan Captains stood on their defence in their respective holds, the sieges of which would employ more time than the extent of Balaventrow's expedition. He therefore sent agents to negotiate with Abdull Nabey; but likewise detached parties to harass the districts adjacent to the forts which held out; during which he marched himself with the main body of his army across the province of Cudapah to the eastward, and, when arrived on the confines of the Carnatic to the N. W. formed three divisions, one of which went against the Polygar Bomrauze; the other entered the districts

1758 February. districts of Damarlah Venketappah and Bangar Yatcham-naigue; and with the third he appeared, himself before Nelore. The Nabob, in settling the treaty of tribute in the preceding year with Armetrow, the deputy of Balaventrow, gave, in the general assessment on his vassals, an order on each of these Polygars to pay him 70,000 rupees, and the pretence on which Balaventrow now commenced hostilities against them was, that the assessment meant only the rate of the actual year, whereas they owed, he said, for the six before; and the reason he gave for attacking Nelore was, to prevent Nazeabulla from marching against the Nabob, with a large body of French troops, which he heard were advancing to join him from Mr. Bussy's army; but Nazeabulla, having without hesitation paid him a sum adequate to his expectations, he a few days after wrote to the Nabob, recommending a reconciliation between them. His detachments plundered the fair towns of Venkati Gherri and Calastri; and all the three Polygars were so frightened, that, in expectation of the assistance of the English, each of them gave bonds and security for the payment of their tribute to the Nabob, which were not equal to the demands of Balaventrow; immediately after this the Morratoes left their country, as the Polygars believed, from respect to the remonstrances of the presidency, but in reality pursuant to orders received at this time from Balagerow: they returned into Cudapah, where Balaventrow concluded at Sidout a treaty with Abdul Nabey Cawn, by which it was agreed, that the country should be equally divided betwixt them: and the Morratoes were put in possession of Goramcondah, a strong fort and pass midway in the range of mountains, which bound the province of Cudapah to the west. A part of the army was left to guard the share of the Morratoes in the province, and Balaventrow, with the rest, re-crossed the western mountains, and marched towards Sirpi, ordering at the same time the detachment with Armetrow at Velore to join him there.

The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab, having gathered 1000 horse, and 2 or 3000 foot, moved in the beginning of the year from Chitore to Chandergherri. This place was anciently the capital of the Carnatic, at present an open town in ruins. It is situated about

10 miles

10 miles from the famous pagoda of Tripetti, which Abdulwahab endeavoured to persuade the company's renter to deliver up: but the renter referred him to Madrass, and he was deterred from the hostilities he intended by the march of Jemaul Saheb against the polygars of Trepassore. Not knowing therefore what to do with his troops, who clamoured for pay, he sent them under the command of his principal officer to Mortizally of Velore, who was preparing to attack the fort of Tripatore, at the bottom of the valley of Vaniambady. We are ignorant on what pretentions these hostilities were founded, but they were undertaken with much earnestness: for, besides his own, and the troops of Abdulwahab, the Phousdar likewise engaged the body of Morratoes then in his town with Armetrow. The whole force was 4000 horse and 6000 foot; but the fort of Tripatore was of difficult approach; and on the 8th of February, the day after the batteries were opened, a cannon-ball killed Armetrow; which being perceived by the garrison, they sallied, routed the besiegers, and took their cannon. The Morratoes immediately after this defeat quitted the country, and joined their main body in Mysore; and the troops of Mortizally and Abdulwahab returned to their homes.

1758 February.

Mr. Pocock, with the ships of war from Bengel, arrived at Madrass on the 24th of February; they had been absent 17 months on the expedition. The two frigates were immediately detached to cruize off Pondicherry. Some days after, arrived the Queensborough frigate, which Admiral Stevens had dispatched with advices to Madrass, from whence she had been sent to Bengal, and now returned from thence. On the 24th of March, Admiral Stevens himself arrived from Bombay with 4 ships of the line; and on the 17th of April the squadron sailed to the southward.

The Mysore general Hyderally, after his retreat from Madura in the end of the preceding year, continued at Dindigul, waiting the arrival of a body of French troops, with which he intended to return to the attack; and in the interval Mahomed Issoof marched with his army from Chevelpetore to the city of Madura, and set to work to repair the fortifications. As the French troops in the Pagoda of Seringham could

1758 could not be diminished without danger from the garrison in Tritchinopoly, Mr. Soupire sent the force he intended for Hyderally from Pondicherry; and from the restraint laid on all his military operations, they were no more than 300 Sepoys and 75 Europeans, who arrived at Dindigul, in the end of January. They were commanded by Mr. Astruc, the same officer who had been defeated by Major Lawrence before Tritchinopoly in the year 1753, from which time he had continued a prisoner on his parole until the month of October of the preceding year, when he was exchanged. On his arrival at Dindigul. he found Hyderally pressed by urgent affairs to return to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, which broke the scheme of attacking Madura; soon after the interview, Hyderally departed, and Mr. Astruc returned to the pagoda of Seringham, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and, having been long ill, died on the 22nd; he was a gallant and worthy man.

April.

The agent sent by the Nabob to Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville on the 28th of February, and found him there, encamped in paltry tents, with 50 horse, ostentatious of his poverty, pretending much discontent against his allies, and much attachment to the Nabob; but when terms of reconciliation were proposed, nothing less would satisfy him than the government of the whole country as an appanage in fee; indeed he was never master of his own opinion, and at present not of his will, for the western polygars, elated by the rising superiority of the French in the Carnatic, took the field, and obliged him, who depended upon them for his subsistence, to lend his name, and to appear with them in person as the pretension of their hostilities: the army was composed of the troops of the Pulitaver, of Vadagherri, of the three minor polygars, Cotaltava Nadacourch, and Savandah; and from the eastern side, of Etiaporum, the dependant of Cataboininaigue, who himself continued firm to his new connexion with the English. The confederates had likewise persuaded the Polygar of Shatore under the hills, whose fort is only fifteen miles to the south of Chevelpetore, to enter so far into their views as to admit a body of the Pulitaver's Colleries into his fort, with whom and his own he made depredations into the ad-

February.

5 jacent

adjacent country, whilst Mahomed Issoof, apprehensive of the arrival of Hyderally and the French, kept his force collected in Madura. As soon as the news of Hyderally's departure was confirmed, Mahomed Issoof took the field and marched against Shatore. The Polygar on his appearance made submissions, turned out the Pulitaver's men, and paid a fine in money ; but as soon as the English troops returned to Chevelpetore, he renewed his depredations ; on which Mahomed Issoof attacked the fort again, which the Polygar, after a slight resistance, abandoned ; and one of his relations was appointed in his stead. In the mean time, the confederates had, in various attacks from Nellitangaville, taken all the posts between this place and Tinivelly, and many of the men placed to guard them were put to the sword : at Tirancourchy, which was taken by assault in the night, 27 horsemen, and a greater number of Sepoys, were killed. The confederates, elated with these successes, threatened all who did not join them, and attacked the polygar of Outamalee, because he had refused. They likewise prepared to take possession of Tinivelly, and boasted that they would reduce the fort of Palamcotah. But the approach of Mahomed Issoof from Chevelpetore stopped their progress, nor had they courage to give him battle ; but, having strengthened the posts they had taken, retreated to Nellitangaville, sending, however, detachments to harass and interrupt his operations ; but without success ; for all their parties which ventured to meet, or could not avoid the encounter of the Sepoys, were beaten, and by the end of April all the posts which had been taken were recovered. Mahomed Issoof then resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to begin with the polygar of Vadagherri, although the most distant, because the most powerful of the alliance. His villages in the plain were in flames, and the troops had begun to penetrate into the wood which encloses his fort, when Issoof received advices and instructions from the presidency at Madrass, and from Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly, which called him and the troops under his command to services of much greater necessity and importance.

1758 April.

At day-break, on the 28th of April, a squadron of 12 sail were descried standing in from various points of the compass for the road of

1758 April. of Fort St. David, where the English frigates, Triton and Bridgewater, chanced to be at anchor. It was soon perceived that the strangers were French; and two or three of the ships being to the north of the road, whilst the rest were advancing from the south, precluded the escape of the frigates, as the wind blew from the offing. The captains therefore, prudently resolved to run their ships ashore, in order to preserve the men, which they effected without losing any.

The French squadron was commanded by the Count D'Aché. After some change in the ships which were first appointed, he sailed from Brest on the 6th of march of the preceding year, with the Zodiac of 74 guns, the Belliqueux of 70, the Superbe of 64, belonging to the navy of France, and a 50 gun ship, with a frigate belonging to the East-India Company. On board of these ships was embarked the regiment of Lally, consisting of 1080 men, 50 of the royal artillery, a great number of officers of distinction, and the count de Lally, Colonel of the regiment of his name, lieutenant general in the French army, and now appointed Governor-general with the most extensive powers over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The ships had scarcely got clear of the land, when a squall of wind carried away the main-top-gallant and the mizen-top-mast of the Belliqueux, on which she made the signal of distress, and was obliged to anchor near the shore in bad ground. The Zodiac immediately tacked, and worked close-hauled to assist her, and the squall continuing, carried away the main and fore top-mast of this ship likewise. These accidents induced Mr. D'Aché to return immediately into the port of Brest, as affording the speediest means of repairing the damages. In the short interval between the final orders for the departure of the squadron, and the advices of its return into Brest, the French ministry at Versailles had received such sinister accounts of the French affairs in Canada, that they changed the destination of the ships Belliqueux and Superbe, and appointed them to America; and ordered Mr. D'Aché to remain at Brest, until joined by other ships of equal force; which, however, the navy of France, in this time of distress, was not able to spare from its other necessities. But the French East India Company had several ships, built expressly to serve

when

when required, as men of war, of which four had sailed in December, with the regiment of Lorrain; and three were now added to the two Mr. D'Aché already had under his command; and he was to take the others at the Isle of France. The delays of assembling the Company's ships from Port l'Orient retarded his departure from Brest until the 4th of May. The ships carried with them a malignant fever, at that time reigning in the port. On the 23d of July they anchored at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, having lost 300 men of all kinds by the fever, which continued even in this climate, although healthier than most in the world: having waited two months in expectations of this benefit, the squadron sailed on the 25th of September; and after a passage of 85 days, still infected with the sickness, arrived on the 18th of December at the Isle of France. Here they found the ships which had carried the regiment of Lorrain, returned from Pondicherry. Taking their crews and such of the ships as he chose, Mr. D'Aché formed the squadron, with which he now appeared on the coast. They sailed from hence on the 27th of January. It would be useful to know their route, in order to avoid it; for their passage was very long, not making the coast until the 25th of April, when the Diligent was sent forward to Karical to get intelligence of the English squadron; and returning on the 27th without any, struck on a sand-bank, which detained all the ships the rest of the day in getting her afloat. On the 28th they appeared, as we have seen, before Fort St. David. 1758 April.

Every success was expected to follow the arrival of this armament in India. The ships were to drive the English squadron off the coast, the troops with those already at Pondicherry were to demolish the English settlements; and such was the confidence of not meeting an enemy in the field, that the instructions formed at Versailles ordered Mr. Lally to open his operations by the siege of Fort St. David, before which the ships anchored, in order to land the troops as soon as those from Pondicherry could march to invest the place. The wreck of the two English frigates confirmed these presumptions; and Mr. Lally went away in the Count de Provence of 60 guns, attended by a frigate called the Diligente, to proclaim his

commission,

1758 commission, and give the necessary orders at Pondicherry; he landed at five in the afternoon, and was received with all the distinctions annexed to his authority. In the mean time the other ships worked in, and anchored off Cuddalore, two miles to the south of Fort St. David.

April.

The English squadron having in ten days worked as high to windward as the head of Ceylon, stood in again for the coast, which they made on the 28th, off Negapatam, and proceeding along shore, discovered at nine the next morning the French ships riding off Cuddalore, which immediately weighed and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out signals to recal the Comte de Provence and the Diligente; but they not weighing in obedience to the summons, the squadron stood out to sea E. by N. the wind blowing from the S.E. Mr. Pocock, on the first sight of the French squadron, had thrown out the signal for chace, which implies, that every ship is to push with crowded sail, and without regard to each other, in pursuit of the enemy, until countermanded by a different signal. At half an hour after twelve, his ships were within a league of the enemy, who were formed, and waiting for them in a line of battle a-head; when Mr. Pocock hauled down the chacing signal, brought to on the starboard tack, hoisted his colours, and made the signal for the line a-head, and to be formed at the distance of half a cable, or 100 yards, one ship from another. The Tyger sailing ill, and the Cumberland much worse, were at this time so far a-stern of the other ships, that it was ten minutes past two before they got up to their allotted stations in the line; which being now formed, the Admiral made the signal to bear down, each ship in the exact direction to the antagonist she was intended to encounter, according to the disposition of the two lines; and this was explained by continuing the distinctive signal of the line of battle a-head, joined to that of bearing down.

The French line consisted of nine sail, all, excepting the Zodiac, capable of carrying more guns than they mounted, and she having changed her lower battery of 32 pounders for 24 at Brest, had not been able to replace them at the Isle of France. The Vengeur of 54 led, followed by the Bien Aimé of 58, next the Conde of 44,

and

and next the Duc of Orleans of 50: These were the van: In the centre was the Zodiac of 74, on which M. D'Aché hoisted his flag. The four ships which formed the rear, were the Saint Louis of 50, immediately after the Zodiac, then the Moras of 44, the Sylphide of 36, and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns closed the line. 1758 April.

The English line, having only seven ships to nine, were to chuse their opponents accordingly. Mr. Pocock in the Yarmouth of 64, was the centre, and steered for the Zodiac, the centre of the enemy's line. In consequence the Tyger of 60 guns which led the English van, bore down for the Vengeur; the Salisbury of 50, for the Bien Aimé; and the Elizabeth of 64, in which Admiral Stevens hoisted his flag, and was the ship a-head of Mr. Pocock, neglecting the Condé, bore down for the Duke of Orleans, which ranged immediately a-head of M. D'Aché. In consequence, likewise, the Cumberland of 66, which was to be next a-stern of Mr. Pocock, should have steered for the Saint Louis, the Newcastle of 50 for the Moras, and the Weymouth of 60, neglecting the Sylphide, for the Duc de Bourgogne.

This was understood. It is likewise generally understood, that when the Admiral brings to, and throws out the signal to engage, every ship is to do so likewise, at the same distance from its respective opponent, as the admiral lies from his. But the Cumberland, from some unaccountable defect, was so unmanageable, that in bearing down, she could not be got to wear clear of the Yarmouth, that is, to keep on her left hand, but at every endeavour flew up on the Yarmouth's weather-quarter, or to the right.

But another mischance happened, which was effected by this of the Cumberland. The signal for the line of battle a-head, which was kept flying on board the admiral, whilst bearing down for the enemy, was mistaken by the Newcastle and Weymouth to mean that the ships were to go down a-stern of one another, instead of continuing on the left of each other, until they should haul the wind to present their broadsides on the signal for engagement, when this change would place them exactly right in the line of battle a-head. In consequence

1758 sequence the Newcastle kept behind the Cumberland, and the Weymouth behind the Newcastle, and as the Cumberland had not got into the line (or into the wake of the Yarmouth) when the signal for engagement was thrown out, the other two ships were still farther off from the enemy's, and the last the farthest.

April.

Mr. Pocock saw the mistakes and embarrassments, and, whilst bearing down, threw out signals to rectify them, which were not understood by the Newcastle and Weymouth, and could not be obeyed by the Cumberland. Nevertheless, it was necessary to go on; for the whole of the enemy's line began to fire hotly, as soon as the English ships came within random shot, and with the chance of much advantage, as the English ships bearing down presented their heads, and were exposed to be raked fore and aft until they formed the line, and presented their broadsides for battle: but luckily the enemy's fire continued without aim. Mr. Pocock did not return a single shot until his ship hauled up with her broadside opposite to the Zodiac's, when the three ships of the van were likewise got into their proper stations: he then, at 55 minutes past three, threw out the signal, and the fire instantly became general throughout the line, for the three ships of the rear, although out of certain aim, were within reach of chance execution. In five minutes the Sylphide bore away under the lee of the Zodiac, although she had only received the distant shot of the Newcastle and Weymouth; but she had only been admitted into the line to impose by shew. In fifteen minutes the Duc de Bourgogne, the last of the enemy's rear, quitted her station likewise, and went off in the same direction as the Sylphide, although she had only been exposed to the fire of the Weymouth, and was not much damaged. About the same time the Conde, the third and weakest of the enemy's van, received a shot which disabled her rudder, and obliged her likewise to quit the line. The English and French admirals, Pocock and D'Aché, as with a spirit of duel, kept close and directed their fire entirely against each other, and the engagement had likewise been fierce between the two vans, and continued so after the Conde bore away. The Cumberland still flung up so close to the quarter of the Yarmouth, that she had not room to wear, and

and get into her station, and at length backed her topsails to obtain it by falling astern; which succeeded, but not until she had dropt below her opponent the Saint Louis, and at a considerable distance from the Yarmouth, which she was to second; during this operation, the Newcastle and Weymouth, in order to keep their proper distances, backed likewise, and both fell below the Moras, the last remaining of the enemy's rear; and were thus likewise left without any ship to fire at. But after the Cumberland had set sail, and gained her proper station, the Newcastle still kept back, and failed to close the line, on which the Weymouth hailed her to do so, which not being attended to, she hauled the wind, set sail, and, passing to windward of the Newcastle, came properly into the line, a-breast of the Moras, during which the Cumberland was well engaged with the Saint Louis, and took off the fire of her forward guns, which she had for some time employed against the quarter of the Yarmouth. Mr. Pocock had continually thrown out signals for the rear to get in order, and now continued them for the Newcastle. A great explosion of powder had blown up in the Zodiac, another in the Bien Aimé; the Moras, although by much the weakest of the enemy's ships, had fought with as much activity as any of them; and when attacked by the fresh and superior fire of the Weymouth, stood it with great loss for 10 minutes, when she quitted the line, shattered and admired. Mr. D'Aché continually made the signals of the fugitives to rejoin the line. The engagement had continued an hour and a half, when the Tyger, which led the English van, having lost her fore-top-sail-yard, could not keep her station, but fell slanting a-head of her opponent, the Vengeur, on which this ship, favoured at the same time by a small change of the wind, hauled up, and began to get to windward of the Tyger's quarter, over which she would then have had every advantage, and with sufficient resistance against the Salisbury behind; and by this time the Comte de Provence, with the Diligente, were advanced from Pondicherry within a league of the battle. Nevertheless Mr. D'Aché finding that the ships which had bore away did not return, made the general signal, and bore down towards them, intending afterwards to take up the Comte de Provence, and with her

1758 April.

1758 April. to wait the renewal of the engagement, if the English chose. But the rigging in the greatest part of their line was so excessively damaged, that the French outsailed them three feet to one; on which Mr. Pocock hauled the flag of battle down, and summoned his captains. They were Latham of the Tyger, Somerset of the Salisbury, Kempenfelt of the Elizabeth with Admiral Stevens, Harrison of the Yarmouth with Mr. Pocock, Brereton of the Cumberland, Leg of the Newcastle, and Vincent of the Weymouth.

The loss on board the English squadron was 29 killed, and 89 wounded, in all 118. In the Yarmouth 7 were killed and 32 wounded, in the Salisbury 8 and 16; the Cumberland 7 and 13; none were killed, and only 5 wounded, in the Weymouth and Newcastle together; the rest fell nearly equal in the Tyger and Elizabeth. The killed and wounded in the French squadron amounted by their own accounts to 500. In the Zodiac alone more than in all the English ships, being 35 and 115, including 60 scorched by their own gun-powder; 40 were killed in the Bien Aimé; 32 in the Moras, 13 in the Vengeur, 13 in the Saint Louis, 12 in the Duc d'Orleans, 6 in the Duc de Bourgogne, 3 in the Sylphide, the Conde 6 or 7: the wounded in all the ships, excepting the Zodiac, were only twice the number of the slain. The disparity of the total loss was more than four to one, and far exceeded the disproportion of the numbers on board: the French squadron having with the troops 5000, and the English 3200. The frigates on either side suffered nothing, having been kept at a distance to repeat signals.

The Yarmouth with the ships of the van had received so much hurt in their rigging, that none could haul the wind. The immediate resource was, to have anchored; but when the engagement ended, the squadron had got out of sight of land, into 25 fathom water, and the wind blowing fresh had raised such a heavy swell, that the tumbling of the ships at anchor would have rendered the various operations of setting up masts, yards, and shrouds, always difficult at sea, almost impracticable. It was therefore resolved to repair under sail. The ships accordingly stood in for the land S. W. the wind still at S. S. E. but the current was strong and the unweildy Cumberland falling

falling continually to leeward obliged the others to abide by her; 1758
so that, before the morning when they came to an anchor in shore,
they were a league to the north of Sadrass, and 35 miles to the April.
south of Pondicherry, off of which the engagement began. The French squadron had suffered so much less aloft, that they anchored at 10 at night in the road of Alamparva, 15 miles to windward of the English. The Bien Aimé during the fight had the slings of her sheet anchor shot away, which dropping, run out the cable, which was immediately cut; another shot unperceived had grazed the upper coil of the cable bent to the best bower, with which the ship came to anchor at Alamparva, but on the first strain this cable parted; a small anchor was immediately dropped, but would not hold; there was no other ready; and before the sails could be set, the ship was driven into the surf, and stranded without the possibility of recovery; but all the men were saved, and afterwards most of the cannon and stores.

The first hour of Mr. Lally's arrival at Pondicherry was distinguished by the excessive vivacity of his character. Before the night closed, 1000 Europeans and as many Sepoys were on their march to Fort St. David, commanded by the Count D'Estaign, who landed with him: but such was the hurry to be in motion, that they proceeded without provisions, and their guides led them astray, and brought them into the bounds over the plain to the west, where they did not arrive until seven in the morning: the guard at the redoubt of Chimundelum retreated before them to the garden-house, where was another; and both together retired to the fort, after five or six were killed. They were followed almost to the glacis with so much presumption, that seven or eight of the enemy were killed by the cannon from the ramparts, of which indeed abundance were fired on their appearance. Nevertheless, many prest by hunger remained ransacking the houses near the esplanade for immediate victuals; on which two companies of Sepoys under the command of an European officer were sent against them from the fort, who fired away all their ammunition at too great a distance to do or receive any harm. Several smaller parties of Sepoys were likewise detached

 to

1758 April. to surprize straggling plunderers, and before noon brought in six Europeans, from whom an account of the enemy's force was obtained. In the afternoon was heard the first firing of the two squadrons, which were then almost out of sight, and soon after disappeared.

The next day Mr. Soupire came up with more troops, some heavy cannon, and a convoy of provisions; and on the first of May, Mr. Lally himself, escorted by two companies of Hussars, arrived at the garden-house, and immediately detached the Comte D'Estaigne across the river of Tripopalore to reconnoitre and take post near Cuddalore. This town remained in the same condition as when attacked twelve years before by the troops of Dupleix; inclosed on the three sides towards the land with rampart and small bastions, which had neither ditch or any other advanced defences; to the sea it was open, but the approach on this side was flanked by the two bastions at the extremities. M. D'Estaigne carefully reconnoitred the walls to the land, and concluded that the other side had the same defence; and not a man in the French army knew enough of the place to assert the contrary. The garrison of Cuddalore consisted of four companies of Sepoys, and a few artillery-men, under the command of a lieutenant with an ensign; who were reinforced in the evening of Mr. Lally's arrival by 30 Europeans and some Lascars from Fort St. David.

There were in the fort 150 French prisoners; and on Mr. D'Estaigne's arrival, it was demanded of him to send in provisions for their daily sustenance during the impending siege. Mr. Lally, on the day after his arrival, proposed a conference on this subject, as well as on the surrender of Cuddalore, and the commandant Major Polier went to him; after much discussion, and several messages during this and the subsequent day, it was agreed that Cuddalore should be delivered up at sun-rise on the 4th, provided a battery of heavy cannon were at that time ready to open, when the English garrison there might, with their arms and field-ammunition, retire to Fort St. David; and that the French prisoners should be released, with liberty to proceed to any of the neutral ports to the south,

where

where they were to remain until the fate of Fort St. David should be decided; on which their own was to depend. 1758 May.

The impatience of Mr. Lally's temper had already spread discontent through the settlement he was sent to govern. Not finding the same means and facilities for military operations as he had been accustomed to in the armies of Europe, he resolved to create them, as it were, in spite of nature. The different casts of the Indian religion being appropriated to specific and hereditary vocations, many of them are entirely prohibited from servile offices and hard labour; and of those allotted to such occupations, each must abide by that alone to which he was born. The husbandman would be dishonoured by employing his mattock excepting in the field he is to sow; and even lower races have their distinctions, insomuch that the cooley, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder: distinctions likewise prevail amongst the soldiery, for the man who rides, will not cut the grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time would the Sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball: hence the numerous train of followers and attendants which always accompanies a camp in India. Another embarrassment likewise arises from the want of horses proper for draught, which is but ill supplied by the feeble bullocks of the country; nor are sufficient numbers even of them properly trained to be purchased on emergency. Excepting in the siege of Pondicherry by Mr. Boscawen, these defects had not been much felt in the hostilities between the two nations, because mutual; and six field-pieces generally decided a battle; two of battering cannon, the fate of a fortress: but another warfare was now to ensue, for the reduction of Fort St. David required a regular siege. The hurry with which Mr. Lally had obliged the first division to march against Cuddalore, left no time to collect the necessary number of coolies and other attendants in Pondicherry; on which he ordered the deficiency to be supplied by the Indian inhabitants of the town, a number of whom were pressed, and employed without distinction, in carrying burthens, and other such services. The violence created terror; the disgrace, indignation. Mr. Deleyrit, and the council, who still retained their functions, but under

1758 May. the controul of Mr. Lally, represented the inconveniencies which might arise from alienating the attachment of the natives; but their remonstrance drew his resentment on themselves, mixed with suspicions, that they only wished to protect those who were subservient to their own emoluments and advantages in the government. The strain of this exertion only diminished the effect; and the cannon and stores followed so slowly, that as soon as the troops had taken possession of Cuddalore, Mr. Lally returned to Pondicherry, in order to accelerate their arrival by the same means which had already been employed with so little success.

The squadron with Mr. D'Aché were six days in working up from Alamparva to the road of Pondicherry, where they anchored on the sixth of May. The troops were immediately landed, and as fast as they came on shore marched off for Fort St. David; and the heavy artillery and ammunition, for want of means by land were embarked, to be landed at the mouth of the river Panar, which lies about a mile to the north of Fort St. David. The park of artillery was formed at the Garden-house. Mr. Lally returned to Cuddalore on the 14th, and in the ensuing night the engineers began to erect a battery for two 24 pounders, on the north bank of the river of Bandapollam; they were only intended to fire plunging-shot into the fort, being 1000 yards distant from the walls: nevertheless the garrison fired abundantly during this and the succeeding night to interrupt the work.

Three considerable rivers coming from the westward, gain the sea in the space of four miles within the bounds of Fort St. David; the bed of the Panar lies about 1800 yards to the north of the river of Tripapolore, and the two communicate by a canal which runs nearly parallel to, and about 1000 yards distant from, the margin of the sea. Fort St. David stands in the angle where the canal joins the river of Tripapolore; which passeth close to the south face of the fort, and there sends off to the south an arm that soon joins the river of Bandapollam, when both united in one channel continue along the eastern side of Cuddalore, separated from the sea by a mound of sand. The waters of Tripapolore and Bandapollam protected the fort

fort from the regular approach of trenches on the south; but on the west and north the ground presented rather more advantages than obstacles to an enemy. 1758 May.

By many additions and improvements Fort St. David was now become a fortification armed at all points; but the original defect of want of space in the body of the place still remained; being only 140 feet from W. to E. and 390 from N. to S. The four bastions at the angles mounted each 12 guns. The curtains, as well as the bastions, were surrounded by a faussebray with a brick parapet. The outworks were, a horn-work to the north, mounting 34 guns; two large ravelins, one on the east, the other on the west; a ditch round all, which had a cuvette cut along the middle, and was supplied with water from the river of Tripapolore; the scarp and counter-scarp of the ditch faced with brick; a broad covered way excellently pallisaded, with arrows at the salient angles commanding the glacis, and the glacis itself was provided with well-constructed mines. All these works, excepting the horn-work, were planned by Mr. Robins, but the horn-work was raised before his arrival in India with much ignorance and expence, the whole being of solid masonry, and the rampart too narrow to admit the free recoil of the guns. The ground to the north of the fort, included by the sea, the rivers of Panar and Tripapolore, and the canal which joins them, is a plot of sand, rising in several parts into large hillocks, which afford good shelter against the fort. On the edge of the canal, 1300 yards to the north of the fort, stood an obsolete redoubt, called Chuckly-point. It was of masonry, square, mounted eight guns, and in the area were lodgments for the guard: the entrance was a pallisaded gate under an arch, but the redoubt was not enclosed by a ditch. About 200 yards to the right of this stood another such redoubt, on a sand-hill called Patcharee. Four hundred yards in the rear of these redoubts was another sand-hill, much larger than that of Patcharee, on which the Dutch had a factory-house called Thevenapatam; but the house had lately been demolished; and a fascine battery of five guns was raised on the hill. In a line on the left of this hill, and on the brink of the canal, was a gateway, with a narrow rampart and battlements, which commanded

a bridge

1758 May. a bridge immediately under it, leading over the canal. The garrison in Fort St. David consisted of 1600 natives, Sepoys, Lascars, and Topasses; 619 Europeans, of whom 286 were effective; 83 pensioners or infirm; and 250 were seamen, the crews of the Triton and Bridgwater, which had run ashore on the appearance of the French squadron.

Intelligence was obtained on the 15th that the enemy intended on the ensuing night to attack all the posts on the sand; on which they were reinforced, to the number of 80 Europeans and 700 Sepoys. At sun-set, the French troops marched from Cuddalore to the garden-house, and at nine o'clock from thence in three divisions, which halted at some distance from the canal, waiting the signal to attack. The division on the right was to force and take possession of the gateway opposite to the hill of Thevenapatam; the center was to ford the canal, and march against Chuckley-point; and the division to the left crossing the canal where it joins the river Panar, was to come down and storm Patcharee; but the center and the left were not to begin their attack before the right was engaged. The signal was made by a rocket at ten o'clock, and at the same instant a strong fire commenced against the fort itself, from five guns on the ramparts of Cuddalore, the two on the battery on the bank of the Bandapollam river, and from two heavy mortars on the west. This annoyance was intended to distract the attention of the garrison, and succeeded, for they returned it with much violence, although with more uncertainty. The division on the right advancing to the attack of the Thevenapatam gateway, was unexpectedly stopped by the want of the bridge, which had been destroyed, and the canal hereabouts was not fordable; nor could the center division find the ford they expected. The posts on the sand were now alarmed, but the two divisions, nevertheless, stood on their ground, waiting for intelligence from the division on the left, which was led by the Count D'Estaign, who soon after sent word that he had crossed with ease at the head of the canal; on which the center moved up thither, and crossed after him, whilst the third division continued before the gateway, to keep the troops there and at Thevenapatam from reinforcing the two points. They

They were both attacked at the same time with numbers sufficient to assult all round at once, and in half an hour both were carried; two officers and all the Europeans were made prisoners, but most of the Sepoys ran away. The two divisions together then marched against the battery on the hill of Thevenapatam. This attack commenced at one in the morning, and was resisted with much spirit until three, when the enemy got possession of the battery; where, likewise, the Europeans were taken, and the Sepoys escaped. The fire from the fort deterred the enemy from continuing at Thevenapatam; and they retired to the two points, which they supported with 400 men, sheltered behind the hillock of Patcharee. None of the Sepoys who had fled returned into the fort, but escaped along the sea-shore across the river Panar. 1758 May.

At day-light a detachment from the fort took possession of the battery again; on which the enemy immediately reinforced the troops at the points with 5 or 600 men from the camp at the garden-house; which sufficiently indicated another attack on the battery, and to avoid it the detachment was prudently recalled, together with the guard at the gateway on the canal. At night the enemy broke ground, carrying on a trench of communication between Chuckley and Patcharee points; and although the excessive heat of the weather ought to have referred this service to the night, it continued through the two succeeding days, and by the night of the 19th the work was advanced to the hill of Thevenapatam, extending in the whole 800 yards. Five mortars from the west opened at the same time as the trenches were begun; but no cannon were fired excepting those on the ramparts of Cuddalore, from which one shot on the 18th killed Lieutenant Davis, two serjeants, and five black men. On the 20th, the enemy opened another trench leading from the west side of the hill of Thevenapatam to the gateway on the canal, and repaired the bridge there; they likewise established two twelve pounders amongst the ruins of some fishermen's huts on the beach, which commanded the entrance into the river of Tripapolore from admitting any boats from the sea. These guns were sheltered from the fort by two hillocks of sand, but had no communication with the enemy's lines, and were left to the guard

1758 guard of the artillerymen alone, who being few, the garrison detached 60 Sepoys and some Europeans at 11 the next day, to attack them; but the sally only produced a little skirmishing.

May.

By this time, all the black artificers and menials had quitted the fort; and of the whole body of Sepoys, only 200 remained; the want of them laid the strain of duty much heavier on the Europeans; of whom little service was derived from the seamen, as not being subject to the same controul as the soldiery. On the 22d, an English ship anchored, and for want of boatmen to carry a letter to her, the fort warned her danger by firing shot at her, on which she sailed out of the road. The enemy continued until the 26th, employed in constructing four batteries, and in pushing on their trenches, which they carried from the hill of Thevenapatam obliquely towards the north-east angle of the glacis; during which, the five mortars to the west, and the guns from Cuddalore continued the only annoyance. The fort continued to lavish away their fire night and day on every thing they saw, heard or suspected; by which 20 carriages of their own guns were disabled, and the works themselves shaken. About midnight of the 26th, a battery of seven guns, added to that of the five mortars to the west, was opened and kept up a constant fire. The next night some of the sailors broke open the treasury, not to take the money, but some arrack, with which they got exceedingly drunk, and, according to their regulations, could only be punished by confinement.

By the 30th, the enemy had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis; and in the same day finished and opened the three other batteries; one of three guns, with five mortars, against the angle of the north-west bastion; another of six guns and four mortars on the hill of Thevenapatam, facing the front of the hornwork; the third of four guns, about 300 yards to the south-east of Thevenapatam, and nearly opposite to the angle of the north-east bastion. The former battery to the west continued to enfilade the north face; and the defences on this side had already suffered so much, as well from the shock of their own firing, as from the shot

2 and

and shells of the enemy, that they could barely return the same number of guns; and the encreasing want of powder left none to spare against the shot from Cuddalore, and the two guns on the bank of the river of Bandapollam. The enemy's bombs had likewise ruined the reservoirs and the only well of good water in the fort, and that in the ditch was too brackish to be drunk.

1758 May.

All hopes were now turned to the squadron; the garrison knew by letters, which had escaped the enemy, of the success of the late engagement, and no conjectures could account for the long delay of their return. Mr. Pocock, as soon as he anchored off Sadrass on the 29th of April, dispatched a boat with advices to Madrass, and requested, that all the recovered seamen in the hospital, and as many Lascars as could be spared, might be sent to restore the loss which had been sustained. About 100 of each were sent the next day, the Lascars by land, the seamen in massoolas. It was six days before they got on board; and on the 7th of May the squadron weighed; but, proving after three days trial, that they could not advance against the wind and current by working in shore, they put to sea, and in fifteen days got to the windward of Fort St. David, into the latitude of 9. 30.; but the wind at this time rose so strong from the west, that the Cumberland could not bear up against it, without encreasing her leaks so much, that it became necessary to let her drive; and as the other ships were obliged to keep her company, the squadron, instead of reaching Fort St. David, fell to leeward as far as Alamparvah, where they anchored on the 26th of May. Here they obtained no intelligence, for the place belonged to the French, who suffered no boats to go off, and those belonging to ships cannot land through the surf. The wind having abated, the squadron weighed anchor again the same day, and plied to the southward with the land and sea breezes, which were so faint, that they only gained four leagues in two days, when on the 28th they discovered the French squadron at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, which had remained there ever since their arrival, waiting the recovery of their sick and wounded, of which conditions, but principally of their sick, near a thousand were incapable of duty. The

 appearance

1758 May. appearance of the English squadron spread no little alarm. Mr. D'Aché immediately convened a council of his captains, with the governor and council of the town, who resolved, that it was most expedient for the ships to remain moored as close as possible to the shore, that they might receive the assistance of the guns along the strand: but this resolution was not valid until approved by Mr. Lally; who instantly went from the camp to Pondicherry, ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans to follow him as fast as they could march. He arrived early in the morning of the 30th, convened the usual council, and tendered the detachment, with the same number of Sepoys and Lascars, to serve on board the ships, and protested against the disgrace of not meeting the English squadron in the open sea. This reinforcement changed the former resolution. Mr. Lally returned to the camp in the evening; and the next day Mr. D'Aché, with the eight principal ships, now manned with 3300 men, weighed anchor, but, instead of bearing down on Mr. Pocock, who could not work up to him, kept the wind, plying for Fort St. David.

The besiegers during this day kept up an incessant fire from 21 pieces of cannon and 13 mortars, which every hour became superior to that of the fort; not for want of mounted artillery, but of ammunition, of which such quantities had been lavished away when no adequate effect could be expected, that the garrison was obliged to spare it now, in the hour of need and real use. On the 1st of June the fire continued with such increasing superiority, that the sailors, and even the artillery men, at times, quitted their guns. At noon, the French squadron were perceived working towards the road, and by the close of the evening, the enemy had carried on their trenches to the foot of the glacis opposite to the salient angle of the N. E. bastion, where they began to erect a battery, and all the embrasures in the fort which commanded this spot were ruined, and their guns either dismounted or withdrawn: so that the enemy might soon make a lodgement in the covered way; but could get no farther until the ditch was drained or filled up. Nevertheless, it was apprehended, that the French squadron might land a great number of men, with whom the troops

on shore would make a general assault, which the garrison or defences 1758
were not deemed in a condition to resist. On which, Major Polier, June.
and Mr. Wynch, the temporary governor, thought it necessary to hold a council of war, in which it was unanimously decided, that they ought to capitulate on the best terms they could make, and articles were prepared ; however, the defence was continued through the night, and until ten the next day, in the solicitous, but disappointed expectation of seeing the English squadron : a flag of truce was then hoisted, Major Polier and one of the company's agents went out, and returned at four in the afternoon, with the articles altered by Mr. Lally, which it was agreed to accept. At six in the evening, a company of French grenadiers were admitted into the fort, and the garrison marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis, where they grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves and their ensigns to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient speed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was stipulated they should remain, until an equal number of French prisoners were delivered there, when the English were to be sent to Madrass, or Devi Cotah, at the option of Mr. Lally. He rejected the proposal, that Fort St. David should not be demolished during the war; and, in consequence of instructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground. The French officers, on contemplating the works, were surprized at the facility of their conquest, not having lost twenty men by the fire of the place, although more by sickness, and strokes of the sun, in the trenches. The French squadron anchored in the road the evening after the surrender, when Mr. D'Aché landed, and having conferred with Mr. Lally, weighed anchor on the 4th, and stood to the southward, in order to cruize off Ceylon.

The army before Fort St. David consisted of 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys. In order to complete this amount, and to leave in Pondicherry a force sufficient to make head against any motions from Madrass, Mr. Lally had drained all the out-posts and garrisons in the Carnatic, to a fourth of

1758 June. their ordinary guards; and had recalled the whole garrison of Seringham, having agreed to deliver over this place to the brother of Hydernaig, who arrived with a party of Mysoreans from Dindigul, and took possession of it on the 17th of May, when the French troops marched away for Fort St. David. They consisted of 100 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys: but one half of the Sepoys deserted on the road, for fear of the unusual services to which they heard those in the camp were applied; having for the first time been employed in throwing up earth in the trenches; on which the rest, with the Europeans, were ordered to halt at Chilambarum, where they were joined during the siege by 200 Europeans from the camp. This force was intended to succour Karical, in case the English squadron should make a descent there. As soon as Fort St. David capitulated, Mr. D'Estaign was detached, with some more troops and cannon, to join, and proceed with them against Devi Cotah; but this officer, on good intelligence, left the cannon at Chilambarum, and on the 4th appeared with the troops before Devi Cotah, which the garrison abandoned on his approach. It consisted of 30 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys; they marched away through the Tanjore country to Tritchinopoly.

As soon as Devi Cotah was taken, the army returned with all expedition from Fort St. David to Pondicherry, and on the evening of the 7th, Mr. Lally made a triumphant entry, which had been concerted, into the town, and proceeded to a magnificent *Te Deum*, which was followed by a sumptuous entertainment; immediately after which, he renewed his bickerings with Mr. Deleyrit and the Council, because the public treasure was almost exhausted; not without accusations that they had diverted it to their own emoluments.

The English squadron saw the French set sail from the road of Pondicherry; but, kept back by the Cumberland, lost, instead of gaining ground, and fell to leeward again as far as Alamparva, off which place, Mr. Pococke received on the 5th a letter, dispatched by the English agent at Sadrass, informing him of the loss of Fort St. David. At this time the squadron had not more than five

five days consumption of water on board: and the only port to the southward, where it could be supplied with sufficient expedition, was the Dutch settlement of Negapatam; which, being 100 miles to windward, they were not likely to reach in less than 10 days; Mr. Pococke, therefore, bore away, and anchored the next day in the road of Madrass. 1758 June.

Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, on the return of his troops from Terpatore, where Armetrow was killed in February, had paraded them again about Chandergherry in the same hopes as before of intimidating the renter of Tripetti; but, still continuing himself afraid of the English Sepoys stationed at Trepassore, refrained from hostilities, and tried proffers of money, which the renters refused, and advised him to a reconciliation with his brother. The possession of Tripetti had always been the object of every adventurer who saw any chance of success; because its revenue, equal to 30,000 pounds a year, arising from the contributions of devotion, is always more certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic; and the acquisition was soon after attempted with more earnestness than the schemes of Abdulwahab. Before the departure of Balaventrow from the country of Cudapah, two officers of distinction, named Ragava Cherry and Balakissen Saustry, arrived with a commission from Balagerow, to superintend the chout or tribute to the Morratoes from the Carnatic; in consequence of which they asked Balaventrow for a body of troops to proceed by military execution. He refused, alleging, that he had already settled this business with the Nabob of Arcot, who had given no new occasion of offence; and, on his departure to Sirpi, instructed his successor not to permit any hostilities. The two officers, disappointed, levied 500 horse and 1000 foot, of those who had been in the service of the late Nabob of Cudapah, but disbanded after his death; and proceeded with them to the country of the Polygar of Matlavar, which extends along the river *Kandeler* to the N. W. of the districts of Tripetti, and a part inserts itself between the counties of Damerla Venkatipy Naigue, and Bangar Yatcham, as far as a pass in the mountains called Cava Canambaca, which is within twenty miles of the pagoda.

1758 pagoda. The renter posted 7 or 800 peons in the pass, who kept the adventurers and their force at bay, although joined by the troops of Matlavar, until the beginning of May; when they forced their way through; and, on the 5th, attacked the town of Tripetti, where the renter stood his ground, with only 300 Sepoys and 500 Peons; but had secured them under the cover of garden-walls from the impression of the enemy's horse, when Ragavacherry exposing himself intemperately in endeavouring to encourage them, was shot dead, on which all his followers ran away, although only 10 men, besides himself, had been killed: he fell near the place where Mahomed Comaul was killed, five years before, in the same attempt.

June.

This was the only event of any risque, which had happened in the Nabob's territory, since the arrival of Mr. Lally; for the great draughts of men which had been made from the French forts on the frontier to carry on the siege of St. David, had reduced their garrisons to the incapacity of attempting any thing beyond transitory excursions to plunder. But the English presidency now concluding that the French army would march against Madrass immediately after their success at St. David, delayed no longer to give their final orders for the retreat of their own garrisons with the dependant out-guards, from Carangoly, Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Covrepauk, and Arcot, which had previously sent in their artillery and stores, reserving only as much musket-ammunition as was necessary for the march. Arcot and Covrepauk were delivered to the Nabob's troops, of which a body were remaining in the city; Conjeveram and Chinglapet to the peons of the respective renters; and the partizan Murzafabeg, leaving only a few of his men in Trivatore, went with the rest into Carangoly. The English garrisons having united at Chinglapet, came in together on the 7th of June, the day after the return of the squadron: they amounted to 250 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys; but the garrisons of Pondamelee and Tripassore, consisting only of Sepoys, were not withdrawn, because they protected a valuable district from the incursions of the adjacent Polygars, and might at all times retire to Madrass, before any detachment from the French stations on the other side of the

Paliar

Paliar, could arrive to cut off their retreat. Frequent debates had been held in the council concerning the expediency of withdrawing the garrison of Tritchinopoly, which it was resolved to postpone until the last extremity; but in the interval the commandant Mahomed Issoof was ordered, after leaving a sufficient force in Palamcotah, to move towards Madura, and even to march to Tritchinopoly itself on the first summons from Captain Calliaud. This officer, on the 16th of May, the day after the French garrison had quitted the pagoda of Seringham to the Mysoreans, summoned them to surrender it, and detached his second, Captain Joseph Smith, with a party, to take post in Jumbakistna. The Mysoreans replied by firing cannon from Seringham against this place, which were answered the next day by a bombardment from two mortars; and in the ensuing night they abondoned Seringham, leaving a considerable quantity of military stores, and eight pieces of cannon, which the French had left to them: they returned from whence they came, to Dindigul. Calliaud immediately took possession of the pagoda, and garrisoned it with 500 Sepoys. 1758 June.

Mr. Lally, notwithstanding his wrangles, consulted Mr. Deleyrit and the jesuit Lavaur concerning the future operations of the field. Madrass seemed the immediate and most important temptation; for, notwithstanding the utmost exertions, many of the essential parts of its fortifications still remained incomplete; and the defence of Fort St. David had raised in Mr. Lally a contemptible opinion of the English troops in India: but Pondicherry could not immediately furnish money to support the campaign, nor means to transport by land the vast quantity of artillery and stores necessary for the siege, which could not be conveyed with any certainty in the ships of the French squadron, whilst the English kept the sea. The Nabob's country to the north of Chittapett and Vandiwash, by the retreat of the English garrisons, presented a much easier conquest, and the chance of no inconsiderable revenue, with the advantage of pressing Madrass itself by a variety of distresses; but Mr. Lally could not brook the slow, although certain means of collecting money, which would have arisen from this expedition. Yielding therefore to the advice

1758 advice of father Lavaur, he preferred another, from which they ex-
June. pected to get more, with equal ease, in a much shorter time.

The king of Tanjore, when besieged by the army of Murzafajing and Chundasaheb with the French troops in 1751, had compounded the arrears of his tribute, and had given Chundasaheb a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, before the approach of Nazirjing's army obliged them to retreat out of his country; the bond was in the possession of the government of Pondicherry; and an incident in the capture of Fort St. David concurred to suggest the expediency of marching into the Tanjore country, and demanding this money sword in hand. The French had found in Fort St. David a prisoner of grater consequence than they expected: his name was Gatica: he was uncle to the deposed king of Tanjore, whose pretensions the English asserted in 1749, when they entered the country, and took Devi Cotah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded this place to them in propriety, stipulated by a secret article, that they should prevent this pretender from giving him any molestation in future; to ensure which, it was necessary to secure his person; but he withdrew himself out of their reach; however, being in possession of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephew, they detained him a prisoner, but under an easy confinement, within the Fort, where he remained until fated by the fall of the place to be employed by the French, with the same views as nine years before by the English: and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much ostentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehensions of the king, that the pretender himself would appear and accompany the French army, whom nevertheless they did not proclaim in his stead.

How much soever Mr. Lally agreed in the preference of this expedition, he differed even to animosity both with Mr. Deleyrit and the Jesuit in another measure of still greater importance. He had brought from France the strongest prejudices against the character of Mr. Bussy, whom he believed to have continually amused his nation with phantoms of public utility and danger, in order to secure the continuance of his station, in which he was supposed to have already

ready gained an immense fortune : a few days after he landed, he had sent the Marquis of Conflans to act as second in the army of the Decan ; but now, thinking that the capture of Fort St. David had established his own reputation beyond the imputation of jealousy, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Bussy, to come without delay to Pondicherry, pretending that he wanted his advice ; and, suspicious of the intimacy which had always subsisted between Moracin and Mr. Bussy, he likewise, and on the same pretence, recalled Moracin from the government of Masulipatam. 1758 June.

Six hundred men of Mr. Lally's regiment, with 200 Sepoys, under the command of Mr. Soupire, formed a camp of observation between Alamparva and Pondicherry : only 50 able, with the invalids of the army, were to be left in the town ; and, to calm the apprehensions which were entertained by the inhabitants, of a sudden descent from the English squadron, it was resolved to recall their own under the walls. The injunction reached Mr. D'Aché off Karical on the 16th ; and he anchored the next day in the road of Pondicherry. On the 18th Mr. Lally took the field ; but, as before, unprovided with the necessary attendants, bullock-men, and market-people ; for the unusual compulsions, which had been practised during the siege of Fort St. David, deterred the natives of such occupations from engaging in the services of the camp ; and the inhabitants of the country removed their cattle, from dread of the hussars, who had been permitted to drive in what were necessary for the victualling of the army, without paying the value. The march between Pondicherry and Karical, where the troops were to rendezvous, is intersected by no less than sixteen rivers ; six before you arrive at the Coleroon, which are generally fordable, excepting in the rains, but the Coleroon is never so ; the others, as all in the kingdom of Tanjore, are arms of the Caveri, most of which near the sea change their extensive surfaces on beds of sand into deep channels of mud, which, even when fordable, cannot be entered without much toil and trouble ; to avoid which, such of the heavy artillery, and cumbrous stores as were not to be supplied at Karical, were sent in two vessels by sea. Notwithstanding this relief,

1758 June. the troops gained their way with much inconvenience. The regiment of Lorrain left their tents at Cuddalore, for want of bullocks and coolies to carry them. The whole army had been 12 hours without food when they arrived at Devi Cotah, and, contrary to their expectation, found none there excepting paddy, which is the grain of rice before it is divested of the husk, in which state it is only fit for the food of cattle; but the operation is tedious, and requires the implements used by the natives; and the soldiers, hungry and fatigued, having searched the huts in the fort for other victuals without finding any, set fire to them, which was with much difficulty prevented from catching two magazines of gunpowder.

The troops, after seven days march, arrived at Karical on the 25th. The distance from Pondicherry, although only 75 miles in the direct line, is 100 by the road; and here, for the first time during the march, they got a regular meal. Here a bramin, sent by the king of Tanjore with proposals, was waiting for Mr. Lally, who sent him back with his own, demanding immediate payment of the five millions and six hundred thousand rupees, with all the interest: and, to convince the king that he would derive no benefit from the usual delays and prevarications of Indian negotiations, he immediately sent forward a detachment to take possession of the opulent town of Nagore.

This place is situated on a river about four miles to the north of Negapatam, and carries on a very considerable commerce; but the merchants had removed their money and jewels, and offered little for the redemption of their warehouses; on which Mr. Lally farmed out the plunder and ransom of the town for 200,000 rupees to Fischer, the commander of the French hussars; stipulating, that if the profit exceeded 100,000 rupees, a proportional addition was to be made to the public fund. Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproach of those pecuniary views, which he continually imputed without distinction to every one in the service of the French company; but this agreement gave them no slight pretence to retort peculation on himself, as going shares with Fischer in the profits of Nagore. Whilst this business was transacting, he applied to the

Dutch

Dutch government at Negapatam to supply his wants of money, ammunition, and provisions; who, awed by his force, furnished him with 20,000 pounds weight of gunpowder, and promised to assist his commissaries in purchasing whatsoever their territory could supply, but declared themselves unable to lend any money, not having enough for their own use. The Danish settlement of Tranquebar, from the same dread of his violences, promised the same assistances, and furnished six small field-pieces, with 10,000 weight of gunpowder. 1758 June.

The army marched from Nagore on the 28th, and, having proceeded six miles, halted at a considerable pagoda called Kiveloor; where Mr. Lally, believing the report of those who meant only to please him, imagined the bramins to be very rich, and that the images they worshipped were of gold; in this persuasion, he ransacked and dug the houses, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treasures were found; and the idols proved to be only of brass. The bramin returning from the king met Mr. Lally at Kiveloor, and offered the usual complimentary presents, but no terms of accommodation adequate to Mr. Lally's expectations, who therefore dismissed him without accepting the presents, and the next day marched ten miles farther to Trivalore, where stands the most July. famous pagoda in the country. Here the army found as much paddy laid up in granaries as would have supplied them with rice for three months, but for want of the means to beat it out, could scarcely procure from it sufficient for the meal of the day. All the bramins had abandoned the pagoda, but some were afterwards discovered prying and asking questions in the camp, probably from anxiety concerning their temples and divinities; but Mr. Lally judged them to be spies employed by the king, and rashly ordered six of them to be executed, who were blown off from the muzzles of the field-pieces.

As soon as the French troops arrived at Karikal, the general Monacjee advanced from the city of Tanjore and encamped within ten miles of Trivalore, with 2500 horse and 5000 Sepoys, disciplined as well as they could be without the direction of Europeans. This was half the force of the kingdom. The king on the first alarm had solicited aid from the Nabob, the English presidency, Tritchinopoly, from

1758 Tondiman, and even from the two Moravars, although he was at
July. this very time in enmity with all the three Polygars. The presidency and the Nabob were in no condition to send any assistance from the Carnatic, but they authorized Capt. Calliaud to act as occasion might require from Tritchinopoly, where the commandant Mahomed Issoof, in obedience to the orders sent to him on the first appearance of the French squadron, arrived on the 16th of June with 2000 Sepoys from the Tinivelly country. This reinforcement enabled Calliaud to succour the king without too much impairing his own garrison; but the continual and authentic intelligence which he obtained of the duplicity of the king's councils, created no little perplexity in the option between sending succours which might be betrayed to the enemy; or by withholding them, give the king a pretext to make terms with them, which in this conjuncture must be dangerous to the English affairs: he however, at all risques, as soon as he heard the French army were in motion from Nagore, detached 500 Sepoys with 10 European artillery-men, and 300 Colleries collected from the neighbouring Polygars dependant on Tritchinopoly, deeming this reinforcement in the present instant sufficient to keep up the king's hope of more; and waiting to assist him hereafter, according to his conduct with the enemy, which he caused to be narrowly watched. The exhortations of the presidency had likewise induced Tondiman and the two Moravars to suspend their resentments so far as to let their Colleries also take service with the king, who hired 4000 of them; and they were sent, as they arrived, to Monacjee's camp, as were afterwards those supplied by Calliaud. The French army remained at Trivalore until the 12th of July, during which their cavalry swept the country round of all the cattle, of which Mr. Lally sent large droves to be sold at the towns on the sea-coast; which precaution was imputed to him as a project of private gain; but not much was got by it, for Monacjee had detached his Colleries to maraud in the rear of the French army, who cut off every thing which moved to and from the camp with slender escorts, and recovered great numbers of the cattle, which they too drove away, and sold for the lowest prices to any who would buy them. However,

some

some of the Colleries were killed, and all who were taken prisoners 1758
Mr. Lally ordered to be linked to draw the guns, which did not deter July.
the others from repeating their attacks, wherever booty appeared, or even from insulting the camp itself every night with their rockets. On the 24th, the army came in sight of Monacjee's, drawn up in good order behind a water-course, from which the Tanjorines were soon driven by the fire of the French artillery, and retreated towards the city, but still continued without the walls.

The French army arrived within six miles of the city on the 18th in the morning, when a message was received from the king, desiring a conference with persons authorized to treat; on which Mr. Lally halted the army, and sent in a Captain, Maudave, and a Jesuit, St. Estevan. They insisted on the first demand of 5,600,000 rupees, with the interest; the king offered 300,000: the deputies returned, and were sent back again with the demand of one million in money, 600 bullocks for the carriage of the artillery and stores, and, 10,000 pounds weight of gun-powder; but this article the deputies wisely agreed to suppress, as exposing the distress of the army: the king seemed inclined to add something to his first offer of money, but said, that the supply or sale of beeves to those of a different religion was contrary to his own; the deputies returned again to the camp, and the next morning to the city, with positive orders to insist on the gun-powder, which when they proposed to Monacjee in a conference before they were to visit the king, he exclaimed with indignation, that all negotiation was at an end, and that he should not introduce to his master men who were only sent to insult him. The deputies returned without delay to the camp, which immediately moved, and in the evening took possession of the pettah, or suburbs, which at this time extended along the eastern side of the city; the artillery, of which only two were battering cannon, and the cohorns and howitzes, for the army had brought no mortars, fired during the night at the pagodas and other edifices which arose above the walls; and this was all the annoyance they could use at present, since the two pieces of battering cannon could not be exposed against the superior fire of the town, without more to cover them; a detachment

1758 tachment was therefore sent to bring up three twenty-four-pounders
July. from Karical, which were all that this place could spare, and the two vessels laden with the cannon and mortars from Pondicherry were still far to leeward: several other detachments, which all together employed half the infantry and all the cavalry of the army, were at the same time sent abroad to bring in the cattle of the adjacent country; and a body of Colleries, who had probably deserted from the Tanjorines, were likewise hired for the same employment. The abundance was much greater than the consumption; and the surplus were driven away as before to be sold on the sea-coast. The vast detriment which the country was likely to suffer by the continuance of these desolations induced the king to renew the negociation on the 22d, and the next day he paid 50,000 rupees; and the Jesuit St. Estevan, with Kenedy a lieutenant-colonel, were sent to remain as hostages for the re-payment of the money, in case a treaty should not be concluded, and hostilities be renewed. But the Colleries in the French army could not be restrained from continuing their depredations, which the Tanjorine horse revenged, by giving no quarter to any they fell in with: quarrels likewise ensued with the market people and dealers, who, with the king's permission, came from the city to sell provisions and other necessaries in the camp; and the discussion of these broils and violences interrupted the more important negotiation until the arrival of the three pieces of cannon from Karical, which came up on the 29th; and Mr. Lally, having at this time received intelligence, that the king was pressing the English at Tritchinopoly to send another and stronger reinforcement, resolved to renew hostilities, although his hostages still remained in the power of the king, who, frightened by the arrival of the cannon, conferred in earnest, and concluded the treaty, of which the terms were founded on Mr. Lally's declarations, that he intended to march immediately from Tanjore against Tritchinopoly, for which service the king agreed to lend 300 of his best horse, to furnish 1000 coolies and mattock-men, and to supply the army with provisions during the siege; to deliver two respectable hostages, and to give in money 500,000 rupees, of which 200,000 were

were to be paid as soon as the army removed ten miles from Tanjore, 150,000 were to be sent with the two French hostages as soon as it arrived before Tritchinopoly, and the remaining 150,000 were to be paid after the siege, when the king's hostages were to be surrendered, and the cavalry returned. The contingencies involved in these terms shewed, that neither side had much expectation they would be completely executed, and Mr. Lally seems to have accepted them, only because he should get some money in hand; the king because some chance might save the rest. Two hundred of the coolies were sent to the camp during the discussion of the articles which were not intirely adjusted until late in the evening of the 31st, when Mr. Dubois the commissary of the army, who had conducted the negotiation in the city, returned to the camp, accompanied by the two Tanjorine hostages, and 40 of the cavalry, being all, it was said, who were immediately ready; the delay of the rest confirmed Mr. Lally in his suspicions that the king meant only to amuse him, and induced him to shut up those who were come in a pagoda near the encampment: they not knowing what to suspect from this treatment, dreaded the worst, and sent information to the city, in consequence of which the king stopped the rest of the cavalry; and his coolies in the camp being frightened by the rumours concerning the horsemen in the pagoda, run away in the night. The next morning Mr. Lally sent Dubois to reproach the king and Monacjee for their supposed breach of faith, who retorted their own suspicions, and this altercation producing the real state of the mistakes, Dubois proffered to bring back one of the Tanjorine hostages as a conviction of security to the cavalry which had remained behind, who were then to proceed to the camp. But Mr. Lally regarded this stipulation as an indignity, and a confirmation of the king's insincerity, and summoned his council of war, who conformably to his exposition were unanimously of opinion that no reliance could be had on any professions of peace, and that it was necessary to attack the city without delay, and with the utmost vigour. In consequence of this resolution, Mr. Lally wrote a letter to colonel Kenedy, ordering him to denounce the utmost vengeance

not

1758 July.

August.

1758 not only on the country and city of Tanjore, but likewise on the king and his whole family, whom he threatened to carry as slaves to the island of Mauritius. In the evening the army moved from the suburbs, and formed a regular camp about a mile and a half to the south-east of the town.

August.

The expressions in Mr. Lally's letter to Kenedy, determined the king, who had hitherto fluctuated, in irresolution, to defend himself to extremity, and he now repeated his solicitations with the utmost earnestness for assistance from Tritchinopoly. Captain Calliaud, by the accounts he continually received of the king's negotiations, had hitherto thought it unsafe to trust any more troops in his power, whilst making engagements to assist the French in the reduction of Tritchinopoly: but, being convinced by this last rupture, that he had renounced all designs of accord or reconciliation with them, detached on the 6th of August 500 of his best Sepoys, with two excellent serjeants and 27 cannoneers, who in order to avoid the encounter of the French troops, proceeded in a round-about road along the bank of the Coleroon.

A deep water-course, running within 400 yards parallel to the south side of the city, furnished a much more commodious trench than any which are opened in sieges, determined Mr. Lally to make the attack under the advantage of this cover. The south face of the city is much the narrowest aspect, extending only 480 yards. Two batteries were erected on the nether edge of the water-course, the one of three guns opposite to the middle of the face, but turned to breach between the cavalier of the eastern angle and the next tower. The other, of two guns, was 200 yards to the right.

Both opened on the 2d of August. It was the 7th in the evening, after five days firing, before the batteries had produced a breach six feet wide: but by this time there remained only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, and not 20 cartouches a man for the troops; and, notwithstanding the numbers of cattle which had been seized, there were not provisions for two days remaining in the camp, and the great distance

from which any could be procured through the perpetual interruptions of the Tanjorine cavalry and Colleries, precluded the hopes of any immediate supplies. On the 8th in the morning advices were received, that another engagement had passed between the two squadrons, immediately after which, the English anchored before Karical, where they were threatening a descent; but that no tidings had been obtained concerning the French squadron since the fight. This intelligence aggravated the general anxiety, as the distresses of the army in their present situation, could only be relieved from Karical; and Mr. Lally despairing of succeeding in the assault of the breach, summoned his council of war, in which, of 12 officers 10 were of opinion to raise the siege; but two, Saubinet, and Mr. D'Estaigne, advised the immediate assault, the success of which appeared to D'Estaigne indubitable; who added, that the city would furnish more ammunition than would be expended in the storm, and that he had no apprehensions the English would make a descent upon Karical, whilst the French squadron kept the sea. Doubtless both D'Estaigne and Saubinet knew the ditch was fordable, when they advised the assault; otherwise, in the state we have known it since, the approach would have been utterly impracticable. In consequence of the resolution to retreat, the sick and wounded were sent away on the same day under the escort of 150 Europeans, and dispositions were made to decamp on the night of the ensuing day, which was the 10th of the month; in the mean time the guns in the batteries were fired every now and then in order to keep the garrison in awe.

1758 August.

Monacjee soon received intelligence of the resolution to raise the siege, and imputed it to despondency; the detachment from Tritchinopoly arrived in the middle of the same night, and he proposed that they should march immediately with his own troops to attack the French camp by surprize, conformably to a scheme for which he had taken measures; but they were so much fatigued, that he deferred the interprize for 24 hours, until the morning of the 10th, during which the camp received no intelligence of this design, but remained in negligence and security, as before an enemy they despised, and supposed wishing their retreat too much to interrupt it.

1758 August. After midnight 4000 cavalry, led by Monacjee himself, the two detachments from Tritchinopoly, consisting of 1000 Sepoys and 50 Europeans, with 5000 of the king's Sepoys, and all the Colleries, marched out of the city, and keeping at a sufficient distance, arrived at the different posts from which they were to make their attacks and remained in them, undiscovered. At the first dawn of day, 50 horsemen appeared advancing, as from the city, at a leisurely pace, towards the camp they were challenged by the advanced guard, and said they were come to offer their service to the French general, to whom they requested to be conducted; and no danger being apprehended from their number, a party from the guard accompanied them towards Mr. Lally's quarters who slept in a choultry about half a mile in the rear, but to the left of the camp. When within 100 yards, the troop halted and their leader went forward, and Mr. Lally having perceived their arrival, arose and came out of the choultry to speak to him; but before they met, one of the horsemen, who it is supposed was intoxicated with opium, left his rank, and galloped up to a tumbril at some distance, into which he fired his pistol, and a spark of the wad blew it up and the man; the explosion gave the alarm through the camp; and the guard at the choultry, which consisted of 50 men, immediately advanced to protect Mr. Lally. In the same instant the captain of the troop, who had not dismounted, pushed forward towards him, and made a cut at his head with his scymetar, which Mr. Lally parried with his stick, and a Coffree servant who attended him shot the Tanjorine dead with a pistol; the whole troop had now set off at full-gallop to charge the guard, who received them in regular order, and with a fire of such execution as stopt all except two or three from breaking through them; those, however, who remained on horseback, joined again and endeavoured to make a second charge, but in so much confusion, that the second fire of the guard put them to flight with the utmost precipitation; and most of them galloped into a tank, which they did not perceive time enough to avoid; but twenty-eight were left dead in the space of thirty yards; Mr. Lally himself was trampled down and stunned in the scuffle, but only two of his guard were killed. Whilst the troops in the camp were getting

ting under arms and expecting a general attack from the quarter 1758
where the first alarm had been given, the great body of Colleries August.
were discovered advancing with their lances and rockets in the rear,
3000 horse at the same time in the front, and the whole body of Sepoys, with 1000 more horse on the right: much confusion and trepidation prevailed in every part of the camp for near an hour, but the troops were recalled to their wonted steadiness and discipline, by the example and activity of Saubinet and the Count D'Estaigne: the English Sepoys penetrated amongst the tents, and had seized three field-pieces, which they were obliged to abandon, after having 75 of their body killed and wounded in endeavouring to carry them off; they, however, brought away an elephant and two camels. The French suppose that 400 of the enemy were killed, and allow their own loss to be no more than 10, which is improbable. It does not appear that any attack was made on the two batteries in the water-course, although it should seem that the troops on duty there were the most exposed.

As soon as the Tanjorines had retired, the French army continued their preparations to decamp during the ensuing night; and, for want of draft and carriage bullocks, spiked and dismounted the five pieces of battering cannon, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed as much of the baggage as time and means permitted. At midnight the whole were in motion, marching in two lines, with an interval between, which was occupied by palanquins, baggage, tumbrills, and other carriages; two field-pieces were in the front, rear, and on each side of the lines. Monacjee, with all his cavalry and a large body of Sepoys, was abroad, and several times obliged the march to halt, and recur to their field-pieces; the Colleries threw rockets, but disappeared at the approach of day. But the rest of the Tanjorine army continued, as during the night, to follow and hover round until noon; when the French troops arrived and halted at Covilonil, 15 miles from Tanjore: the road was without a single pond or stream until they came to the town; when nothing could withhold the troops and animals of the army from breaking their ranks and restraints to gain the first water they saw. The next day they reached Trivalore; this

 march

1758 August. march was 20 miles, and more fatiguing than the former, having two rivers to pass, over which the artillery and carriages were transported with much difficulty ; but the enemy, instead of taking the advantage, discontinued the pursuit before they arrived at the first : during the whole march the troops had no other food than the cocoa-nuts they gathered on the way, of which many got none ; however, they found at Trivalore some provisions sent from Karical ; but all were so exhausted and fatigued, that they could not proceed any farther until they had been allowed three days refreshment and repose. On the road Mr. Lally received information that the French squadron was at Pondicherry, and that Mr. D'Aché had signified to the council there his determination to return without delay to the Isle of France ; on which he immediately dispatched the Count D'Estaigne with the strongest remonstrances to stop him. On the 18th the army arrived at Karical, and saw the English squadron at anchor off the mouth of the river.

Many wants and insufficient means had detained the squadron near eight weeks in the road of Madrass after their unsuccessful endeavours to reach Fort St. David during the siege. On the third of July, three of the company's ships arrived in the road ; they had left England in the preceding year, but not arriving in the bay, until the northern monsoon was setting in, proceeded to Bengal ; from whence they were dispatched in April with money, merchandize, and stores, but without any of the recruits they brought from England, or any troops in return for those which had been sent with Clive. The southern monsoon, which had begun when they sailed, obliged them to make the outward passage towards Achin, and they came in from the southward to Negapatam : in consequence of the intelligence they received at this place, they put out again to sea and kept out of sight of land until they stood in for Madrass. Chance always maintains its share in all events. Had not the unnecessary anxiety of the council at Pondicherry recalled Mr. D'Aché's squadron from Karical in the middle of June, but permitted him to have continued the cruize he intended, these ships would have been taken, and would have supplied the want of money, which had been the principal cause of the

fruitless

fruitless and disgraceful expedition to Tanjore. It was the 25th of July before the English squadron was sufficiently equipped to sail, and on the 27th they appeared in sight of Pondicherry, where the French squadron lay at anchor, and with much hurry got under sail before night. The next morning the two squadrons were out of sight of each other: on the 29th, the French anchored at Karical; on the 31st, at day-break, they sailed for Negapatam, and at nine again saw the English squadron; but the wind blowing fresh, the three smaller of the French ships could not work their lower tier, on which Mr. D'Aché tacked and stood away, and the next day again saw nothing of the English. The day after, the 2d of August, they anchored again at Karical, where Mr. D'Aché received intelligence, which was not true, that Mr. Lally had been defeated before Tanjore; and, what was much less probable, that the English squadron intended to disembark a great part of their men, in order to cut off the retreat of the French army to Pondicherry. At two in the morning lights appeared in the offing, on which the French squadron got under way, and plying to windward perceived the English at day-break out at sea, about four miles to leeward of them. Both squadrons immediately formed their lines; and Mr. Pococke perceiving the ship which led the enemy's van (it was the Count de Provence) to be the stoutest next their Admiral, ordered the Elizabeth, Admiral Stevens, to take the same station in his own line, instead of the Tyger, to which, as in the last engagement, it had been allotted. The land-wind blowing from the S. W. the English line stretched with their heads to the S. S. E. At eleven o'clock the wind where they were, died away, and left them quite becalmed. But the enemy continued to have a light breeze from the land, with which they stood on, their line extending east and west, and passed the rear of the English line nearly at right angles, without firing a single shot, although they had the fairest opportunity of raking and disabling the Cumberland and Newcastle, which were the two sternmost ships, and, as all the others, lay helpless in the calm with their sterns towards the enemy.

1758 July. August.

At

1758 August. At noon the sea-breeze sprung up from the S. W. which gave the wind to the English ships. Both squadrons formed their lines anew to the wind, with their heads W. N. W. and as soon as this was done in the English line, Mr. Pococke at 20 minutes past 12 made the signal to bear down.

The enemy's line consisted of eight sail; the Sylphide, which appeared in it in the last engagement, was kept out to repeat signals: the Comte de Provence, which had not been in it, supplied the place of the Bienaime, which was stranded in the surf. The Elizabeth stood for the Comte de Provence, and hauled up abreast of her before the rest of the line were in their proper form; for it is impossible that several ships can correspond instantaneously in the same operations. Mr. D'Aché immediately made the signal for engagement, and the Comte de Provence had given her broadside upon the Elizabeth before Mr. Pococke threw out his signal, at twenty minutes past one, when his whole line was completely formed in closed order at the proper distance from each other, and as the line admitted, from the enemy, who were not so regularly drawn up, curving inwards from the extremities: the two admirals, as in the former engagement, were in the center of their respective lines. The fire was in both as hot as possible: but the French fired high, the English only at the hulls, and both with much certainty, for they were near, the sea smooth, and the breeze light. In ten minutes the mizen of the Comte de Povence took fire, which obliged her to bear away, and cut away the mast. The Duc de Bourgogne took her place against the Elizabeth. A little after the wheel of the Zodiac's rudder was carried away by a shot from the Yarmouth, to repair which she passed under the lee of the Duc D'Orleans, and no sooner returned again into the line, than one of her lower-deck guns in the gun-room burst, and beat through the deck above. This mischance was soon followed by a greater, for the bulk-head of her powder-room took fire; whilst extinguishing it, the rudder gave way again, and the ship fell foul of the Duc d'Orleans, her second ahead; and both, whilst disentangling, were exposed almost defenceless, to the hottest fire from their opponents the Yarmouth and Tyger: the Condé and the Moras

were by this time beaten out of the line, and at eight minutes after 1758
two, the Zodiaque, as soon as disengaged, bore away, as in fifteen August.
minutes more did the other five ships not yet gone, all crowding all the sail they could carry, and even cutting their boats adrift, to make more way. Mr. Pococke then threw out the signal for a general chace; but in less than ten minutes all the enemy's ships were got out of certain shot; and at six o'clock their hindmost were five miles from the foremost of the English ships, which then ceased the chace, and after getting together again hauled the wind, and at eight anchored off Karical, about three miles from the shore. Mr. D'Aché steered for Pondicherry. Notwithstanding the irregularity and short continuance of this fight, the French suffered as much in it as in the former engagement, although they had then 1200 more men on board; for their killed and wounded amounted to few less than 600, of whom 33 were killed, and 151 dangerously wounded in the Zodiaque alone. In the whole of the English squadron only 31 were killed, and 166 wounded; both squadrons suffered in proportion to the manner in which the enemy fought; the French lost in men and slaughter, and all the English ships were so much damaged in their rigging, that, if a fresh wind had arisen during the engagement, several of their masts must have gone by the board, for want of the shrouds, stays, and other securities, which the enemy's shot and langrain had cut away. Both Mr. Pococke and D'Aché were wounded by splinters, and Commodore Stevens received a musket-ball, which lodged in his shoulder, and was seen to be shot with aim by a French officer.

Three days after the engagement, a snow called the Rubys, from the island of Mauritius, anchored in the road of Negapatam, of which, as soon as Mr. Pococke received information, he detached one of the ships of his squadron, whose boats cut the snow out of the road, within gun-shot of the Dutch flag, and the fort did not fire to protect her, but afterwards remonstrated against the offence. A few days after a Dutch ship of 500 tons from Batavia, with 30,000 pounds in dollars on board, anchored in the road of Pondicherry, which Mr. D'Aché immediately seized as reprisal for the supposed connivance

1758 connivance of the government of Negapatam, in not protecting the Rubys according to the rights of a neutral port.

August. The retreat of the English garrisons into Madrass, and the insubordination of the Nabob's troops at Arcot, left the country to the south of the Paliar without any other protection excepting from the troops maintained by Murzafabeg; who endeavouring to cover a greater extent than his force was adequate to, was no where strong enough to oppose the enemy; and, in the end of June, a French officer returning with his escort of Sepoys, and a party of horsemen, which he had levied at Velore, surprized the fort of Trivatore, in which he left his Sepoys, who being joined by the peons from the French districts, all together made incursions on the harvests of Conjeveram and Salawauk; to repress which, the presidency sent out again four companies of Sepoys, two to Conjeveram, and two to Chinglapet; which were not sufficient to repress half the mischief. However, an advantage was soon after gained by other means, which more than retaliated the loss of Trivatore. Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, had given the fort of Trinomalee with its dependencies, which Mr. Soupires had reduced in the preceding year, to Rajahsaheb, the long-neglected son of Chundasaheb, who to prove himself worthy of this change in his fortunes, levied a body of 300 good horse and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded with them in the beginning of August, escorting a convoy of provisions to the French army in the Tanjore country; but this expence and subtraction obliged him to leave Trinomalee ill-guarded. Kistnarow, the Kellidar of Thiagar, which had been attacked without success by the French troops, and whose districts were still continually harassed by them, took the opportunity, and assaulting Trinomalee in the night, carried it, and put all the garrison to the sword. It was taken on the 10th of August, and it was not until the 14th that the presidency received intelligence of the agreement which the king of Tanjore had made on the 1st of the month, to assist the French army in the attack they intended against Tritchinopoly; on which they resolved to take the field, but with no other views or hopes than that the rumour might recall the king, or at least stop the

defection

defection of other allies. the usual tardiness of preparations detained the troops in the town until the 18th; when Colonel Lawrence marched with eight field-pieces, 620 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys. On the 24th, they encamped on the other side of the Paliar, about eight miles beyond Chinglapet, when having received intelligence of the retreat of the French army from Tanjore, they returned themselves to Madrass, where they arrived on the last day of the month. Whilst abroad, a party of the Nabob's troops from Arcot, encouraged by their march, joined those of Abdul Hay, the renter of Salawauk, and, after an aukward attack, which lasted eight days, retook the fort of Trivatore by assault, and put many of the garrison, which consisted of 500 men, to the sword. 1758 August.

Mr. D'Aché retired from the last engagement with a conviction that the English remained to windward with the intention of falling suddenly upon his ships, whilst moored and repairing in the road of Pondicherry; and it was supposed that they had two fire-ships, although they had only one, which had been of no service in the last engagement: however, these notions determined him to anchor opposite to the town, as near the shore as possible, under the protection of the line of guns to the sea; and the council, in complacence, it is said, to his ideas, recalled the detachment of 600 Europeans encamped with Mr. Soupires at Gingee, who came in on the 14th, on the same day that the troops from Madrass took the field. Neither the remonstrances of the Count D'Estaigne, sent forward by Mr. Lally, to protest against the disrepute which would follow this apprehensive conduct, nor Mr. D'Estaigne's offers of embarking any number of troops on the squadron, and of accompanying them himself, as a proof of his confidence of success, availed to induce Mr. D'Aché to sail, and try the risque of another engagement. Mr. Lally moved with the army from Karical on the 24th: they were two days in passing the Coleroon at Devi Cotah, and obliged at last to leave their artillery and carriages there: when Mr. Lally went forward with a small detachment, and arrived on the 28th at Pondicherry, where he immediately summoned a mixt council of the administration and the

1758 army, who concurred in remonstrating to Mr. D'Aché the necessity
August. of meeting the English squadron again, or at least of deferring the departure of his own whilst they remained on the coast. Mr. D'Aché returned the unanimous opinion of all his captains that the one was impracticable, and the other too dangerous to be risqued: however, after some mediations, he consented to leave 500 of his sailors and marines to serve on shore; and on the 3d of September sailed with all the ships for the Isle of Mauritius.

The detachments which had been sent from Tritchinopoly to assist Tanjore, and the attack impending on Tritchinopoly itself, if Mr. Lally should succeed in his views at Tanjore, had obliged Captain Calliaud not only to withdraw the guards of Sepoys stationed in the distant villages, but even to call in the garrison he had placed in the pagoda of Seringham, although under the guns of the city. The brother of Hydernaig, with the party of Mysoreans who had lately been driven out of it, had returned from Dindigul, reinforced with more, and were waiting at some distance to the west; and as soon as Seringham was evacuated by the English troops, they came on, and took possession of it again: but Calliaud, as soon as the French army retreated from before Tanjore, sent out parties to attack them, who with little effort dispossessed and drove them away. No probability then remaining of any intermediate danger, Calliaud resolved, as soon as his detachments returned from Tanjore, to dispossess the reigning Rheddy of Terriore, and to restore his cousin, the expelled Rheddy, who had long solicited this assistance, which could not with prudence be afforded, whilst the Erench garrison were remaining at Seringham. The vicissitudes of these two competitors had been peculiar. The French found the Rheddy, now expelled, in possession when they overrun Terriore in 1753; and then deposing him, appointed the Rheddy now reigning, whom they removed in 1755, and reinstated the first: but, being afterwards dissatisfied with his conduct, expelled him in 1756, and again reinstated his rival; who, from this last appointment had kept possession. The plunder of the adjacent villages between Terriore, and the streights of Utatoor, was the only detriment

ment to be apprehended from him; but the expelled Rheddy was 1758
much befriended by the Polygars of Arielore and Woriorepollam, August.
whose long aversion to the French it was at this time more especially expedient to encourage, by indulging their solicitude for the reinstatement of their friend.

Accordingly Captain Joseph Smith marched, with his company of 70 Europeans, the company of 50 Coffres, two field-pieces, with their artillery-men, and ten companies of Sepoys, commanded by Mahomed Issoof. The deposed Rheddy, with some of the Colleries, or natives of Terriore, who abided by his fortunes, accompanied the detachment, and, if nothing more, were to serve as guides through the wood. Messengers were sent forward with a letter, ordering the Rheddy within to come out, and meet Captain Smith; and they were instructed to take notice of every thing that occurred in the path through which they should be led; but the guards at the barrier stopped them, and sent on the letter by men of their own, who returned with a letter from the Rheddy, which they delivered to the messengers, who brought it to Captain Smith on the march. It contained vague apologies for his not coming out of the wood, and endeavoured to gain time, which Captain Smith resolved not to lose. The troops arrived in sight of the barrier at four in the afternoon of the day after they had crossed the Coleroon, and immediately formed for the attack.

The wood of Terriore stretcheth 20 miles along the foot of the western mountains, and extends from them 10 miles into the plain; the wood is in most parts seven miles through, and encloses an open ground about three miles square, of which the farther side, as of the wood itself, adjoins to the hills: and in this area are the habitation of the Rheddi, which is a spacious building, a town, gardens, arable lands, and immediately under the hills a very large tank, computed seven miles in circumference. It was known, that the path before them had defences in various parts, and that the whole of the fighting men would be in these stations. Captain Smith therefore sent off four companies of Sepoys, with Ramanaig, a Jemautdar, on whom Mahomed Issoof had reliance, to enter the wood at a considerable

 distance

1758 August. distance on the right, under the conduct of the guides, who undertook to lead them to the town, through a secret path, of which there are several in the wood, known only to the inhabitants, who call them the rogues' path-way. The first barrier was a winding passage between two thick-set hedges of thorn, leading into the straiter path of the wood; but choaked at both ends with brambles laid for the occasion. Nevertheless the enemy abandoned this post, although very defensible, without resistance.

The Coffres led, followed by the Europeans; they by one of the six-pounders, with limber-boxes only; and the Sepoys marched in the rear, excepting a few who remained to guard the other six-pounder, the spare ammunition, and the baggage, which were left at the skirt of the wood; the line proceeded more than a mile in the path without interruption, but at length was fired upon from a breast-work of brick on the right; from which the enemy were soon dislodged, and retired through the bushes to the next; but as they were intent in carrying off their wounded, the musketry galled them a good deal as they were going away. Moving onward, the line soon received a smart fire from a second breast-work like the first; but the Coffres soon obliged the enemy to quit this station likewise, when they retired to their main body; a few of the line were wounded in driving them from these defences. The Coffres continued to move on in front, and had out-marched the rest of the line, when by a sudden turning in the road, they came unexpectedly at once within pistol-shot of the enemy's principal post. This was a strong wall of brick, fourteen feet high, divided into a rampart and parapet, and in the parapet were several tiers of loop-holes; it stretched across the path, and some yards beyond it on each hand, and had a return of the same construction at each extremity, but falling back, instead of projecting to flank the main wall, and in the return on the left stood the gateway; this work was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorn, which continuing on the sides, joined the main wood to some distance in the rear. As soon as the Coffres appeared at the turning, the enemy testified their numbers, and their

courage,

courage, by shouting, the din of instruments, and a strong fire of their matchlocks, which, with the surprize, panic-struck the Coffres: they ran back in the path, and were immediately followed by numbers of the enemy issuing from the thickets on the left. There was no time to enquire the cause. Captain Smith immediately led on the Europeans, who soon drove the enemy back into the wood, who did not escape through the barrier of thorns before the wall. Both were now attentively examined; and, whilst some endeavoured to tear up the hedge in front, others tried to get round the flanks of it into the wood; but none succeeded, and several were wounded. The field-piece was then advanced, and fired until all its ammunition was expended, without taking any effect on the parapet, or intimidating the enemy, whose matchlocks had wounded five of the six artillery-men serving the gun, and more of the other Europeans, who likewise had expended most of their cartridges. It was now seven o'clock, and began to grow dark, when all the blacks, whether Coffres, Sepoys, or Lascars, took advantage of this protection, and slunk away back into the path, out of the reach of danger, excepting Mahomed Issoof, one servant of Captain Smith's, and one Tindal, or Corporal of the Lascars. A supply of ammunition had been sent for from the skirt of the wood as soon as the troops came to the wall; but from the distance it could not be expected for some time. During which, Captain Smith ordered the Europeans to fire their muskets now and then against the parapet, as well to convince the enemy that they were determined not to relinquish the attack, as to divert the chance of their discovering the party with Ramanaig, whose arrival, too long delayed, had for some time created much doubt and anxiety. At eight o'clock more ammunition came up, when the firing of the field-piece and musketry renewed again with great vivacity, and was equally returned by the enemy. Soon after, firing was heard in the rear of the wall, and the sound of Ding Mahomed echoed from every part of the wood; this is the successful shout of the Sepoys, and signifies the faith of their Prophet. They were already in the path, advancing at full pace; the troops of the rampart were flying, and met their fire; after which all resistance ceased; and

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1758 September and Ramnarain, breaking down the gate, let in his friends without. There remained three miles of the path to the town, but impeded with no more defences, nor were the thickets on either hand so close. The troops were gathered, the Sepoys and Coffres who had kept back came on, and all proceeded to the town; which they found abandoned. The reigning Rheddy, and all his people, had escaped into the hills, excepting a few men who could not remove, having been blown up with gunpowder intended to load a field-piece, which they were dragging to the wall in the pass. The delay of Ramanaig's party had been caused by the timidity of his guides, who, on some fright, left them soon after they entered the wood, to find their way as they could. Of 70 Europeans 4 were killed and 28 wounded in the attack; Mahomed Issoof was shot through the arm, but, binding up his wound, continued on the ground until all was over. A great number of scaling ladders were found at the Rheddy's house, which had been prepared, and were lying in readiness for the French to escalade Tritchinopoly, when they should see the opportunity. The natives of this district have little resemblance with any others in the Carnatic; they have large bloated heads, pot bellies, and small limbs. The climate is very unhealthy to strangers, imputed to the nature of the water. The detachment continued in the town a week; and during this short stay Captain Smith, all his officers, and most of the other Europeans, fell ill. Three companies of Sepoys, with three good serjeants, were left to protect the reinstated Rheddy; and the main body of the detachment returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mr. Lally felt severely, although he did not acknowledge, the disgrace of his retreat from Tanjore. It exasperated the natural asperity of his disposition, and inflamed all his prejudices and animosities, which, continually expressed in the keenest sarcasms his redundant wit could suggest, had rendered him odious to all ranks of men, to the natives as to the colony, to the squadron as to his own army, in which he seems to have allowed capacity with zeal to no one, excepting the Count d'Estaigne. On the other hand, no imputations were spared by the wounded, or their friends, which could

could aggravate his mortifications; not even cowardice itself, although the supposition arose only from the stun which he received in the onset of the Tanjorine horsemen. Being naturally suspicious, and equally inquisitive, he did not remain ignorant of these reports and opinions; but for the present stifled his resentment, in hopes of tracing them to principals worthy of notice, whom he suspected to be the first in the government, from their adherence to Mr. Bussy. These reproaches, however, stimulated his activity to enter immediately into action; and, on his arrival at Pondicherry, whilst arranging with Mr. D'Aché, he ordered Saubinet to march with the 600 Europeans who had encamped with Soupire's, and were fresh men, and retake Trinomalee. But before we open this new campaign, it is necessary to review the events of Mr. Bussy in the Decan; and continue the affairs of Bengal to this period; as each were at this time approaching to an immediate relation with the operations of both nations in the Carnatic. 1758 September January.

The force with which Mr. Bussy marched from Rajahmundrum in the beginning of the year, to rejoin Salabadjing at Aurengabad, consisted of 500 Europeans, infantry and artillery, 200 Europeans mounted as Hussars and dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10 field-pieces. They struck directly across the country, passing through Elore, and proceeded in a high road, which had never before been marched by a body of European troops. The distance by the perambulator is nearly 400 miles; which it is said they accomplished in 21 days. On their arrival at Aurengabad, they encamped on the western side of the city, and in the midst of four armies: Nizamally's from Berar; the army of the Subahship, of which Nizamally had likewise assumed the command; of Bassaulet Jung from Adoni; and the Morattoes, now commanded by Balagerow in person, who had come as usual to take advantage of the confusions in the government, but had suspended hostilities.

The approach of Mr. Bussy and his force, which was equal in efficacy to any of the armies, suspended all intrigues in attention to his conduct. He immediately visited Salabadjing with much ceremony, and treated him with every mark of respect and allegiance;

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1758 the next day he went to Balagerow, who met him half-way in a tent pitched on purpose, and then conducted him to his camp, where they had a long conference. Shanavaze Khan had already asked permission to exculpate himself in person; but Mr. Bussy commissioned Hyderjung his principal agent to receive his communications, in order, if possible, to discover his real practices or intentions. The father of Hyderjung was governor of Masulipatam when the French factory in that city was confiscated in 1750 by the orders of Nazirjing, of which he evaded the rigour; and afterwards, when the city itself was surprized by the armament sent from Pondicherry by Mr. Dupleix, is supposed to have connived at their success. With these pretensions, his son came, and tendered his service to Mr. Bussy at Golcondah on his first arrival there with Salabadjing from the Carnatic, when Hyderjung received a command in the French Sepoys, in which he distinguished himself; but still more by his sagacity and address, until by degrees he became the principal confident of Mr. Bussy, who, to give him weight and dignity, obtained for him high titles from Salabadjing, and even a patent of nobility from Delhi. From this time, his retinue and household were established with sumptuousness; and he was allowed to keep a constant court or durbar in order to extend his informations; and Jaghires with other emoluments, sufficient not only to defray his expences, but to establish his fortune, were likewise conferred on him, as well by Salabadjing as Mr. Bussy: his penetration soon perceived that Shanavaze Khan, naturally timid, was frightened by the arrival of the French army; but that he had been the secret spring of all the mischief, in which he had engaged, from a persuasion that the operations of the war declared between the two European nations would have confined Mr. Bussy to the protection of the ceded provinces until its conclusion; before which he had no doubt of establishing his own arrangements in the government of the Decan, too firmly to be shaken. But, as more danger in the present circumstances was to be apprehended from the more audacious character of Nizamally, who, besides the respect which was paid to his birth, had acquired some reputation

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amongst the troops, Mr. Bussy resolved for the present to take Shanavaze Khan in his hand as far as he would go, by which he would at least be more narrowly watched, if not prevented from suggesting resources to Nizamally, and abetting them with his public influence, which, from his long services, and a persuasion of his attachment to the family of Nizamalmuluc was considerable. In conformity to this conduct, Mr. Bussy, by appointment, visited Nizamally, but with a very strong escort, which, when he entered the tent, was so disposed, as to be certain of avenging any attempt on his person. The interview continued with calmness until Mr. Bussy advised Nizamally to deliver back the great seal of the government to Salabadjing; when Nizamally answered with much heat, "that he with his brother Bassaulet Jung had been obliged to take it from him by the "clamours of his own troops, who having been long disappointed of "their pay, with an army of Morratoes in sight, could not have been "restrained from open revolt, if he and his brother had not immediately furnished a part of their arrears, and given their own obligations to pay the rest: it was therefore unjust to deprive them of "the means of reimbursing the money they had advanced, and still "more, to disable them from providing for the discharge of their "future engagements, the failure of which would, from the same "cause, expose them to the very dangers which they had averted "from Salabadjing." The next day Salabadjing visited Nizamally in his camp, and demanded the seal in form, but received the same answer. Whether from real or pretended indignation, Nizamally the day after sent for Shanavaze Khan, and reproached him publicly as the author of this advice: the next day, which was the 14th of February, as Bassaulet Jung was passing on his elephant near the palace of Salabadjing, a musket in the crowd went off, and the ball passed through the housings on which he was sitting: the man was immediately seized, and being questioned, said, he had been hired by Shanavaze Khan and Hyder Jung, with the promise of 5000 rupees, to shoot Bassaulet Jung. The story was carried, with as much incoherence as it was passing in the city, to the camp of Nizamally, who, pretending to believe the life of his brother in danger, mounted 1758 September March.

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1758 September April. his elephant, and advanced with what troops were ready to the nearest gate; but after several messages which assured him that Bassaulet Jung was safe, he returned in the evening. The day after Bassaulet Jung went to the durbar of Salabadjing, spoke standing, and with expressions of unusual disrespect flung down the seal. It is so rare in the manners of Indostan that any indecorum of words or gesture passes amongst equals, and still more from an inferior, that the officers present in the durbar formed sinister conjectures of these animosities amongst the brothers; and although the few, who reason before they believe, imputed the musket-ball to chance, and the confession of the man to subornation, yet the troops even in Salabadjing's camp were persuaded that he had been employed, if not by Shanavaze Khan, at least by Hyder Jung. Mr. Bussy saw the general odium to which this prejudice, if not removed, would expose himself and all his nation, and suggested a means of reconciliation. The seal was sent back to Bassaulet Jung, but an officer, who was a dependant on Hyder Jung, was appointed to keep it in a sealed bag, and to be present whenever it was used. This compliment, such as it was, satisfied the officers of Bassaulet Jung's court, and appeased the puplic; and other advantages were gained by it; for Bassaulet Jung consenting, it placed him in such a relation with the administration of Salabadjing, that he was either likely to relinquish, or would not be able to conceal his intrigues with his brother Nizamally. A few days after this reconciliation, Salabadjing sent a deputation of his principal officers to Nizamally, requesting him to relinquish the government of Berar, and to accept as a compensation a monthly allowance of 20,000 rupees. Nizamally rejected the proposal with disdain, and published it amongst the troops, who with equal indignation cried out, that "Nizamally was a son of Nizamalmuluck as well as "Salabadjing." This expression of their attachment precluded the employment of force, and, as the only means left to reduce him to compliance, the principal officers of his army were tampered with, and several of them were gained by promises and money to give assurances that they would not support him in asserting the government of

of Berar against the will of Soubah, provided he received some other dignity which he might accept without dishonour ; but by this time Nizamally himself was content to dissemble, and remain quiet, waiting for events. Such was the state of affairs in the city and camps of Aurungabad towards the end of March, when the various agitations, which had hitherto kept every interest in constant vibration, began to subside : and this temporary tranquillity had been much wished for by Mr. Bussy, in order to accomplish another scheme he had for some time been preparing. 1758 September March.

No reliance could be placed on the integrity of Shanavaze Khan's conduct, whilst in possession of such a refuge and resource as the fortress of Doltabad ; but no offers were likely to induce him to relinquish it, for Balagerow had in vain attempted to purchase it from him : and the direct proposal from Mr. Bussy to Shanavaze Khan himself, would reveal the secret, and defeat the intention. Mr. Bussy therefore employed Hyder Jung to treat with the governor of the fort, who, after a variety of arguments and overtures, at length consented to betray his trust on the receipt of a sum of money in hand, and the promise of a more profitable employment : but to save the appearance of his honour, dictated the manner. A day or two before the execution of the scheme, Mr. Bussy, as if having leisure to take some amusement, sent his compliments to the governor, requesting his permission to pass an hour in the upper fort, from which the prospect is extensive and magnificent : and the governor invited him to dinner. Mr. Bussy arrived, escorted 300 Europeans, who were admitted into the second fort, to which the governor, under pretence of respect, sent down all the garrison of the upper, excepting fifty men, with whom he remained himself above to receive the guests. Mr. Bussy went up, accompanied by forty men, many of whom were officers. The dinner was served in the hall of the Killidar's house, and when ready, Mr. Bussy, with the officers, went into the hall, and his body guard remained at the door : but the Killidar, as if from politeness, admitted none of his own officers or soldiers, and from the menial servants who waited, little resistance was to be apprehended. On the invitation to sit down, Mr. Bussy told the Killidar, that he April.

1758 September April. could not partake of his hospitality, being obliged by the necessity of his affairs, to make him a prisoner, and take possession of the fort ; but that no violence was intended against his person, provided neither he nor his garrison attempted any resistance. The Killidar, as if surprized, surrendered his poignard ; he was then conducted into the area, and signified his condition and the risque to his soldiers, who in deference to his danger gave up their arms. On the signal, the French troops below got under arms ; by which time messengers sent by the killidar came down and informed the garrison there of what had happened above ; and such was the military reputation of the French troops drawn up before them, that the few whose indignation exhorted their comrades to revenge their lord and defend themselves, found fewer to second their resistance. Nevertheless, some, skirmishing ensued, but subsided on the death of two or three of these leaders ; immediately after which, the garrisons were turned out of both the forts ; and the defences of the town below were too weak to require heed.

No reconciliation, and every mischief, was to be expected from Shanavaze Khan after this provocation, and Mr. Bussy had taken measures to prevent the effects of his revenge : a party of Salabadjing's troops surrounded his tent in the camp in the very hour that the governor of Doltabad was arrested ; and as the connexion between him and Mahomed Hussein the king's duan had lately grown into strict intimacy, another detachment at the same time secured his person likewise ; they were both made prisoners before they knew why, or the loss of Doltabad. The news excited universal astonishment, and terrified those in whom it raised the most resentment : for Nizamally recovering from his first emotions, pretended that the possession of Doltabad was a matter in which his interests were not concerned.

Balagerow was halting about 50 miles from the city, towards his own country, and immediately returned and encamped again near the army of Salabadjing ; not with any intentions of hostility, but with the hopes of obtaining the fort of Doltabad from Mr. Bussy ; with whom, after several complimentary messages, he had an interview ;

view; " What advantage, he said, can you Europeans derive from 1758
" the possession of this post, situated in the center of Indostan? If September
" you hold it with your own troops, it will only serve to weaken your April.
" army every time you quit the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. If " you leave it to the care of Salabadjing's, his enemies, who are " yours, will find means to get it, as Shanavaze Khan lately did. " Would it not be better to give it me? If I obtain it by your means, " you have too much experience of my character to doubt of my " gratitude; and the confusions which reign in the court of Sala- " badjing, the situation of your northern provinces, and the war in " which you are engaged with the English in the Carnatic, may " soon give me opportunities of rendering important services to your " nation." Mr. Bussy replied, that his principal motive for taking possession of Doltabad had been to secure a certain refuge for the personal safety of Salabadjing against all the accidents of war, and all the convulsions of his Government. Balagerow, although disappointed, manifested no umbrage, but continued in his camp, waiting from events some better opportunity of renewing his plea.

Many had conjectured the motives of his return, and the enemies of Salabadjing expected an immediate rupture between them; and Nizamally, encouraged by this hope, solicited his alliance, promising to give him Doltabad if ever in his power. But Balagerow gave no encouragement to his proposals; on which, he with much hypocrisy pretended to be at length convinced of the misdemeanors of his late conduct, and assured Salabadjing and Mr. Bussy that he should cheerfully accept and abide by their determination of his fortune. His professions, although doubted, were accepted; because the seduction of some of his connexions, and the imprisonment of the most dangerous, had greatly weakened his means of mischief; but, not to shock by too sudden an humiliation the public respect to his birth, it was agreed to give him the government of Hydrabad, which, although much abridged of its ancient domain, still remained a very considerable province of the Decan. Nizamally affecting to be perfectly satisfied with the lot, visited Salabadjing, received the investiture in public, and made ostentatious preparations to proceed to

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1758 September May. the capital of his government. The day of his departure was fixed for the 11th of May; and Salabadjing, having no suspicion that he had any other intentions, went two days before to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father Nizamalmuluck, which stands somewhere about 20 miles from Aurengabad.

In the morning of Nizamally's departure, he held a public durbar to receive the compliments of taking leave from the principal officers of the government: amongst them went Hyder Jung, whom he received with marked distinction: and, when he dismissed the assembly, beckoned him, with several of his own officers, to follow to an inward tent, where they again sat down, and discoursed a while with much seeming confidence on public affairs, until Nizamally rose suddenly, as if urged by some sudden necessity; but made a motion with his hand to Hyder Jung not to move, signifying that he should return immediately, and in the instant disappeared behind a curtain which opened to other apartments. Hyder Jung, notwithstanding the injunction, was rising to make his obeisance; when two officers, who were sitting one on each hand of him, pressed him down by the shoulders, and a domestic, who stood ready behind, plunged a dagger into his heart: the struggle was heard, but it was some time before the attendants of Hyder Jung were apprised of his death; for no servants are admitted within the centries who guard the tent of audience, and the greatest part of the retinue remain at a still greater distance, in the place where their master has alighted. Letters all of the same tenor to Salabadjing, Balajerow, Bassaulet Jung, and even to Mr. Bussy, had been prepared previous to the assassination, describing it as the unfortunate consequence of high words and affront, which had risen between Hyder Jung and some officers in the durbar, after Nizamally had retired: the letter to Mr. Bussy brought the first intelligence which he received of the event, and was interpreted to him by Zulfacar Khan, the very brother of Hyder Jung. The general was immediately beaten, and in a few minutes the whole French army were in battle array, with Mr. Bussy at their head, mounted on his elephant, uncertain what to expect, and surmising a combination against himself of all the powers by which he was

surrounded; but Jaffier Ally Khan, who at this time had the principal command in Salabadjing's army, immediately sent him assurances of his attachment, and soon after came up with a large body of troops, who ranged with the French, and others were following: the first care was to send a detachment to strengthen the escort of Salabadjing, and protect his return from his father's tomb: Mr. Bussy had no doubt that Shanavaze Khan and the emperor's Duan Mahomed Hussein had abetted, if not advised, the assassination of Hyder Jung: their confinement had hitherto been gentle, having only centinels round the enclosures of their tents, in which they resided with their families; but Mr. Bussy now supposed, that they would endeavour to escape to, or might be rescued by, Nizimally; to prevent which, as well as to have sureties against the assassination of his own person, he sent a strong detachment to bring them immediately to his own camp, intending to confine them in the fortress of Doltabad, until more certain information was acquired, or tranquillity restored. The detachment consisted of Salabadjing's troops, and French Sepoys. They found a multitude of armed men at the tents, who refused them admission, which they immediately attempted by violence, and were resisted with great resolution, animated by the principals, who supposing their deaths determined, joined and encouraged their adherents; after which no quarter was given; neither did the conflict cease, until Shanavaze Khan with one of his sons, Mahomed Hussein, and most of those who defended them, were killed on the spot. Before the evening closed, an officer deputed by Balajerow came to Mr. Bussy, with assurances of his detestation of the murder of Hyder Jung.

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Nizamally had been waiting in the utmost agitation the consequences of his deed, and seems to have expected a very different result; for the news of Shanavaze Khan's and Mahomed Hussein's death was observed to strike him with dismay. At midnight he quitted the camp, accompanied by the choice of his cavalry: and fled with the utmost speed and perseverance that their horses could endure to gain Brampour, which his one hundred and fifty miles N. of Aurungabad. It is said they reached it in 26 hours, which is

impossible.

1758 September impossible. Respect to Salabadjing had withheld Mr. Bussy from attacking Nizamally in his camp, which his force would have easily beaten up and dispersed.

May. The next day Salabadjing returned, and immediately held a general council of his principal officers, at which Mr. Bussy was likewise present: after many opinions all insensibly joined in the necessity of punishing Nizamally; and this led to a general resolution of marching directly with the whole army to Brampour. Mr. Bussy, who knew the characters and connexions of those who composed the council, suspected the sincerity of several in this advice, foreseeing that nothing would render him more unpopular in the Decan than the imputation of engaging the Soubah in a war with his brother, to avenge an offence more particularly committed against himself; he had, moreover, at this time received intelligence from Pondicherry that Mr. Lally was daily expected to arrive there, whose orders might not be consonant to the difficulties or importance of his own situation: he therefore endeavoured to revoke the resolution; but Salabadjing himself insisted, and rested the necessity on the assertion of his own authority. The whole army was in motion the next morning, and advanced with diligence for three days towards Brampour, during which Mr. Bussy convinced Salabadjing, naturally averse to endeavour, of the inutility of the pursuit, since it was evident that Nizamally with the insufficient force he commanded would be continually removing out of his reach. The army having halted a day began their march back, thinking that they were returning to Aurungabad; but it was the intention of Mr. Bussy to lead them by degrees to Golcondah; and in this view he suggested the expediency of moving towards the frontiers of Berar, in order to suppress any commotions which might be attempted in that province by the adherents of Nizamally. The army thus proceeded to the south, leaving the city of Aurungabad at a distance to the west: but, halting continually to support the regulations of the government, advanced so slowly, that they did not reach the banks of the Gunga, which passeth about midway between Golcondah and Aurungabad, June. until the 11th of June, in which interval Mr. Conflans arrived with his

his commission to act as second in the command of the French army, 1758
and brought a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Bussy, dated the 10th of September
May, which announced, although it did not order, his recall. The June.
passage of the Gunga would decide the continuance of the march to Golcondah, of which the army still remained uncertain; but by this time Mr. Bussy had gained the concurrence of Bassaulet Jung by promising him the government of Hydrabad, which had been intended for his brother Nizamally, together with the office of Duan to the soubahship: his approbation silenced the discontent of many others, and the army shewed no aversion to go on: and as it was daily expected that the river would begin to rise, Mr. Bussy making use of this pretence, arranged, that the tents, family, and domestic retinue of Salabadjing, should pass the first, and then immediately followed himself with the whole body of the French troops, in the midst of whom he ordered the tents of Salabadjing to be pitched. Having thus secured possession of this important pledge, he gave out his intentions, which he had hitherto concealed, of not advancing any farther towards Golcondah, before he was joined by the troops he had left to garrison the fortress of Doltabad; they were 150 Europeans, and 400 Sepoys, to whom Mr. Bussy, on his return from the pursuit of Nizamally, had sent orders to come away, leaving the fortress to an officer nominated by Salabadjing, and to join him where he now was, on the Gunga; his dread of some evil chance befalling them, if left far behind, was the cause of this precaution; they were already on the way, marching expeditiously, and a few days after arrived safe at the camp; which then moved forward, and the whole passed the river just before the rains set in, which, as usual, fell and continued with great violence, and rendered the transport of the artillery so difficult, that the army did not arrive at Hydrabad until the 15th of July; on which day Mr. Bussy received a letter writ- July.
ten by Mr. Lally on the 13th of June, ordering him to repair to Pondicherry without delay, with all the troops which could be spared from the defence of Masulipatam and the northern provinces, and to take up Mr. Moracin in the way, who had received the same orders. In this letter no respect was preserved to the convenience or incli-

 nation

1758 September *July.* nation of Salabadjing, whose connexions in the present conjuncture Mr. Lally considered as a chimera of no effect, and who was thus deprived, even without apology, of the only support in his government, on which he had been accustomed to rely with confidence. He took leave of Mr. Bussy with the utmost despondency, called him the guardian angel of his life and fortune, and foreboded the unhappy fate to which he should be exposed by his departure. Mr. Bussy assured him, that he should soon return; and such was his wish and expectation; for although he knew the prejudices which Mr. Lally entertained against himself, his conduct, and the whole connexion of the French nation with the Subah of the Decan; he imagined, that his representations in personal conference would convince Mr. Lally, that this alliance, and the assistances which might be derived from it, would be the surest means of acquiring and maintaining the superiority of the French nation over the English on the coast of Coromandel. The whole French army, for none were left with Salabadjing, marched from Aurungabad on the 18th of July, the *August.* third day after they arrived there. On the third of August they reached Reyoor on the left bank of the Kristna, about 20 miles from Masulipatam, where Mr. Moracin joined them. Here Mr. Bussy delivered over the command of the army and the government of all the ceded provinces to Mr. Conflans, taking with him 250 of the best of the Europeans, of which 100 were cavaly, and 500 Sepoys. They proceeded through Ongole to Nelore, where they arrived on *September.* the 4th of September, and were received by Nazeabullah as friends and allies. We shall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

War of BENGAL. *May.* COLONEL CLIVE on the day he arrived at Muxadavad from Patna, which was the 15th of May, received advices from the coast of Coromandel of the arrival of the French squadron, and of the engagement between them and the English on the 29th of April. The confusion with which the city of Muxadavad was at this time agitated by the conduct of Meerum, required that the superiority which the French were acquiring on shore should not be publickly known, and to counteract such opinion, Clive spread the news he

received

received as a complete naval victory ; two of the French ships sunk in the fight, instead of one stranded afterwards by a mischance ; the rest put to flight, with no likelihood of being able to land the troops which they had brought for Pondicherry. 1758 May.

The Nabob had transmitted to his son Meerum his own vexation at the attention which Clive had shewn to the preservation of Roydoolub, by taking him with him to Muxadavad, when the campaign broke up at Bar. Meerum had not been able to suppress some expressions of indignation, which were reported to Conjebeharry, the brother of Roydoolub, who acted in the city as his deputy in the office of duan ; the brother, too solicitous for Roydoolub's safety, and his own, had tampered with a considerable Jemautdar in the Nabob's service, who gave his oath to act, whenever danger should require, in defence of Roydoolub's house. Meerum obtained knowledge of this agreement just as Clive and Roydoolub were approaching the city, which he immediately quitted with much appearance of fear, and went to Mootagil, one of the palaces in the neighbourhood, where he summoned all the troops and artillery of the government, giving out that he intended to march away to his father, who had not yet passed the straight of Tacriagully. The more obscure the cause, the greater was the terror raised by this abrupt resolution. The markets were deserted, the shops were shut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no business, and many principal families prepared to send away their effects. The city had been for two days in this trepidation, when Clive arrived, and on enquiry, found that Meerum affected to suspect even him of joining with Roydoolub in evil intentions against his life. He immediately wrote to the Nabob, complaining of Meerum in the sharpest terms, and said, that he would no longer remain in Bengal, sacrificing zeal to distrust ; he, however, sagaciously refrained from making any mention in this letter of the late news from Coromandel, foreseeing, that it would make a stronger impression on the Nabob's mind, when received, magnified as it would come with advantageous circumstances by the report of others. The Nabob answered with much contrition ; but before his letter arrived,

 Meerum

1758 Meerum had been convinced by Mr. Scrafton, who was intimate with him, of the meanness of his suspicions, and the rashness of his conduct, and had asked pardon of Clive in the most submissive terms. Nevertheless, the news of his agitations had induced the Nabob to desist from his huntings, and his intention of passing the remainder of the Mahomedan lent at a famous durgar, or tomb, near Rajahmahal. He arrived in the city on the 30th of May; but Clive, little solicitous of an interview with him, had gone away on the 24th to Calcutta. Two thousand of the English Sepoys were sent thither, and the rest, with all the Europeans, remained at Cossimbuzar.

May.

On the 20th of June arrived the Hardwick, one of the company's ships from England, with the arrangements that had been made in consequence of the news of the loss of Calcutta. The first advices of this event were received in London in the month of August of the preceding year, when the company appointed a temporary committee of five persons (in which Clive was to preside) to manage their affairs in Bengal; but in November they resolved to dismiss Mr. Drake from the government, and nominated a council of ten, in which the four senior members were to preside alternately, each for three months: in this succession of the four Mr. Watts stood the first; the others were Mr. Manningham, Mr. Beecher, and Mr. Holwell, who was not yet returned from England. The first resolution of August had been sent in another ship, which although dispatched before was not yet arrived; so that the first intelligence of it came in the Hardwick, with that of November. The novelty of this resolution subjected it to the imputation of absurdity: it was said that the powers of the country, accustomed to treat with one chief, would regard the alternate presidents of Calcutta with mockery instead of respect; but another cause operated on opinions more strongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expressed resentment at the neglect of himself in the company's orders, for no station was marked for him in the new establishment: much money remained due on the claims of the treaties; the Nabob might prove refractory if Clive should depart; and all concurred in thinking he would best defend what he had won, in case the French should make any attempt in the province.

The three leading members of the council were more impressed than any with these apprehensions, and proposed to the rest that Clive should be requested to accept of the government under the usual modes; the vote was unanimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June. 1758 June.

Intelligence of the fall of Fort St. David had arrived on the 20th, and left no doubt of Mr. Lally's intention of besieging Madrass as soon as the English squadron should be obliged by the monsoon to quit the coast in October, unless he should prefer to detach a part of his force to Bengal.

On the 4th of July, letters were received from Anunderauze-Gauzepetty, who had succeeded the Rajah Vizeramrauze, in his power and territory in the provinces of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole. Anunderauze, dissatisfied with the arrangements made by Mr. Bussy on the death of his predecessor, had waited an opportunity to take his revenge; which occurred soon after Mr. Bussy's departure, by the embarrassments in which he was involved at Aurengabad by the animosity of Nizamally, and the orders of Mr. Lally for his return into the Carnatic. Anunderauze, on this intelligence, marched from his residence of Vizianagarum, and retook Vizagapatam from the French garrison, of which he sent advices, offering to surrender the place, to the Presidency of Madrass; and requesting them to send a large detachment, which he intended to join with his own forces, and take the four provinces, which the French had obtained from the Subah of the Decan; but finding that no troops could be spared from the Carnatic, he now made the same proposals to the presidency of Bengal, where the project seemed delusive or chimerical to all but Clive. However, nothing could be determined before the month of September, when ships might quit the river, and the intentions of Mr. Lally would probably be ascertained.

The real state of the English affairs in the Carnatic could be no longer concealed in Bengal, and required more complacency than the government of Calcutta had hitherto shewn to the inclinations of Meer Jaffier, who regarded the encrease of their distresses with secret joy as the redemption of his own liberty. He would immediately have gratified his favourite vengeance against Roydoolub, if the

1758 July. the discontent of his troops for want of pay had not rendered it dangerous to give them such a pretence of tumult, before they were satisfied. In other points of the government he was observed to assume a sterner air of authority, and told one of his favourites, who betrayed the conversation, that if a French force should come into the province he would assist them, unless the English released him from all their claims of money, territory, and exemptions.

Clive had expected this change in the Nabob's conduct, because he knew it to be none in his mind; and, in order to prevent him, at least for a while, from committing any excesses in his capital, as well as to exhibit the appearance of union and cordiality to the public, the presidency invited him, as on a visit of pleasure, and, as a compliment to Clive on his acceptance of the government, to pass some days at Calcutta. Mr. Watts was deputed to give the invitation. The Nabob saw the drift, and hesitated, but at length consented as soon as his boats should come from Dacca. They are a magnificent fleet kept at a great expence for pomp and amusement, and the Nabob, with his family and women, every year pass a month in them at this season, when the Cossimbuzar river is highest. They come from Dacca, decked and adorned, and return thither as soon as the festival is over, to remain useless until wanted for the same occasion in the next year.

Scrafton, after Clive left Muxadavad, had attended to the preservation of Roydoolub in his office; but the English themselves had unwittingly planted an engine, which was unsuspectedly undermining all his protections. Nuncomar had accompanied the army to Patna, and as a Gentoo very conversant in the revenues, was employed with confidence by Roydoolub. When the payment of the tuncaws given by the Nabob at Rajamahal began to fail, he expounded to Colonel Clive the fallacy of the excuses, and proffered, if he were empowered to act as the agent of the English, supported by the authority of the Nabob's government, to find summary means of recovering the amount, or of substituting equivalent payments. Colonel Clive not foreseeing the end, employed him as he had proposed, and without the repugnance of Roydoolub. Nuncomar, as his

his first measure, threatened the Rajah of Nuddeah with imprisonment, who, frightened, fled to Calcutta, preferring to trust himself to the clemency of the English. This exercise of authority, neither disavowed nor disapproved, immediately placed Nuncomar in that conspicuous station of terror, which is the object of ambition in India, as the certain means of wealth : but knowing that the practices by which he was to make his fortune could not escape the sagacity and experience of Roydoolub, he now became as apprehensive of his cotroul, as he had been hitherto solicitous of his favour, and cast about to second the Nabob's intention of removing him from the duanny. Scrafton suspected the views of Nuncomar, which deterred him from conferring either with the Nabob or his son, but he held nightly meetings with the emissary in whom they most confided, and represented that the English would no longer interfere in any arrangements which the Nabob might think proper to make in his government, provided they received the balances of the treaty monies, which he undertook to see regularly paid. His arguments were at this juncture the more welcome, because Roydoolub continued to evade the furnishing of money for the demands of the army, whose impatience had obliged the Nabob to disburse a part of his gold, which was, as usual, treasured up against extremity. The scheme would not have been void of risque, if Nuncomar and others had not estranged the powerful house of the Seats from the interests of Roydoolub, by representations, that they would be called on for money to supply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the supplies from the revenues. On the 24th Rajahbullub, formerly mentioned in the reign of Allaverdy, as father of Kissendass, and duan to Nowagis Mahomed, who had held in appanage the government of the province of Dacca, was appointed duan to Meerum, and on the 26th Roydoolub was ordered to deliver over to Rajahbullub the accounts and superintendance of that province, Roydoolub saw the whole extent of his danger unexpectedly and at once, and immediately requested leave to retire with his family and effects to Calcutta. The Nabob consented, but Meerum refused, until he had furnished a sum sufficient to satisfy the troops. Matters were in this state, when

1758 July.

Mr.

1758 August. Mr. Watts arrived on the 4th of August, with the invitation of the council to the Nabob, who desirous of appearing unconcerned in what was to follow, consented to proceed with him to Calcutta. The boats, which were now arrived from Dacca, were ordered to proceed and wait at Augadeep, where the Nabob intended to join them, after he had taken the diversion of hunting in the island of Cossimbuzar, which in the middle is covered with jungles, the repair of many deer and tigers; but this amusement was only a pretext to remain within call of the city, which he left on the 6th, accompanied by Mr. Watts. Two days after his departure his son Meerum ordered a body of troops, who were clamouring for their pay, to go and demand it of Roydoolub. They surrounded and beset the enclosures of his house, which were spacious; and Roydoolub had gathered a considerable number of his own troops, amongst whom were some European deserters. Mr. Scrafton arrived at Roydoolub's house before any blood was shed, and prevailed on both sides to remain quiet, until he could inform Mr. Watts, who was then halting with the Nabob at Moncarrah, 14 miles to the south of the city. The Nabob pretended to know nothing of what was passing, and authorised Mr. Watts to bring away Roydoolub. He arrived in the city just in time to save his life; for Meerum, apprehensive of prevention, had ordered the troops to seize his person at any risque; and Roydoolub had prepared a dose of poison to prevent the indignity. Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton immediately put him, with a few attendants, into his boats, and accompanied him with a party of Sepoys in others: they arrived at Calcutta before the Nabob, who waited at Hughley until Clive and most of the council paid their respects to him there. He then proceeded with them to Calcutta, where he was entertained for several days with pomp and festivity. He set out on his return to Muxadavad on the 21st of
September August, and arrived there on the first of September. During his absence, Meerum had continued guards over the house of Roydoolub and of his three brothers, all of whom had employments in the revenue. Mr. Hastings, who had succeeded Mr. Scrafton as the agent of the presidency at the city, was afraid of giving offence to the

Nabob

Nabob, if he should employ the English troops at Cossimbuzar to protect them, and was equally unwilling to advise Roydoolub's family to remove without this aid, lest the women should be stopped, and the insult produce a fray between their retinues, and the troops by which they were beset; but the repeated requests of Clive at length prevailed on the Nabob to permit their departure, and they set out for Calcutta on the 12th, escorted by a guard of English soldiers. The next night but one the city was alarmed by a new tumult. 1758 September

On the 4th of September in this year, began the Moharram, or first month of the Mahomedan year, of which the first ten days are especially consecrated to devotion. The palaces of the Nabob and his son Meerum stood on the western bank of the Cossimbuzar river, but at some distance from each other. On the night of the 13th of September, which was the 9th of the Moharram, the Nabob went to his son's in a boat, and observed the shore crowded with a much greater number of people than usual. Returning in his palankin, he stopped to pay his devotions at the principal mosque of the city, and had previously ordered his general, Coja Haddee, to station a sufficient number of troops to keep off the populace; but, on entering the enclosure of the mosque, found it filled and surrounded by Sepoys, amongst whom were several Jemautdars belonging to Coja Haddee, who, instead of the usual respect, kept their seats within, whilst their soldiery thronged tumultuously about the Nabob, and prevented his passage. He, nevertheless, suspecting no danger, was endeavouring to get through them, until one of the spies, who, as usual, attended his person, returned out of the crowd, and told him, that Coja Haddee had armed all his own troops with some bad intention; on which the Nabob waited until all his own retinue had gathered about him, and in the mean time many more were coming from the palaces. The Jemautdars of Coja Haddee then rose and went away hastily, and their soldiers likewise dispersed.

The next morning a Jemautdar of another division of the army informed the Nabob that Coja Haddee had armed his soldiery, and assembled them at the pavilion, with the intention of killing him in the tumult of a fray, which, in the night, might appear accidental,

1758 September between them and the Nabob's guard: presently after, another officer, who had served in the division of troops commanded by Roydoolub, came in, and said that Roydoolub had sent a bill of exchange from Calcutta for two lacks of rupees, which was to be paid by Meer Allee, one of his dependants, to Coja Haddee, who was to distribute this money amongst the troops, to induce them to rise under pretence of demanding their arrears, when they were to surround and cut off the Nabob. The Nabob, without farther examination, dismissed Coja Haddee from his service, with orders to leave the city, and appointed Mahmdee Cawn, a Pitan, to the post of Buxey, or captain general of his forces.

In this manner was the story related on the second day after the tumult at the pavilion by the Nabob himself to Mr. Hastings; and the very day after it happened, Rajah Binderbund, one of Roydoolub's brothers, in a private conference on this subject, told Mr. Hastings, that the troops then assembled were at his devotion. This suggestion induced Mr. Hastings to believe the accusation against Roydoolub; but Colonel Clive suspected, and ordered stricter enquiry. In the mean time, the Nabob had informed Mr. Hastings, that he had got possession of a letter written by Roydoolub to Coja Haddee, in which Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were mentioned as having consented to their project of destroying him; but he refused to give a copy of the letter until he saw Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton. Mr. Hastings represented the implication and indignity of their coming to be confronted with such an accusation; on which the Nabob requested him to write, and sent one of his own officers to Calcutta, to request that they might be sent, in order to settle a new scheme he had projected for discharging the monies for which be had given tuncaws on the provinces. Before this he had paid the arrears due to the troops under the immediate command of Coja Haddee, which were 1200 horse, and had obliged them to quit the province in different bands by different routs; but Coja Haddee himself was suffered to remain in the city until the 11th of October, when he was permitted to depart, accompanied by 30 horsemen, and with assurances that he should receive no injury, provided he raised no disturbance,

turbance. A few days after, the Nabob was informed that Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were not likely to come to him, on which he delivered a copy of the letter imputed to Roydoolub; and, although he had before said it had been intercepted, he now confessed that his son Meerum had obtained it from Coja Haddee, on a promise of reconciliation. The letter "exhorts Coja Haddee to carry the affair "in which he is engaged into immediate execution. Roydoolub will "be with him in time; has written to Meer Alli to supply the ex-"pences; has half engaged Seid Cossim Ally Khan, and leaves it to "the discretion of Coja Haddee to bring him over entirely; will "assuredly comply with what was agreed upon between himself and "Coja Haddee; has gained the concurrence of Colonel Clive by the "means of Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton, and has taken the dis-"charge of the tuncaws, and the arrears of the Nabob's army upon "himself." The caution of Roydoolub during the confederacy against Surajah Dowlah, in which he never ventured to write, or even to send a message, rendered it scarcely probable that he should thus throw himself into the power of Coja Haddee, on pretences he knew to be fictitious; and it was still more absurd to suppose, that, living in Calcutta without means of escape, he should dare so heinous a falsity against Clive, whose severity he had learned to dread as much as he respected his protection. Clive regarded the letter as a forgery of the Nabob's and his son in order to exasperate him against Roydoolub, whom, if he should not punish more severely, they expected at least he would turn out of Calcutta, when they might plunder him, without controul, of his wealth, as the ransom of his life. But on the other hand it appeared strange that they should produce a letter, which, if not true, might be easily disproved by a strict examination of Coja Haddee on the whole series of his connexion with Roydoolub. Their permission of Coja Haddee's departure was already a strong indication of their apprehension of this test, and a few days after came news, that he and several of his followers had been killed in a fray with the troops stationed at Rajahmahal, under the command of Daud Khan, who was the Nabob's brother. His head was 1758 September

1758 brought to Muxadavad and viewed with much complacence by the Nabob and his son. Still it remained to examine Seid Cossim Ally Khan, and Meer Alli; but at this time the forces of the English presidency were so much diminished by an armament sent out of the river to the province of Chicacole, that it became necessary not to provoke the Nabob, by probing the ignominy of his conduct; of which Clive had acquired a sufficient proof, by a letter written in his own hand to Nuncomar at Hughley, offering him a title and jaghire, if he would bring the affair of Roydoolub's letter to a good end: it was therefore deemed imprudent to inflict the reproach he deserved: but Clive told him, that if he gave ear to such tales, there would be an end to all confidence between him and the English nation.

September

Farther letters had been received in August, from the Rajah Anunderauze; and other advices, which were not very correct, gave some account of the discords between Mr. Bussy and Nizamally at Aurengabad. Anunderauze repeated more earnestly, and with greater confidence, his request of a body of troops to drive the French out of the ceded provinces, and now proposed, as equally feasible, the reduction of Masulipatam. Letters of the same purport came at the same time from Mr. Bristol, who had been the agent at Cutteck, and had proceeded from thence to Ingeram; had visited Anunderauze on the way, and was received by him with much good-will. A few days after arrived advices from the presidency at Madrass of the second engagement between the squadrons on the 3d of August, with their opinion, that the French ships were so much disabled that they must return to their islands to refit before they ventured another; that the French army was before Tanjore, and that Mr. Bussy was on his march from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, from whence he was to join Mr. Lally with the greatest part of the force under his command: that this measure indicated Mr. Lally's intention of exerting his whole strength in the Carnatic, and left no apprehensions of his making any attempt against Bengal; for which reason they expected the presidency in this province would immediately send a considerable part of their force to

enable

enable Madrass to stand the brunt of the arduous conflict which must soon ensue. 1758 September

No one doubted that Madrass would be besieged as soon as the monsoon had sent the squadrons off the coast, if reinforcements should not arrive before; but Clive did not entertain the surmise that it could be taken whilst it had provisions: and as troops were known to be on the way from England, if the ships in which they were embarked should lose their passage in this year, they would probably arrive in the first months of the next. Nevertheless it was necessary, if possible, to alleviate the inequality between the English and French force in Coromandel.

But the preference which each of the Company's presidencies was naturally inclined to give to its own safety, as the only ground on which the property and fortunes of the whole community were established, suggested apprehensions, that Madrass, in the same manner as it had been treated by the presidency of Calcutta, would, whatsoever might be the necessity of Bengal, detain, on their own service, whatsoever troops might be sent to their assistance; and, although little was to be immediately apprehended in Bengal from the French, yet the intire estrangement of the Nabob, and the hazard of all that remained due from him, were to be expected, if he saw the English force too considerably diminished, without the immediate power of recall, to oppose either his own attempts against them, or to afford the assistance he might want, whether in the maintenance of his authority against his own subjects, or the defence of his territory against foreign enemies.

In consequence of these conclusions, it was determined not to send a body of troops to Madrass, but to employ all that could with prudence be spared, in concert with Anunderauze, against the French in the ceded provinces; which would either occasion a diversion of their troops in the Carnatic, or, if they neglected this assistance, would deprive them at once of all they had acquired by their long connexion with the Subah of the Decan: and, lest any danger during the expedition should threaten Bengal, the troops were only to obey the immediate orders of Calcutta.

The

1758 September. The conduct of the expedition was committed to Lieutenant-Colonel Forde, who, on the invitation of the presidency to take the command of the army in case of the departure of Colonel Clive, had quitted the king's service in Adlercron's regiment, and arrived from the coast in the month of April. Mr. George Grey was sent to continue the course of intelligence at Cutteck, and Mr. John Johnstone was dispatched in the Mermaid sloop to make the necessary preparations in concert with Anunderauze at Vizagapatam. The force allotted for the expedition was 500 Europeans, including the artillery-men, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars: the artillery were six field-pieces, the best brass six-pounders, six 24-pounders for battery, a howitz, and an eight-inch mortar. Eighty thousand rupees, and 4000 gold mohurs, equivalent to 60,000 rupees, were the military chest for immediate expences. The embarkation was made on three of the Company's ships lately arrived from Europe, on the Thames, a private ship of 700 tons, with two of the pilot sloops of the river. The Thames likewise carried a great quantity of provisions intended for Madrass, whither she was to proceed as soon as the present service would permit. By altercations in the council, for the measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all of them, and by delays in the equipment, the vessels were detained in the river until the end of September. Their departure left the English force in the province barely equal to what they carried away.

The progress of this expedition after the departure of the armament bears more relation to the affairs of Coromandel than of Bengal. The events which immediately ensued in the provinces of Behar and Bengal, originated in the distractions which had for many years prevailed at Delhi, the capital of the empire, and from the views and operations of a variety of great interests and powers acting in the center of Indostan. The developement of these causes, and their effects, require an uninterrupted investigation of no little complication and extent. But the important and nearer contest already opened between the English and French nations in the Carnatic, continues from this time forth with such incessant energy, that our

narrative, once engaged, cannot quit their operations without impairing the perspicuity necessary to explain the strict succession of influences, by which preceding events were continually producing those which immediately followed. We have therefore determined to continue this portion of our story without interruption, until the events themselves begin to take respite; when we shall return to the affairs of Bengal. 1758 October.

END *of the* NINTH BOOK.

E R R A T A.

Page 37, line 8, *dele* Agerow, son of Ballerow.
..... 93, ... 20, *for* Murzafabeg, *read* Murzafa Khan.
...., 112, ... 6, *for* sahab, *read* saheb.

[ALPHABETICAL

ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL AND PROPER NAMES
MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME,
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Luke Hansard, Printer,
Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S.

VOL. II.

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BOOK X.

THE French detachment, which marched under the command of Saubinet, against Trinomalee, were resisted with bravery by the kellidar appointed by Kistnarow of Thiagar, who stood three assaults, in the last of which the French stormed the pagoda, and with much fury put 500 men to the sword. This conquest was gained on the 10th of September, and on the 16th Mr. Soupire appeared with a large division of the army before Carangoly, which Mursafabeg not thinking tenable had left with a few troops to resist slight assaults, and returned with the rest to defend Trivatore. Carangoly submitted on the first summons, and at the same time another detachment under the command of the Chevalier de Crillon marched against Trivatore, where Mursafabeg, with 300 horse of his own, joined by as many belonging to the Nabob, from Arcot, and a body of Sepoys, met the enemy in the field, and were soon defeated and dispersed; in consequence of which Trivatore was re-taken without farther resistance. In the mean time Mr. Lally himself, with an escort of horse, visited Alamparva, Gingee, Carangoly, Chittapet, and several minor posts, and then came to Vandiwash, where all the detachments had assembled from their different expeditions. Here he was joined by Mr. Bussy, who, leaving the troops which he had brought from the northward to the conduct of Moracin at Nelore, had passed from hence with his private retinue, under the safeguard of a passport granted by the presidency of Madrass. From Vandiwash Mr. Lally detached the Count D'Estaign with a part of the army to re-

1758 September

1758 October. duce the fort of Arcot, to whom Timery surrendered in the way without resistance; and before he arrived at Arcot, Rajahsaheb had succeeded in a negotiation with the Nabob's kellidar to deliver up the fort on an insignificant capitulation. Mr. Lally, thinking that the taking possession of the citadel of the capital would magnify his reputation in the province, resolved to receive the surrender in person, and made his entry into the fort on the 4th of October, under the discharge of all the cannon; and dispatched orders to Pondicherry and the other French garrisons to proclaim the acquisition with the same ostentation.

The Presidency of Madrass saw in these operations nothing but what they expected would have happened immediately after the fall of Fort St. David; and the preservation of Chinglapet, if in their power, gave them more solicitude, than the abandoning of all the other forts together, which the inferiority of their force had left them no means of preserving. At the request of the renter of Chinglapet, they had sent two companies of Sepoys to guard this fort, whilst his own men with arms were employed in protecting the harvests, and the same number of Sepoys were sent at the same time to garrison Conjeveram. Towards the end of August a lieutenant was appointed to command those in Chinglapet, and carried with him another company. On the 14th of September arrived the company's ship Pitt, of 50 guns: she sailed from England on the 6th of March together with six other, under the convoy of the Grafton of 70, and the Sunderland of 60 guns, coming to reinforce Mr. Pococke's squadron: on board of these ships were embarked 900 men of the king's troops, embodied in a regiment under the command of lieutenant colonel Draper, who with Major Brereton, and 100 of the regiment, arrived and landed from on board the Pitt, but 50 had died on the passage of a contagion, then called the Brest fever, which had passed during the war from the French marine into many English ships. The troops which came in the Pitt, and the expectation that the other ships with the rest would arrive before the change of the monsoon, encouraged the Presidency to send four companies more of Sepoys to Chinglapet: this reinforcement stopped the march of considerable de-

tachment, which had set out on the 10th from Carangoly to attack that place, where, immediately after, arrived the two companies of Sepoys from Conjeveram, retreating as soon as Trivatore was reduced. The garrison, now consisting of nine companies, was deemed almost sufficient to maintain the fort, until relieved from Madrass; and captain Richard Smith was appointed to take the command, and with him were sent two commissioned officers, a serjeant, a corporal, and 12 European gunners, and two field-pieces; so that the whole number of Europeans, including the serjeants of the Sepoys, were thirty chosen men, and captain Smith was ordered to defend the fort at all events and extremities. On the 25th, the squadron commanded by Mr. Pococke anchored in the road, having executed a secret commission which had detained him all this while to the southward, and had given rise to a variety of erroneous reports and conjectures. The Presidency on the 25th of August had finally resolved to recall Major Calliaud from Tritchinopoly, with all the European soldiers and Coffrees in the garrison, excepting such as were in the service of the artillery, or annexed to the Sepoys. Calliaud, just as he was ready to march, received intelligence on the 5th of September, that a very large fleet of English ships were arrived at Ajengo there; which, although doubtful, required him to suspend his departure until more certain advices, which he received on the 15th, and the next day began his march with 180 Europeans and 50 Coffrees, leaving, according to his instructions, the command of the garrison, in which were now included the 2000 Sepoys brought by Mahomed Issoof from Tinivelly, to captain Joseph Smith. The detachment marching through the Tanjore country met every kind of assistance in their way, and on the 23d embarked from Negapatam on board the squadron, which arrived two days after at Madrass. This reinforcement increased the means of protecting Chinglapet; and four more field-pieces, with a complement of Lascars to work them, were sent thither on the 2d of October.

1758 October.

Mr. Lally at length saw the importance of this place, which, 20 days before, he might have taken by escalade in open day, and resolved to march against it with his whole force as soon as he had settled some

arrange-

1758 arrangements in the government of Arcot, and the adjacent countries.
October. In the mean time his communication with Chinglapet was opened by the possession of Covrepauk and Conjeveram, which his detachments found evacuated. But his late acquisitions had not hitherto reimbursed the expences of the field, nor established his credit to borrow: so that his treasury could barely supply the pay of the soldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting the army in motion, and all that the government of Pondicherry could immediately furnish was 10,000 rupees: pretending therefore much indignation at this disappointment, he distributed the troops into various cantonments, and returned himself, accompanied by Mr. Bussy, to Pondicherry, where as usual he imputed the failure of his intentions against Chinglapet to the mismanagements of the Company's administration. Notwithstanding his deep animosity to Mr. Bussy, respect to the distinguished character of this officer confined Mr. Lally to the observances of public civility; which imposed on no one, as he had still more publickly expressed his real opinions. The rank which Mr. Bussy held at this time was only that of lieutenant colonel; and besides Mr. Soupire, who was a major general, six of the officers arrived from France were colonels, who of course must command him on all services when acting together. The colonels, sensible of the advantages which might be derived from his abilities, and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration, requesting, on these considerations, that he might be appointed a Brigadier General, in supersession to themselves, which would place him next in command to Mr. Soupire. The public zeal which dictated this request, conferred as much honour on those who made it, as their testimony on Mr. Bussy. Their names, highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent; D'Estaign, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Bretueil, Verdiere, and Crillon. Mr. Lally could make no objection, but with his usual asperity imputed the compliment to the influence of Mr. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation.

The

The approach of the stormy monsoon warned the English squadron to quit the coast; and Mr. Pococke, as on all other occasions of consequence, consulted the Presidency on the security of Madrass during his absence. They were of opinion that the enemy, if at all, would not attack the town before the rains had ceased, which generally happens about the end of November, and had no doubt of defending it until reinforcements should arrive, or the squadron return. But as the lateness of the season might deter the ships expected from England from venturing on the coast until the month of January, they requested Mr. Pococke to lend the marines of the squadron; with which he complied without hesitation. One hundred men were landed, and on the 11th the squadron weighed anchor and sailed for Bombay. 1758 October.

Mr. Moracin, having purposely waited at Nelore until the end of September, then began his march with the detachment left to his care by Mr. Bussy, and was accompanied by Nazeabulla with the troops of his government: proceeding through the woods and mountains of Bangar Yatcham Naigue, they arrived at the Pagoda of Tripetty on the 5th of October, the day on which the great annual feast began; which lasts 25 days. They were here joined by Abdulwahab Cawn, with his troops from Chandergherry: they gave no disturbance to the pilgrims, but summoned the renter to dismiss his guards and deliver up the avenues, who, not having a force sufficient to make any effectual opposition, made proposals to rent the revenue of this, and the ensuing feasts, from the French, on the same terms as he had hitherto held them from the English government, and tendered a sum in hand, which Moracin accepted, and confirmed him in the employment. Then leaving a part of his detachment to guard this valuable acquisition, he proceeded on the 16th with the rest and the troops of Nazeabulla, to Arcot, through the country of Bomrauze, who, instead of opposing their passage, paid them a visit. But Abdulwahab, much offended that the management of the pagoda, which had so long been the object of his wishes, was not granted to himself, retired with his troops to Chandergherry. Nazeabulla and

1758 and Moracin arrived at Arcot on the 12th, and leaving their troops there went on to attend Mr. Lally at Pondicherry.

October. The desistance of Mr. Lally from marching against Chinglapet after the reduction of Arcot, gave the Presidency of Madrass encouragement and opportunity to strengthen that place more effectually. The partizan Murzafabeg, having, since the French successes, no employment for the troops he had levied, had brought the best of them, 70 horse and 200 Sepoys, to Chinglapet, where they were taken into the company's pay ; and on the 30th of October it was determined to increase the garrison to 100 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, to send several pieces of battering cannon, to lay-in three months provisions, and to repair the works. At the same time Captain Smith was recalled to Madrass, to serve in his former employment of aid-de-camp to Colonel Lawrence, and Captain Preston was sent to take the command of Chinglapet, which illness had obliged him to quit. Before his arrival Captain R. Smith had detached Mursafabeg on the 29th, with four companies of Sepoys, and some of the horse, to dislodge a party of the enemy's Sepoys, who had taken post in the village of Polipore, situated about two miles from the other side of the Paliar ; Mursafabeg attacked them at day-break, killed and wounded 20, dispersed the rest, and gathered 60 of their muskets, which they had thrown down in their fight.

The arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry on the 18th, from Mauritius, which brought treasure, together with 100,000 rupees, brought by Mr. Moracin from Tripetti, enabled Mr. Lally to put the French troops into motion again : and, as the symptoms of the rainy season hung back even at the end of the month, parties began to assemble at Carangoly, Salawauk, and Conjeveram, and Mr. Lally himself came from Pondicherry to Vandiwash. On the 2d of November 250 Europeans, 100 troopers, with some black horse and Sepoys, marched from Salawauk, and took post again at Polipore, where they were joined on the 5th by 400 more Europeans, with several pieces of battering cannon, and a mortar : intelligence of which came to Madrass the next day, a few hours after the last convoy of supplies had set out for Chinglapet ; and as the

main-

maintenance of this place depended on the arrival of these supplies, it was resolved that 1200 Europeans and 1800 Sepoys, by far the greatest part of the garrison of Madrass, should immediately take the field to cover them; of which one half, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Draper, were to advance as far as Vendalore, within 10 miles of Chinglapet; whilst the other, with Colonel Lawrence, were to halt at St. Thomas's mount, ready to support Draper's division: they marched on the 7th in the morning; and the news stopped the French troops at Polipore from crossing the river, and the march of a detachment advancing from Conjeveram under the command of Saubinet, both intending to intercept the convoy; which got safe into Chinglapet on the evening of the ninth. Colonel Draper continued at Vendalore until the 11th, when he received some intelligence of the approach of the whole of the enemy's army, on which he marched back with his division, and joined that with Colonel Lawrence at the mount. 1758 November

Every day had proved the good effects of re-establishing the possession of Chinglapet: for, under the protection of this barrier, the country behind, which is more extensive than the districts protected by Pondomalee and Tripassour, continued to furnish Madrass with daily supplies of all kinds of provisions and necessaries, by which the stock laid up in store to sustain the impending siege was saved; and to preserve this benefit as long as possible, the troops which had been sent abroad with Draper and Lawrence were ordered to remain encamped at the Mount until the last hour which might endanger the safety of their retreat to the town; after which, as the best of external means to protract the siege when commenced, it was determined to have a body of troops in the field distinct from those already belonging to the garrison, which, if nothing more, were to be continually employed in harassing the enemy's convoys of stores and provisions. Accordingly a contract, which had for some months been under discussion, was concluded with the agent of Morarirow for the service of 2000 Morratoe horse, of which 500 were to arrive in 25 days, and the rest in 45; but as no sureties were received, the punctuality of this assistance could not be relied on. The presidency, therefore, as a surer resource, ordered the commandant Ma-

1758 homed Issoof to take the field with 2000 of their own Sepoys from November the garrison of Tritchinopoly; and requested the king of Tanjore to join this body with 1000 of his horse, and the Polygar Tondiman, and even the distant Moravars, with the best of their troops; for whom, however, Mahomed Issoof was not to wait; and, in case none of these allies arrived in time, he was empowered to enlist 500 good horse if to be found in his march. The Nabob still maintained 300 horse, part of whom attended his person at St. Thomé, and the rest were dispersed in the adjacent districts, who on the receipt of some money joined the army at the Mount; to which all the Polygars to the northward of Madrass were likewise commanded to send their troops; but none came: and the Partizan Murzafabeg, having been refused an increase of pay which he demanded in this hour of necessity, went off in the night with his 70 horse and some of his Sepoys, and took service with the French army at Conjeveram.

The troops, of whose approach L.-Colonel Draper had received intelligence, were 500 irregular Sepoys, under the command of an active adventurer named Lambert, with part of the horse levied by Rajahsaheb, who had been sent forward to plunder and terrify the country. They crossed the Paliar, and on the 15th, appeared before Tripassour, and attacked the pettah, but were repulsed at the hedge which surrounds it, with the loss of 20 men, by the Peons of the renter, and the two companies of Sepoys stationed in the fort.

But the French army were not in such readiness as the English imagined to commence the siege of Madrass. All the draught bullocks which Pondicherry had been able to collect were not sufficient to transport one half of the heavy artillery necessary for the attack; and the greatest part of the train, with many other stores, had been laden a month before on the Harlem taken from the Dutch, which ship sailed across the bay, in order to work to the northward on the other side, when she was to stretch across again and fall in with Masulipatam, where she was to receive more cannon and stores, and then come down the coast to Madrass. The time was elapsed in which a well-sailing vessel might have made this passage, and without news of the Harlem; and on this disappointment Mr. Lally

Mr. Lally ordered another store of artillery, which had been deposited at Alamparva, to be shipped on two frigates, the Diligence and the Expedition, which were in the road of Pondicherry, but laden for other voyages; so that it would require a month before they could get this artillery on board, and work up against the wind and current to Madrass. However, the French army might have advanced many days before, if they had not been in want of many other articles, which, although of much more minute detail, were equally of absolute necessity. As soon as these were supplied, the first division moved from Conjeveram on the 19th; but Mr. Lally being very ill, had detained the reserve until the 22d, when the great body of the monsoon rain fell with the utmost violence, and lasted without intermission for three days: the troops abroad, warned by the sky, were on their march back to Conjeveram when the rain began, but nevertheless gained their way with much difficulty and distress, and after it had ceased, the surface of the country continued impassable for several days. 1758 November

Whilst the collected force of both nations in the Carnatic were thus waiting the impending conflict, each were equally solicitous concerning the success of the armament sent from Bengal into the northern provinces. Mr. Johnstone, who had been sent from Calcutta to concert preparations with the Rajah Anunderauze, arrived on the 12th of September at Vizagapatam, of which the Rajah's officers there immediately put him in possession, as the Company's representative. The Rajah himself was encamped with his forces at Cossimcotah, a fort 20 miles to the west of Vizagapatam, and 15 inland from the sea. His letter to Mr. Johnstone expressed much satisfaction that the English troops were coming, but signified his intention not to furnish any money towards their expences. Tempestuous weather from the south delayed the arrival of the ships and vessels with Colonel Forde until the 20th of October. As soon as the disembarkation was made, two of the Company's ships were sent back to Bengal; but the other, the Hardwicke, and the two sloops, remained to attend the progress of the expedition. The troops moved from Vizagapatam on the 1st of November, and on the third joined the

1758 November the Rajah and his army at Cossimcotah, from whence it was determined to march against Rajahmundrum, where Mr. Conflans had collected the French troops from all parts, and they were already advancing to attack the Rajah ; but, on hearing that the English troops were in motion to join him, they halted and encamped.

Mr. Johnstone had dispatched the sloop in which he came, with advices to Madrass of his reception at Vizagapatam ; on which they immediately sent away Mr. Andrews, with several assistants, to re-establish the factory under their own authority, on which the settlement had always been dependent : They likewise sent Captain Callendar, an officer on the Madrass establishment, to act as second under Colonel Forde. The vessel which brought them arrived at Vizagapatam on the 21st of November ; and Andrews with Callendar immediately went to the camp, which, by long halts and short marches, had not yet advanced 30 miles beyond Cossimcotah. Various excuses were employed by the Rajah to extenuate this delay ; but the real cause was his repugnance to furnish the money which Colonel Forde demanded, who was not a little offended at his evasions. Mr. Andrews, who, having been chief of Madapollam, had long been personally known to the Rajah, adjusted their differences by a treaty, which stipulated, " that all plunder should be equally divided ; that " all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered " to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenues ; but that the sea-" ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the " company, with the revenues of the districts annexed to them ; that " no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah's or " the English possessions, should be made without the consent of " both parties ; that the Rajah should supply 50,000 rupees a month " for the expences of the army, and 6000, to commence from their " arrival at Vizagapatam, for the particular expences of the officers." He held out likewise other proposals of future alliance, which he had not yet authority to ratify.

The united forces now moved in earnest, and on the 3d of December came in sight of the enemy, who were encamped 40 miles on this side of Rajahmundrum, in a strong situation which commanded the

the high road, near a village called Gallapool, and in sight of a fort called Peddipore. They had 500 Europeans, many more pieces of cannon than they could use at once, a great number of the troops of the country, of which 500 were horse, and 6000 Sepoys. Of the English force embarked from Bengal, only 30 Europeans and a few Sepoys were wanting, who had been left sick at Vizagapatam; so that there were in the field 470 Europeans, and 1900 Sepoys. The Rajah had 500 paltry horse, and 5000 foot, some with aukward fire-arms, the rest with pikes and bows: but he had collected 40 Europeans, who managed four field-pieces under the command of Mr. Bristol; besides which his own troops had some useless cannon. On the 6th, the English and the Rajah's army advanced and took possession of a village called Chambole, on the high road likewise, within four miles of the enemy, when each deemed the situation of the other too strong to be attacked: on which Colonel Forde, as the only means to draw the enemy from theirs to a general action, resolved to march round and regain the road to Rajahmundrum in their rear, by passing under the hills to their left, where the enemy could not derive much advantage from their horse. The Rajah approved; and on the 9th, at four in the morning, the English troops were in motion; but the Rajah's with their usual indolence not prepared to march. Near the foot of the hills, about three miles to the right of the village of Chambole, was another called Condore, to gain which, the English troops having filed from the right, were in march, when, at day-break, they heard a strong cannonade towards the Rajah's camp. It was from 6 guns, which Mr. Conflans, ignorant of Colonel Forde's march, had sent on in the night, under the guidance of an intelligent deserter, who had noticed a spot that bore upon the camp; and Mr. Conflans was following to support them with his whole army and the rest of his field-artillery. The Rajah sent messages after messages, which met the English troops returning to his relief; and his own, quickened by the danger, were removing as fast as they could out of the reach of it; and having, in much confusion, joined the English, continued marching on with them to the village of Condore, where all arrived at eight o'clock. The enemy, although from

1758 December

1758 from long distances, continued to cannonade whilst any of the English or the Rajah's troops remained within probable reach.

December

When arrived at the village of Condore, the army was just as far as before from the French encampment at Gallapole, but with better ground between, and village midway, which would afford a strong advanced post. Mr. Conflans imagined that the English troops had marched from their encampment to Condore, in order from hence to take possession of this village, and in this persuasion crossed the plain to prevent them, with his whole army, and succeeded in his wish without interruption; for Colonel Forde remained halting at Condore, to regulate his future motions by the enemy's. Mr. Conflans imputed this inaction to a consciousness of inferiority, and now imagined that the English intended to march back to their encampment at Chambole, to prevent which, he formed his line, and advanced in much haste, and litte order.

The French battalion of Europeans was in the centre of the line, with 13 field-pieces, divided on their flanks, the horse, 500, were on the left of the battalion; 3000 Sepoys formed the right wing, and the same number the left, and with each wing were five or six pieces of cumbrous cannon. The English army drew up with their Europeans in the centre, the six field-pieces divided on their flanks; the 1800 Sepoys were likewise equally divided on the wings. Colonel Forde placed no reliance on the Rajah's infantry or horse, and ordered them to form aloof, and extend on each flank of the Sepoys: all this rabble kept behind, but the renegade Europeans under Bristol, who managed the four field-pieces belonging to the Rajah, advanced, and formed with the division of artillery on the left of the English battalion. The line having had time, were in exact order, and had advanced a mile in front of the village of Condore, during which, the enemy cannonaded hotly from all their guns. At length the impetuosity of the enemy's approach, who came on, out-marching their cannon, obliged the English line to halt for action; and it chanced that the whole of their battalion stopped near and opposite to a field of Indian corn, which was grown so tall that it entirely intercepted them from the enemy; but

but the Sepoys on the wings were free in the plain on each hand. 1758
For what reason is not known, Colonel Forde had ordered his Sepoys December
to furl their colours, which, besides the principal flag, are several small banners to a company, and to let them lay on the ground during the action.

The Sepoys and horse of the enemy's wings greatly outstretched the wings of the English line, and came on each in a curve to gain their flanks; the French battalion in the centre, instead of advancing parallel to where by the wings they might judge the centre of the English line would be, inclined obliquely to the right, which brought them beyond the field of Indian corn, opposite to the English Sepoys on the left wing; whom from their red jackets, and the want of their usual banners, they from the first approach mistook for the English battalion; respecting them as such, they halted to dress their ranks before they engaged, and then began to fire in platoons advancing, but at the distance of 200 yards. Nevertheless, this was sufficient; for the Sepoys, seeing themselves attacked without cover by Europeans in front, and the horse and multitude of the enemy's Sepoys, gaining their rear, or coming down on their flank, scarcely preserved courage to give their fire, hurried, scattered, and without command; and then immediately broke, and ran away to shelter themselves in the village of Chambole, and were followed by the nearest of the enemy's horse. This success was greater than even the confidence of the enemy expected; and several platoons of the French battalion were setting off to pursue them likewise, when they saw a line of men with shouldered arms marching fast and firm from behind the field of Indian corn across their way, to occupy the ground which the Sepoys had abandoned.

Colonel Forde had been with the Sepoys before their flight, encouraging them to resolution; but saw, by the usual symptoms of trepidation, that they would not stand the shock, which prepared him to order the judicious movement, which the officers were now performing with so much steadiness and spirit. Captain Adnet commanding on the left, led the line, and as soon as the last files were got clear of the corn, the word was given, when the whole halted,

1758 December halted, and faced at once, in full front of the enemy. This motion was quickly executed; for the foremost man had not more than 300 yards to march, and the field-pieces were left behind. During this short interval, the French battalion were endeavouring with much bustle to get into order again; for some of their platoons had advanced a considerable distance before others; and thus the fire of the English line commenced before the enemy's was ready; it was given in divisions, that is, the whole battalion divided into five, and began from Captain Adnet's on the left, which was within pistol shot, and brought down half the enemy's grenadiers; the fire ran on, and before the time came for Adnet's division to repeat theirs, the whole of the enemy's line were in confusion, and went about running fast to regain their guns, which they had left half a mile behind them on the plain.

The ardour of the English battalion to pursue was so great, that Colonel Forde judged it best to indulge it in the instant, although not certain of the success of the Sepoys on the right, but concluding that the enemy's Sepoys who were to attack them, would not continue long, if they saw their Europeans completely routed. The order was given for the battalion to march on in following divisions, the left leading. Nothing could repress their eagerness. All marched too fast to keep their rank, excepting the fourth division commanded by Captain Yorke, who to have a reserve for the whole battalion, if broken, as the enemy had been, by their own impetuosity, obliged his men to advance in strict order. The French battalion rallied at their guns which were 13 in number, spread in different brigades, or sets as they chanced to stand when left by the troops advancing to the action. This artillery began to fire as soon as the ground was clear of their own troops, and killed some men, which only quickened the approach of the divisions to close in with the guns, of which several fired when the first division was within pistol shot, and Adnet fell mortally wounded; but his men rushing on drove the enemy from the guns they attacked, and the other divisions following with the same spirit, obliged them to abandon all the others.

The day, if not completely victorious, was at least secured from reverse by the possession of all the enemy's field artillery fit

for

for quick firing ; but their camp, to which they were retiring, still remained to be attacked ; and Colonel Forde halted until joined by his Sepoys, and, if they would come, by the Rajah's troops. 1758 December

The Sepoys and horse of the enemy's right wing were in their turn panick-struck by the fire of the English battalion routing their own, and all turned to gain the rear of the guns, keeping aloof to the left of the English divisions ; and then went off again with the French battalion to the camp. Their left wing of Sepoys behaved better, advancing to the use of musketry against the English Sepoys of the left, with whom the battalion, when filing off to oppose the French, left the three field-pieces of their right ; and the Sepoys, encouraged by this assistance, the ardour of the Europeans marching off, and the spirit of their own commander Captain Knox, maintained their ground, facing and firing in various directions behind the banks of the rice fields, in which they had drawn up. The enemy's wing nevertheless continued the distant fire, until they saw their battalion of Europeans quitting their guns, and the Sepoys and horse of the right retreating with them to the camp ; when they went off likewise ; stretching round to the left of the English battalion halting at the guns, and keeping out of their reach. Captain Knox then advanced to join the battalion with his own Sepoys, and the six field-pieces, and had collected most of the fugitives of the other wing. Messages had been continually sent to the Rajah's horse to advance, but they could not be prevailed upon to quit the shelter of a large tank, at this time dry, in which they, his foot, and himself in the midst of them, had remained cowering from the beginning of the action.

As soon as the Sepoys joined, and all the necessary dispositions were made, which took an hour, Colonel Forde advanced to attack the enemy's camp ; but, not to retard the march, left the field-pieces to follow. A deep hollow way passed along the skirt of the camp, behind which appeared a considerable number of Europeans regularly drawn up, as if to defend the passage of the hollow way, and several shot were fired from heavy cannon planted to defend the approach. Just as the English troops came near, and the first division of the Europeans stept out to give their fire, the

 field-

1758 December field-pieces were arrived within shot; on which all the enemy went to the right-about, abandoned their camp, and retreated, seemingly every man as he listed, in the utmost confusion; but the English battalion crossing after them, many threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. Mr. Conflans had previously sent away four of the smallest field-pieces; and the money of the military chest, laden for expedition on two camels. The spoil of the field and camp was 30 pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; 50 tumbrels, and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from thirteen to eight inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. Three of their officers were killed in the field, and three died of their wounds the same evening; 70 of their rank and file were likewise killed, or mortally wounded: six officers and 50 rank and file were taken prisoners, and the same number of wounded were supposed to have escaped. Of the English battalion, Captain Adnet and 15 rank and file, were killed; Mr. Macguire, the pay-master, and Mr. Johnstone, the commissary, who joined the grenadiers, two officers, and 20 of the rank and file, were wounded; the Sepoys had 100 killed and more wounded. No victory could be more complete. Mr. Conflans, the commander of the French army, changing horses, arrived on the full gallop at Rajahmundrum before midnight, although the distance is 40 miles from the field on which the battle was lost; the troops took various routs, but most of them towards Rajahmundrum.

The cavalry of Anunderauze, although incapable of fighting, were very active as scouts to observe the flying enemy, and the concurrence of their reports determined Colonel Forde to send forward 500 Sepoys, which in the army were ranked the first battalion of these troops, under the command of Captain Knox. They were in march at five in the afternoon. The next day intelligence was received that many of the enemy's Europeans, and some of their black fugitives, had stopped at Rajahmundrum; on which 1000 more Sepoys were sent to join those with Captain Knox; and the whole, now 1500, arrived there at break of day on the 10th.

This

This city, the capital of the province, is situated on the eastern bank 1758
of the Godaveri, 40 miles from the sea. In the middle of the town, December
and near the river, stands a large fort, with mud walls of little defence. The French troops, having lost all their best cannon, would not trust to those in the fort, and report had represented the English Sepoys as the whole army, the Rajah's and all, in full pursuit; and in this persuasion they had begun to cross the river at midnight. Fifteen Europeans, with all the stores, baggage, and bullocks, which had escaped from the battle, had not yet embarked, and were immediately seized; a boat loaded with many more Europeans was in the stream; and four small field-pieces, with a thirteen-inch mortar of brass taken out of the fort, had just reached the other shore when the English Sepoys arrived, who fired for half an hour, as well with their muskets as from the cannon of the fort, upon the boat and the opposite shore, which deterred the enemy from carrying off the field-pieces and mortar, or from remaining near them; and a party of Sepoys crossing the river in boats, brought them back the same day without molestation: a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, laid up for the French army, was taken in the fort.

Colonel Forde, with the rest of the English forces, arrived at Rajahmundrum the next day; but the Rajah, with his, remained at Peddipoor, performing the ceremony of burying the few of his people which had chanced to be killed by the straggling shot of the fight. The Hardwicke, and the two sloops, were at anchor on the coast some leagues above the field of battle, which is about 10 miles from the sea; and the day after the victory they sailed to cruize on the enemy's vessels between Masulipatam and their factories on the Godaveri: and a few days after the ship Thames was dispatched from Vizagapatam, fully laden with provisions, to Madrass.

The delay of every day which had retarded Mr. Lally from advancing against Madrass was an advantage gained; Captain Joseph Smith commanding in Tritchinopoly, as soon as he received the orders of the Presidency, equipped 2000 Sepoys from his garrison, and delivered them, with two small field-pieces, to the command of Mahomed Issoof, who crossed the Coleroon with this force on the

 21st

1758 21st of November, without waiting for the troops of the allies, December whose assistance the Presidency had requested. The polygar Tondiman gave assurances, and was really collecting some, but the Moraver had returned no answer, and the king of Tanjore had expressed himself in such equivocal terms, that the Presidency resolved to send Major Calliaud, in whom the king had confidence, to convince him of the impolicy of his indifference : accordingly this officer embarked on the 30th in a common massoolah, intending to land at Tranquebar.

The French army moved again from Conjeveram on the 29th of November, advancing on the high road towards Madrass : but a large detachment, under the command of Mr. Soupire, proceeded along the bank of the Paliar, with orders to halt between the river and Chinglapet. On the same day the partizan Lambert, with his troops and two small field-pieces, attacked the pettah of Pondomalee, which the Ensign, Crowley, attempted to defend, but was driven into the fort with the loss of 30 or 40 of his Sepoys killed and wounded, and two of their serjeants, Europeans, were made prisoners. On the 4th of December, Mr. Lally reconnoitred the fort of Chinglapet in porson, within musket-shot ; and, contrary to the sound rules of war, and perhaps his own conviction, determined to leave it in his rear. On the 7th, the whole army halted at Vendaloor, and Lambert's party appeared in sight of the Mount, where the English army had been reinforced with 400 more Europeans from the town, being all that remained, excepting the invalids and artillery : 300 had been posted, a mile and half in the rear of the main camp, at Sidapet or the little Mount, to guard the bridge and ford over the river of St. Thomé ; but on the night after the appearance of Lambert's party, these troops were sent back to the town, and the same number were detached to supply their place from the camp ; for Colonel Lawrence had no intention to risk a general action. In the afternoon of the 9th, a considerable body of the enemy appeared in sight of the Mount ; but Mr. Lally had left his camp standing at Vendaloor, of which Colonel Lawrence received intelligence, and regarded this appearance of not moving far from it, as a feint to cover the intention of a forced

a forced march in the night, higher up, across the river of St. Thomé, which might bring the French army before morning between the English camp and Madrass, and cut off their retreat to the town: he therefore immediately struck his tents, and marched back with the whole army to the Choultry plain. 1758 December

The ground so called commenceth about 2000 yards south-west of the white town of Madrass, or Fort St. George, from which it is separated by two rivers. The one, called the river of Triplicane, winding from the west, gains the sea about a thousand yards to the south of the glacis. The other coming from the north-west, passeth near the western side of the black town, the extremity of which is high ground, which the river rounds, and continues to the east, until within 100 yards of the sea, where it washeth the foot of the glacis, and then turning to the south continueth parallel with the beach, until it joins the mouth and bar of the river of Triplicane. From the turning of the river at the high ground, a canal, striking to the south, communicates with the river of Triplicane. The low ground included by the channels of the two rivers and the canal, is called the island, which is about 3000 yards in circumference. 1200 yards from the strand of the sea is a long bridge leading from the island over the Triplicane river, to a road which continues south to the town of St. Thomé. Another bridge over the canal, leads to the west, and amongst others to a village called Egmore, from which this bridge takes its name. Coming from the south or west, these two bridges afford the only convenient access to the fort or white town, excepting another along the strand of the sea, when the bar of the Triplicane river is choked with sand. All the ground between the St. Thomé road and the sea is filled with villages and enclosures; and so is that on the left, for half a mile towards the Choultry plain, from which a road and several smaller passages lead through them to the St. Thomé Road.

It was neither the intention of the Presidency, nor of Colonel Lawrence himself, to risk the army on the Choultry plain, more than they had at the Mount; for a defeat in the field was the certain loss of Madrass, as the enemy in their superiority had 300 European horse,

1758 December horse, excellently mounted and disciplined; the greatest number which had hitherto appeared together in India. The intention was to gain time, for every day was precious; and not to dispirit the troops, who were to sustain the impending siege, and might have made sinister reflections if they had been hastily led back within the walls, before their own understandings were convinced of the necessity. The ground and the advantages which were taken of it by Colonel Lawrence, secured their retreat, when it should become necessary.

The Choultry plain extends two miles to the west of the enclosures which bound the St. Thomé road, and terminates on the other side at a large body of water called the Meliapore Tank, behind which runs with deep windings, the Triplicane river. The road from the Mount passes two miles and a half under the mound of the tank, and at its issue into the Choultry plain, was a kind of defile, formed by the mound on one hand, and buildings with thick enclosures on the other. Colonel Lawrence, retreating from the Mount, halted and remained during that and the next day, which was the 10th, opposite to this defile. On the 11th he cut through the mound of the tank, which swamped the whole length of the road, and then retreated to the other extremity of the plain, close to the enclosures nearest the Triplicane river. In this situation his field-pieces commanded the road leading across the plain to that part of the enclosures through which this road continues to that of St. Thomé, which from the junction continues straight to the bridge of Triplicane. Three companies of Sepoys were advanced in front on the left, to a choultry standing at the skirt of the plain, where the road enters the enclosures.

The French army remained at the Mount during the 11th, but marched before day-break on the 12th; and at sun-rise all their European cavalry, having taken a circuit to the south of the plain, appeared at the choultry so unexpectedly, that the Sepoys scarcely staid to give their first fire, and ran into the enclosures on their left, through which they gained the main body. The cavalry, thinking themselves secured by a small grove, which was in the rear of the choultry,

choultry, drew up in the front of it, but were immediately annoyed by the advanced field-pieces; of which, several shot made way through the trees and killed three troopers; on which, all gallopped away to the St. Thomé road, intending, it should seem, to push to Triplicane-bridge, and then either continue on the island, or advance along the strand of the river in the rear of the English army; but opposite to the governor's garden, 500 yards from the bridge, they found the road stockaded across, as well as the lane on the left, along the garden-wall, by which they might likewise have come round; and in these two posts were three companies of Sepoys, with two guns; and the St. Thomé road, for a long way, had no other issue to the left. The first fire from the stockades drove the cavalry up the road until out of reach. 1758 December

Mean while the main body of the French army appeared issuing from along the mound of the Meliapore tank, and advanced along the road, which was here between an avenue of trees, cannonading at intervals from some of their field-pieces: they were answered without intermission by six from the English line, until their van were half through the avenue, and within 1000 yards, when Colonel Lawrence ordered the retreat. The line marched off their ground by the right, and passing a village called Chindadrapettah, crossed the river of Triplicane, where it was fordable without difficulty; they then continued round two or three hamlets to the Egmore bridge, which leads over the canal into the Island. Here they halted some time to receive a guard of 30 Europeans posted in a redoubt at Egmore, in which was the powder-mill of the garrison. As soon as this party joined, the whole army crossed the bridge, and after some detachments of Europeans and Sepoys had been draughted and sent to defend the passes of the black town, the rest of the army marched into the fort. Mr. Lally gave no interruption to the retreat, probably because he suspected some stratagems. Three Europeans were killed in the cannonade, but the French lost 10, and as many wounded.

At the same time that the main body of the French army were advancing to the Choultry plain, their irregular Sepoys with Lambert

1758 December bert had proceeded along the south side of the St. Thomé river, in order to attack a redoubt situated on the side of it near the sea. The guard was only one company of Sepoys, who, getting intelligence in time, retreated along the beach and arrived safe in the garrison.

As soon as Colonel Lawrence came into the fort, the council of the Presidency assembled, and by an unanimous vote committed the defence of the siege to the governor Mr. Pigot, recommending to him to consult Colonel Lawrence on all occasions, and on extraordinary emergencies to assemble a council of the superior officers of the garrison. The French army immediately encamped on the ground which the English had quitted, but sent a detachment across the Triplicane river, which took post in the redoubt at Egmore.

As the French army were advancing from the Mount, 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, had been sent off under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Murphy, against Pondamallee. They arrived at noon, and Murphy summoned Ensign Crowley, with threats, as resisting in an untenable post, although the fort was of stone, and surrounded by a wet ditch. On Crowley's refusal, the twelve-pounders were employed until night, when 20 of the French detachment had been killed or wounded, and little damage had been done to the wall; but the Sepoys within, expecting neither succour nor quarter, began to waver; on which, Crowley marched with them out of the fort in deep silence at midnight, and passing where he was apprized the enemy kept slight watch, got out of reach before they were ready to pursue; and, knowing the country, came in the next morning by the north of the black town. The number was 500, in five companies, of which three were the garrison of Pondamalee, and two had retreated hither from the fort of Tripassore.

Their arrival brought in the last of the troops, stationed in distant out-posts, and completed the force with which Madrass was to sustain the siege. The roll of the European military, including the officers with 64 topasses, and 89 coffrees incorporated in the companies

nies, amounted to 1758 men. The Sepoys were 2220. Of the Europeans 24 were troopers mounted. The Nabob's horse were 200; but, from experience, very little service was expected from them. The European inhabitants not military were 150 men, and they were appropriated without distinction to serve out stores and provisions to the garrison. The native boatmen, who alone can ply across the surf, had been retained by special encouragements, and their huts, with their massoolas or boats, extended under the wall next the sea, where it was supposed not a shot was likely to fall. The Nabob, with his family and attendants, had come into the fort on the day that the army retreated from the Mount; but although lodged in one of the best houses, were much straitened for want of the room and conveniences to which they had been accustomed.

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The French army continued on the other side of the Triplicane river during the day they arrived from the Mount, and all the next; but at two in the morning of the 14th were in motion, and having passed the river where the English had crossed, proceeded at the back of Egmore to the village of Viparee, which is about a mile to the north-west of that post, and from whence a good road leads nearly west to the northern part of the black town. Parts of the ancient bound hedge, and the ruins of some guard-houses, still remained along the north and west sides of the black town; and, with the channel of the northern river, rendered the greatest part of the western side very defensible: but on the side facing the north, were many gaps, too open to be maintained. The army, having advanced to the ford across which the road from Viparee leads into the town fired their field-pieces before them, which the guards returned with their musketry, but the Sepoys only with one fire, and then ran away. The Europeans, nevertheless, defended the ford, and several other accesses on either hand, until they perceived that several parties of the enemy had entered on the north side; when all retreated as fast as they could to the fort, and none were intercepted. In the skirmishes, three of them had been killed; but of the enemy, eleven. Soon after, the whole of the French army ap-

 peared

1758 December peared in the southern parts of the town, where the streets opened upon the esplanade of the fort. The regiment of Lally took up their quarters near the beach of the sea. Lorrain, with the battalion of India, on the rising ground to the west; but both behind buildings which screened them from the fire of the ramparts. A multitude of the natives, with the usual despondency of their character, had remained in their habitations until the last hour, and now came pouring upon the glacis, imploring admittance into the covered way, but were refused, and advised, to make their escape as well as they could in the night; several spies and two or three deserters came mingled amongst them, who reported that the French troops were all employed in ransacking the houses, and that they had discovered several warehouses filled with arrack, with which most of them had already got drunk; and such as were perceived from the town, appeared staggering under their loads and liquor; on which it was resolved to make a strong sally before they should have time to recover themselves.

Five hundred of the best men were draughted, and given to the command of Lieutenant-colonel Draper, who suggested the design; and 100 with Major Brereton were to follow a little while after, as a covering party. At eleven o'clock Draper's detachment marched out of the western ravelin; two companies of grenadiers led the line, but the two field-pieces were in the rear. Their way was first, 300 yards straight on to the west, where a bridge crosses a stagnated arm of the river that communicates with the western ditch of the fort. This bridge gives access to and from the black town by the ascent of the rising ground, and is laid pointing to the N. W. the ascent begins almost as soon as you have crossed the bridge, and the road to the top continues about 300 yards in that direction, when it turns into a long street of Indian houses, which runs nearly north and south, and is crossed by several others on either hand. Such was the negligence and security of the French army, that they did not perceive the approach of the detachment, until apprized by a mistake of the English drummers, most of whom being black boys, began to beat the grenadiers march as soon as they entered the street: on

on which the whole line from one end to the other set up their huzza; 1758
but even on this warning the enemy did not look out with sufficient December
attention to be certified in which street the detachment was advancing, but drew up at the head of another, which ran parallel to it, about 100 yards on the left; in which they advanced 2 or 3 platoons about 50 yards lower down, at the opening of a cross-street which gave a straight communication between the two: the English troops marching on did not receive a shot until they came opposite to this advanced guard, which then fired, and with execution, for the distance was point blank: the first of the line returned the fire, but being the company of grenadiers halted no longer than this operation, and then proceeded; for Draper, knowing how near, and where the enemy's main body were drawn up, would not stop the line, but stationed two platoons from the succeeding companies to continue the fire, and prevent the enemy from breaking through the street. He at the same time ordered the two field-pieces to advance from the rear to the front, and the troops marching in whole files opened to the right and left to let them pass; but before they were brought up, the grenadiers and some more had pushed on to the head of the long street, in which they were marching. This was terminated by another much broader that crossed it, coming on the right from the esplanade of the fort to the east, and continued 100 yards on the other hand to the west of the long street, where the cross-street turned to the north and then again to the west. In that part of the cross-street to the left appeared the regiment of Lorrain, with four field-pieces, drawn up facing the south, opposite to the street in which they had posted their advanced guard, and were expecting the English troops; to whom in this position they presented their flank quite naked. Beyond them, in the continuation of the street, after it has turned to the north, the battalion of India, which comprised the troops belonging to the French company, were assembling. Not a moment was lost in taking the advantage; the grenadiers, and as many more as the breadth of the street, which was here 50 yards, would admit, faced and fired; but had scarcely time to give a second, before the two field-pieces came up. In that part of the cross-street where the English troops had faced, and in

1758 December front of their left, almost adjoining to the long street they had passed through, lay the ruins of a demolished house, which spread more than half-way over the cross-street, and although not high enough to prevent a single rank of musketry from firing over the rubbish, did not admit the field-pieces, which were therefore drawn up to the right of the rubbish, and the troops which had stood there made room for them, by crowding along the adjoining walls on that side of the cross-street. These alterations created some confusion; for they were made with much hurry from the ardour of setting the field-pieces to work; which did not disappoint the expectation, but firing with grape knocked down numbers. Lorrain scarcely stood a minute before all the men ran into the opposite houses; and all the officers could do was to turn the field-pieces, which the gunners likewise abandoned after the very first discharge. Draper immediately commanded his own firing to cease, and the grenadiers to follow him to the enemy's guns, to which he ran, and fired a pistol, but without effect, at an officer who remained by them, which the officer having returned with as little, offered to surrender himself and the guns, when Draper perceived that he had been followed by only four grenadiers. In the same instant, many of the French soldiers, encouraged by the ceasing of the English fire, and the backwardness of the men to advance with Draper, gathered again in the street, and began to fire; by which two of the grenadiers were killed, and the other two wounded before they got back to their own men, and Draper returned with them. Now the field-pieces and musketry on both sides commenced the hottest fire; but with encreasing havock from the enemy, whose numbers were augmented every moment by the battalion of India; and many of the English soldiers began in their turn to take shelter in the nearest houses and enclosures. Nevertheless, the brunt of this fight continued 20 minutes, when Draper convinced that no success was to be expected, and that the arrival of Lally's regiment from the seaside might cut off the whole detachment, ordered the retreat; but not a single drummer was found to beat it. The grenadiers of the Company's troops, not having room to be employed in the cross-

 street

street occupied by other platoons and the field-pieces, had gone into a large enclosure on the side of the street opposite to the rubbish; and as well as the others who had taken shelter in houses on the right were not apprized of the retreat: all who were marched huddled together down the cross-street, which opened in less than 300 yards upon the esplanade, and under the protection of the guns of the fort; but the enemy followed so close, and their fire both of cannon and musketry became so superior, that the two field-pieces in the rear of the detachment were abandoned; and the enemy's divisions had advanced to the enclosure in which the grenadiers had taken refuge, before they had thought of marching out. They were offered quarter, which they accepted, because they could make no effectual resistance, although they were eighty, the prime men of the garrison. During the fight in the western part of the black town, the regiment of Lally towards the sea were with much difficulty got under arms by Mr. Bussy; for most of the common men were reeling drunk. However, they had advanced, sheltered by houses from the fire of the fort, until they came within 300 yards of the street in which the English were retreating, and arrived there just as the line were coming out of it upon the esplanade, when the interval between them was open to the fire of the fort; the fear of which, and the mistrust of their intoxicated men, deterred the officers from leading them on to the fair attack before them; and they only fired random musketry, and from two field-pieces ill-pointed at Draper's line, who, as soon as out of the street, turned short to the south, and proceeded on the lower ground under the houses which skirted the west face of the esplanade, until they came opposite to the north-west angle of the glacis, and met in the way the covering party with Major Brereton, which had advanced and was waiting for them in good order: the nearer the line came to the fort, the greater became their hurry to get into it, for many ran over the glacis; but all the officers, with as many men as they could keep together, marched in order to the entrance on the eastern face of the north ravelin. No officer, excepting Lieutenant Billock, was killed on the spot; but Major Polier, Captain Hume, and Ensign Chace,

1758 December

1758 Chace, were mortally wounded : Polier came into the fort, but the
December other two were taken. Captain Pascall and Lieutenant Elliot were shot through the body ; Lieutenants Stephen Smith and Blair, and Ensign Cook, were wounded and taken ; but recovered. Of rank and file 103 were taken, of whom 19 were wounded : fifty came in wounded, and fifty were left dead abroad, of whom all did not fall in the open action, for more than 20 were found killed in different houses, mostly stabbed with bayonets, and with their antagonists lying dead beside them ; so that the garrison lost the lives or service of more than 200 soldiers and six officers by this sally. The French acknowledged 200 of their rank and file killed and wounded ; and had 12 officers wounded, Saubinet mortally, and three killed on the spot ; they lost only four prisoners, of whom one was the Count D'Estaign ; his quarters were with Lally's regiment near the beach, and on the first firing he mounted his horse, and came galloping down the cross-street to the rear of the English grenadiers, whom, being short-sighted, or perhaps not seeing at all through the smoke, he took for French troops, nor perceived his mistake until within a few yards, when his horse stumbling, threw him, and before he could recover himself, he was seized by two drummers, who had their swords drawn to stab him, when Lieutenant Smith, the same who was afterwards taken prisoner himself, stepped between : his consequence being known, he was immediately sent away with an officer and a file of men to the fort. Mr. Lally blamed excessively his own regiment for not marching on the first fire, which had they done, and the troops been less intoxicated, it is probable that very few of the English detachment would have escaped. He endeavoured to fix the fault on Mr. Bussy, who justified himself by the delay of Mr. Lally's orders, without which, according to the regulations of the service, the regiment could not march ; and then Bussy led them. Mr. Lally regretted exceedingly the loss of Saubinet and the Count D'Estaign, and with reason ; for the one possessed all the qualities of an able general, and the other of an active partizan.

Very

Very few cases permit a strong sally from the garrison at the 1758
opening of a siege; the present was in some measure justified by the December
supposition that the enemy's troops were intoxicated and in confusion: but, notwithstanding the ardour of the onset, it left no advantageous impression of the firmness of the garrison with the French officers; and Murphy, one of the most experienced, proposed that a general assault should be made on the town in the ensuing night, in four divisions, and offered to lead the principal attack himself. It was lucky for them that his advice was not followed.

The next day the French army began to prepare their batteries, but in situations concealed by houses from the view of the ramparts; however, the motions to and fro left little doubt where they were at work, and shells as well as shot were fired at intervals throughout the day to interrupt them; although sparingly, except when certain of effect; and this prudent thrift was observed throughout all the days; until they opened their batteries: but their artillery which had embarked for the siege was still at a distance at sea, and on the day of the sally a party of four companies of Sepoys, detached with Lieutenant Airey by Captain Preston from Chinglapet, took the only 13 inch mortar, which was coming by land: it was escorted by 150 Sepoys; they were intercepted and defeated between Sadrass and Cobelong; but Airey, having no bullocks to draw off the mortar, ruined it as well as he could, and left it on the road.

Intelligence had been received that one of the vessels which had been laden with artillery at Alamparva, was detained at anchor off the point of Conimere, about 15 miles to the South of Sadrass, by the contrary wind and current; and a Dutch snow being in the road of Madrass, it was resolved to equip and employ her to attack the French vessel; accordingly 20 sailors belonging to the squadron, who had been lately exchanged, and 40 of the marines left by Mr. Pococke, were sent on board under the command of a naval officer of experience; but just as he was going to weigh, the sailors refused to serve, pretending that they knew the French ship was much too strong for them; on which they were relanded on the 10th, and the attempt was relinquished.

The

1758 December The experience of the very few days that the fort had been invested, had convinced the Nabob of the increasing inconveniences which he and his family would suffer by continuing in it through the siege; and the garrison still more wished to be freed from the useless consumption and embarrassment of his retinue, which consisted of 400 men, with 200 horses, besides other cattle, who, nevertheless, could not decently be dismissed whilst he remained. It was therefore resolved, with mutual satisfaction, that he should proceed by sea with his wife, women, and children, and their immediate attendants, on board the Dutch snow, which was to land them at the Dutch settlement of Negapatam; from whence, being in the Tanjore country, they might proceed securely to Tritchinopoly. They embarked, attended by one of the council, on the night of the 20th, and before morning were out of sight; the Nabob's dependents were then told, that they might provide for their own safety, and in a few nights most of them quitted the town.

On the 16th at night, a sally was made to the north by 40 Europeans, and as many Sepoys; but they were discovered before they got clear of the glacis, and returned without firing. Two sallies were made on the night of the 19th; the one by 20 Europeans and 30 Sepoys, under the command of Ensign Bonjour, who proceeded to the northward under the beach to the first houses beyond the esplanade, when some of the Sepoys cried out they saw horse, and giving a scattering fire took flight, which obliged the Europeans, after giving theirs, to retreat likewise; but before they were out of reach, they received the enemy's, by which one was killed and two wounded. The other sally was of 1000 Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul Saheb, to the southward; they were to beat up a guard posted at the garden-house, and then proceed to St. Thomé, in order to seize a piece of battering cannon which was waiting there for bullocks, under the escort of a company of Sepoys: they marched over the Triplicane-bridge, but had scarcely got into the St. Thomé Road, when they received a fire from the first enclosure on the left, which threw the whole body into a panick, and all, excepting

cepting 30 or 40 returned into the fort, and none of them had received a wound. 1758 December

On the 21st another detachment of 1000 Sepoys with 20 Europeans sallied at 10 o'clock in the day, under the conduct of Lieutenant Balantyne and Ensign Crowley, in order to beat up a party with 2 guns which were reported to be posted at the pagoda in the village of Triplicane about a mile to the south of the fort. They crossed the bar of the Triplicane river, and proceeded, driving several small Sepoy guards before them to the pagoda; where, not finding either the party or the guns they were seeking, they turned into the St. Thomé road, and crossing it, marched along the other road, which leads to the Choultry-plain, intending to attack the enemy's guards on the outside of the enclosures near the village of Chindadrepettah; but before they arrived on the plain 300 Europeans were reported advancing from Triplicane river, on which the detachment marched back to the bridge, and returned by the strand of the river to the bar, where a company of grenadiers were waiting to cover their retreat. Whilst this detachment was abroad, two pieces of battering cannon, drawn by a great many bullocks and Coolies, were perceived crossing from the village of Chindadrepettah to the s. w. towards the black town, and being within random shot of the western bastions several cannon were fired upon them, which, soon stopt the bullocks and Coolies, and one of the guns sunk to the axel-tree in the mud; upon which 300 Sepoys, encouraged by the promise of a reward, marched with Jemaul Saheb to spike up these guns: on their appearance the drivers cast off and hurried away the bullocks, and the Coolies ran away; but before the Sepoys got to the bridge, which leads to Egmore, 2100 European horse, followed by some infantry, appeared advancing from the camp in the black town; on which the party was recalled into the fort.

On the 17th, all the English prisoners that had been taken at the sally were sent away for Pondicherry. They were 100, and were escorted by 150 of the European horse, 40 European foot, and 500 Sepoys. They moved slowly, and proceeded towards Sadrass, by the road near the sea shore, which passeth by Cobelong, where they were

 halting

1758 halting on the 19th. Captain Preston, zealous to recover the prisoners, marched in the night of the 19th, with the greatest part of
December thegarrison of Chinglapet, to intercept them. His party was only 80 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and two field-pieces. They crossed the country, and halted at 10 o'clock next day six miles to the south of Sadrass. A channel of 20 miles in length extends from Cobelong to within three miles of Sadrass, and has at each extremity an opening to the sea, from which it receives its water, and at times enough to overflow the country a mile a-cross, in which state it was at present. Besides the road leading from Cobelong to Sadrass along the sea shore, there is another within the inundation, and Preston remaining where he had halted sent half his force over the water with lieutenant Airey, to wait for the enemy on the other road; two hours after appeared a body of 400 Sepoys, within some black horse, whom Preston kept at a distance and dispersed; and in the evening, Airey's party returned without any tidings of the escort, which had passed on to Sadrass before he crossed the water, on which Preston marched back to his garrison, where he arrived the next day.

The commandant Mahomed Issoof, after having been detained three days at Outatore by the rains, arrived on the 29th of November at Thiagar, where he was joined by the killidar, Kistnarow, with 250 horse, and 1000 foot: and Mahomed Issoof himself had enlisted 100 horse on the road. Their forces marched on the first of December, and invested Elavanasore, which stands ten miles to the west of Thiagar. There were in the fort two companies of Sepoys belonging to the French, with a lieutenant, Dumesnil, and three other Europeans, a serjeant, and two gunners, and two field-pieces: this garrison defended themselves until the close of the evening, when they surrendered. Fifty of the Sepoys took service with Mahomed Issoof; the rest were disarmed and permitted to go where they pleased, but the four Europeans were sent to Tritchinopoly: some stores and ammunition were found in the fort. The next day Kistnarow went away with his own troops to get plunder, and on the 7th burnt a village in sight of Fort St. David; but Mahomed Issoof did not move until the 5th, when he proceeded to Tricolore,

a fortified pagoda, ten miles to the north of Elavanasore. On the 6th, he was joined by 200 horse, 1500 Colleries, and 250 Peons, sent by the Polygar Tondiman, and the day after attacked the pagoda, in which were three companies of Sepoys, who defended it with much activity until eight at night, when they offered to surrender provided they were permitted to march away with their arms and effects; and having already killed 15 and wounded 55 of Mahomed Issoof's troops, he accepted their terms; and then following the track of Kistnarow marched to the eastward, spreading his army to ravage the country, all of which, as far as the sea, paid revenue to the French. On the 15th they appeared at Villenore, within sight of Pondicherry, and brought so much terror, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages took shelter in crowds within the bound hedge. On the 18th they cut the mound of the great tank at Valdoor, and let out the water to destroy the cultivations it was reserved to fertilize. The sword was little used, but fire every where, and the cattle were driven away to Tricaloor. Mr. Lally on hearing of these devastations, sent word to Mr. Pigot that he would retaliate, by putting men, women, and children to the sword in the territory about Madrass; he however forbore to execute the threat. On the 21st Mahomed Issoof was joined by 300 horse from Tanjore, not furnished by the king, but hired there with his permission, by Mahomed Issoof's agents; on the same day Kistnarow returned with all his troops to Thiagar. The next, Mahomed Issoof began his march from Villaporum to the northward, still continuing his ravages. Rajahsaheb, with a considerable body of horse, had been for some time at Conjeveram, waiting to protect those districts from his excursions, and on his approach crossed the Paliar, and advanced to Salavauck, as seemingly with intention to give him battle; but on better intelligence of his force, took shelter under the guns of Vandiwash. Lambert was also on the other side of the Paliar with 400 Sepoys, 25 Europeans, and two guns, but on the same information marched round and stopt at two days distance in his rear. On the 25th Mahomed Issoof with his army joined Captain Preston at Chinglapet.

1758 December.

 On

1758 December On the 22d the Harlem, so long expected by the enemy, anchored in the evening at Onore, three leagues to the north of the black town. The next day, the Thames, laden with all kinds of provisions, arrived in the road from Vizagapatam; the wind was high, and the ship had but two anchors, and in the next forenoon parted from that by which she was riding, before one that was coming from the shore on a catamaran could reach her; and the Harlem getting under weigh from Onore at the same time, she stood out to sea, intending to regain the road in the evening, but before night was driven out of sight to leeward. She brought the news of the victory gained by Colonel Forde at Pedipore over the French troops with Mr. Conflans, which the fort announced to the enemy by 21 guns pointed upon their quarters from the northern bastions, and the fire of the whole garrison drawn up in the covered way. The next day the Harlem stopped and seized a vessel trading from the northward, laden with 1000 bags of rice, of which the French camp was much in want. The artillery brought by the Harlem was not sufficient to supply the intended batteries; but several cannon and mortars unladen from the Diligent and Expedition at Alamparvah, and brought in boats from thence to St. Thomé, passed every day from this place to the camp in the black town, and generally across the plain of Egmore, within sight of the fort; but since the sally of the Sepoys on the 21st, the escorts were too strong to be attacked by any parties which the garrison could with prudence risk at that distance. But the stock of gun-powder necessary for the batteries was not yet completed; for this was brought the whole way from Pondicherry or Alamparvah, by land; and, for the want of bullocks, with much delay.

The commandant Mahomed Issoof on his arrival at Chinglapet dispatched the greatest part of his horse, which were now near 1000, to ravage and destroy the country about Conjeveram, from which the French government drew revenues, and their army before Madrass, provisions. On the 27th, he marched himself with his infantry, intending according to instructions he had received from Mr. Pigot, to surprize the French troops which were quartered in the town

town of St. Thomé; but Captain Preston thinking this a hazardous enterprize, resolved to participate in it, and accompanied him with 80 Europeans, two field-pieces, and six companies of Sepoys, from his garrison. They arrived at the Mount on the 29th, and were rejoined the same day by the horse from Conjeveram: during the ensuing night, a detachment of 500 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 600 Sepoys, and 800 black horse, marched from the black town and other posts, under the command of Mr. Soupire, and at day-break the next morning had passed the village of Sidapet, and were within sight of the Mount before their approach was known; however, the activity of Preston and Mahomed Issoof stopt the effects of the surprize, and in a few minutes the troops from both their camps were in march: the enemy halted and began to cannonade, which was returned and continued until 11 o'clock, when Captain Preston seeing an advantage, made a push with the Chinglapet troops, and seized two of their guns, whilst Mahomed Issoof with his, kept the main body at bay and prevented them from making an effort to rescue them; however, the enemy retreated in good order to Sidapet; for the greatest part of Mahomed Issoof's cavalry were, if possible, worse than the black horse with the French, and few of either ventured within arm's length of each other. Fifteen of the French Europeans, with some of their Sepoys and horses, were left dead on the plain, but they carried away their wounded, of whom fifteen were troopers; most of this execution was done by the field-pieces; the Chinglapet troops lost only one European but several Sepoys; and more of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys with some of his horsemen, were killed and wounded; both Preston's and Mahomed Issoof's divisions continued at the Mount. 1758 December

At break of day the next morning, 1000 Sepoys, with the troop of horse, sallied from the garrison of Fort St. George by the southern gate, in order to beat up the guards at the bar of the river, the garden-house, and the village of Triplicane, which they effected without opposition; they likewise intercepted a tappy or letter-carrier, coming with many to the French army, which gave information of the arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry from the island of Mauritius with 70 chests of silver. This day

1759 January. day closed the year. Mr. Lally intended to open the next with his first fire against the fort; but the preparations to equip a large detachment intended to attack the troops with Preston and Mahomed Issoof, deferred the battery to the 2d of January.

The French, whilst in possession of Fort St. George, after taken by Labourdonnais, had made several improvements and additions to the slight works they found, which nevertheless, rendered the fort little capable of long resistance against the regular approaches of an European enemy; nor had they given any extention to the internal area, which did not exceed 15 acres of ground. Nevertheless, the English let the place remain in the state they received it from the French in 1751, until the beginning of the year 1756; when the expectation of another war with that nation, and the reports of the great preparations making in France against India, dictated the necessity of rendering it completely defensible. Accordingly all the Coolies, labourers, and tank diggers, which the adjacent country could supply, were from this time constantly employed on the fortifications: their daily number generally amounted to 4000 men, women, and children, who had continued on the works until lately driven away by the approach of the French army from Conjeveram.

An addition had been projected in the year 1743 by the engineer Mr. Smith, father of Captain Joseph Smith, which included as much ground as the former area of the fort: the ditch which marked its limits was then dug and faced with brick, and was supplied with water by a communication with the northern river, which at that time ran along the foot of the ancient wall to the west; but on account of the expence, nothing was then raised above the surface, and the naked ditch remained when De Labourdonnais came before the town, neither an obstruction nor an advantage to his attack. It was in the same condition in 1756, when the new works were resolved on; and the plan of Mr. Smith having been approved by Mr. Robins, the fortifications on this side were raised in conformity to that projection. To join the new rampart with the old bastion to the s. w. and to gain the ground in the new area which was occupied by the river, its bed was filled up, beginning from the s. w. bastion, with earth dug from the edge of the rising ground of the

black

black town to the north-west, which the excavation removed 40 yards farther from the works: but only two-thirds of the bed of the river under the old wall had been choked up. The river, stopped in its former channel, was directed in another, which environed the west and part of the south face of the new works, washing in some places the foot of the glacis, until it rejoined its former bed at the head of the spit of sand. The old wall of the western side still remained as a retrenchment to capitulate on, in case the outward should be carried. The new extention on this side comprised three large bastions and their out-works. The southern of these three bastions communicated with the old bastion, which stood before on the S. W. angle, by the curtain raised across the former channel of the river; and this curtain increased the south face of the fort from 130 to 210 yards. Nevertheless, the works on this side were much less defensible than those to the west and north; but the surface of water and quagmire in the river before it, rendered this front inaccessible, excepting by the labours of a much greater army, than the present attack. The ground on the north of the fort gave the besieger much more advantage than on the other side; and this face was therefore strengthened in proportion: the two former bastions and rampart, as improved and left by the French, were suffered to remain; but the ditch and glacis which they had dug and raised, were, the one filled up, and the other removed further out, to admit better works. In the front of the N. W. bastion was raised another capable of mounting 28 guns; each of the faces were 100 yards in length, and a battalion might be drawn up on its rampart, although a large vacancy was left in the gorge, or back part, to increase the interval towards the former bastion behind, which this was intended to cover: it was, from its superior strength, called the royal bastion. A demi bastion, corresponding with the royal, was raised before the old N. E. bastion, that stood on the beach of the sea, which, however, the demi bastion did not entirely envelop; for its right hand or east face extending in a line parallel to the sea, adjoining to the shoulder angle of the northern face of the old bastion, leaving this face free to fire forward, but confining the extent of ground it commanded to the same width as the space between the east face of the demi bastion and the sea:

1759 January.

1759 January. sea: to the westward, the old bastion had two guns clear of the demi bastion, which supplied the defence on this side by four guns in the flank and seven in its northern face. The two new bastions communicated with each other by a broad faussebray that passed along the foot of the old rampart and bastions; this faussebray was defended by a stout parapet seven feet high, which adjoined to the flanks of the new bastions. The ditch on this front was dry, because the ground here was seven feet higher than the level of the canal which supplied the ditches to the west and south: but a cuvette or trench, seven feet deep and 25 feet broad, was dug the whole length of the ditch, which before the faussebray was 180 feet wide, and before the bastions, ninety. The covered way of this front was broad and well palisaded, and contained between the two bastions a large ravelin capable of 18 guns, nine in each of its faces. The glacis was excellent, and little was wanting to complete the defences on this side, excepting mines, which the want of time and bricklayers had not allowed. The western face had likewise its covered-way palisaded, and glacis, and contained three ravelins, of which that in the middle was the largest. The eastern face extended along the beach of the sea within twenty yards of the surf; but ships could not approach near enough to batter it with any effect; and no guns could be brought to bear upon it by land. Before the sea gate, which stands in the middle of the curtain, was a battery of 13 guns; fifty yards on the right of this battery was a platform of old standing, with 14 guns to return salutes, which had hitherto been left without a parapet: the original curtain, although nothing more than a brick wall four feet thick, had never been strengthened; but a trench, six feet deep and 10 wide had lately been dug before it; and a ditch, with palisadoes, was intended to have been carried round the battery and the platform, but had not been executed at either. The only danger on this side was from a sudden assault or surprize, which could rarely come by boats landing unawares across the surf; but always, and with ease, by a body of men passing on the edge of it by either of the bastions at the extremities; to prevent which, a row of anchors, backed by palisades, and

a trench

a trench were extended from the neck of each bastion quite into the surf. No buildings, excepting sheds, had been raised in the new ground taken into the westward; and in those of the old, the bomb-proof lodgments were not sufficient for the security of the garrison. 1759 January.

The first appearance of any work done by the enemy, had been discerned in the morning of the 18th of December, when Lally's regiment had completed a breast-work close to the sea, 580 yards from the covered way; it was sheltered by houses on the right, but open in front to a direct fire from the north-east and demi bastions: from this breast-work they continued a trench by two zig-zags 180 yards nearer the fort, which brought the trench 40 yards upon the esplanade: here they began a battery intended for many guns, which extended from the beach, parallel to the same fire as the breast-work, and behind this battery, on the right, they raised another for six mortars, which they completed by the end of the month; but the constant fire of the fort had retarded their work and prevented them from opening any embrasures in the battery for the cannon, because they had not enough ready for this, and another battery of six guns, which the regiment of Lorrain had on their side completed at the opening of a street on the rising ground to the westward, which enfiladed the face of the royal bastion, and the covered way before it: behind this battery were two mortars imprudently sheltered by the rubbish of houses, which had been demolished for the purpose. The garrison called this the Lorrain, and the other by the sea, Lally's battery.

At break of day, on the 2d of January, the Lorrain battery began to fire both its cannon and mortars, which were soon followed by four thirteen-inch mortars from Lally's, which threw their shells in vollies all together. The fort returned with shells as well as shot upon the Lorrain battery with 11 guns, four on the west face of the Royal, five on the flank of the Demi, and two on the west flank of the old north-east bastion: this superiority in less than an hour dismounted two of the Lorrain guns, and obliged them to withdraw the other four; but against the mortars, either here or at Lally's, the

1759 January. the fire of the defences could have little effect, excepting by luck, since they were concealed and defended, as usual, by a high and strong parapet: this annoyance, therefore, continued until seven in the evening, during which time only 80 shells had been thrown from both, all of which fell about the middle of the inhabited part of the fort, where stood the government house, against which they seemed to have been aimed, and two went through the upper roof: much mischief was also done to the adjoining buildings; but not a single person was either killed or wounded by their fall or explosions, nor had any one suffered by the cannon shot of the morning.

As soon as the night closed, several of the principal European women, with their children, were sent away in three massoolah boats, to reside under the protection of the Dutch settlement at Sadrass; they had not been gone two hours before intelligence was received from Captain Preston, that a French detachment had surprized the fort of Sadrass, taken possession of the town, and made the garrison and all the Dutch inhabitants prisoners; but it was too late to recal the Massoolahs. Another letter from Preston, which came in the morning, gave information of an action which he had sustained the day before.

The town of St. Thomé was become a post of great consequence to the French army. The remains of an ancient ditch and bad ground round most parts of the town, with the river and the English redoubt to the south, secured it from surprize, unless attempted by very superior numbers. They accordingly made the town the station of their boats, as well as the temporary repository of their convoys coming by land, and had likewise established in it one of the hospitals of their camp: but the junction of Mahomed Issoof's troops, with Preston's, rendered the maintenance of the town an object of much greater doubt and solicitude, than when it was only exposed to sallies from the garrison of Fort St. George; and the body of French troops which had engaged Preston and Mahomed Issoof at the Mount on the 30th of December retreated immediately after the action to St. Thomè. The day after the action Preston received intelligence that the partizan, Lambert, was

advancing from the south, with a large quantity of stores and a strong 1759
escort; on which he moved from the Mount, in order to intercept January.
them, and encamped at Trivambore, which is a village with a pagoda, situated two miles to the south of St. Thomé, and one from the sea shore. He was followed by the troops of Mahomed Issoof; it having been agreed, in order to prevent jealousies as well as confusion, that the two commands should move and encamp in separate bodies. The troops of Mahomed Issoof consisted of 3500 foot, 500 horse, with three bad field-pieces; they encamped to the north of the village, and extended almost to the sea, with their front towards St. Thomé. Captain Preston, with his division, which consisted of 600 Sepoys, with 80 Europeans, and two brass three-pounders, pitched their tents to the south, looking out for Lambert towards Sadrass. Mr. Lally, apprehensive that they intended to attack St. Thomé, increased the European infantry there to 500 rank and file, and the European horse to 150. Mr. Soupire commanded, and leaving all the black troops, whether horse or Sepoys, marched at three in the morning with the Europeans only, who were 650 horse and foot, and without field-pieces. Half an hour before day they fell on the camp of Mahomed Issoof, which had gained no warning of their approach. The surprize and confusion was so great, that Mahomed Issoof himself escaped at the back of his tent, and his troops fled every way under the enemy's fire, which lasted 15 minutes without interruption; during which Preston turned out his line, and sent forward his piquets to discover, who returned without perceiving any signs of troops to the south; at the same time the crowd of fugitives shewed that the enemy were in possession of Mahomed Issoof's camp, and Preston, judging that their order must have been much broken by the onset, the action, the darkness, and the interruptions spread over the ground, immediately resolved to attack them; and marching with his whole division at the back of the village to the westward, came on the flank of Mahomed Issoof's camp, almost as soon as his approach was discovered; where the French troops, thinking they had routed all their enemies, were collecting the plunder;

1759 der; nor could the officers recal them to any order, before the fire
January. of Preston's division, led by his two field-pieces loaded with grape, scoured through the camp, and his musketry was augmented by the return of the best of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys. Nevertheless, some of the enemy in different parties endeavoured to rally; but, having no strong or collected fire to return, they fell, the more they ventured to make resistance, and all at length broke in confusion; but, when at some distance, the officers prevailed on them to stop, and they marched off in order. They had got possession of the two field-pieces, of Mahomed Issoof's division, but did not tarry to draw them off. Thirty-six of their Europeans were counted dead; of whom one was a captain, and another a lieutenant. Of the English troops in both actions two Europeans were killed and six wounded; of the Sepoys 60, and 121: but only three of the black cavalry, and five horses were killed. On a review at three o'clock in the afternoon, only 700 of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys were numbered; all the rest of his troops, cavalry, Colleries, and Sepoys, on a supposition that Preston's division had been as easily routed as themselves, fled across the country, nor thought themselves safe before they got under the guns of Chinglapet; and, according to their example, the market-people ran away with their bullocks and provisions, of which there was not sufficient for one meal left in the camp; and this want obliged the troops which remained to march away the same evening with the appearance of defeat, as far as Vendaloor, in order to meet a supply from Chinglapet.

The superior fire of the fort in the morning determined the enemy to wait until they could renew the attack with less disproportion. On the 4th a small sloop laden with stores and ammunition worked through the road and anchored near the Harlem, and massoolas had every day passed between St. Thomé, and the black town. At day-break on the 6th, a volley of six mortars were thrown from Lally's battery, as a signal of preparation, and they were the first, either shot or shell, which the enemy had fired since their mortars ceased on the evening of the 2d, although the fort had constantly fired both to interrupt their work. At sun-rise they commenced a regular cannonade

ade and bombardment, which consisted of seven guns and six large mortars from Lally's, and seven guns, with a howitz, from the Lorrain battery, with the two mortars in this quarter, which, however, fired but seldom. Although the Lorrain battery fired only from seven embrasures, it had been augmented to ten, of which the additional four were in a return, or extending from an angle to the left of the other six, and bore upon Pigot's, the next bastion on the west front to the left of the royal. The enemy's fire, both of shot and shells, was directed more against the buildings than against the works. The fort returned on Lally's battery 11 guns, from the old north-east bastion, the north ravelin, and the royal bastion. Against the Lorrain battery, likewise, eleven guns, four from the royal bastion, two from the north-west curtain near Pigot's bastion, and three from the centre ravelin called St. George's on the west: but more guns bore upon the batteries, if it had been necessary to use them.

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The enemy's mortars continued through the night, and were rejoined in the morning by the cannon of the preceding day, and two more, from a battery intended for four, which was raised on the esplanade, adjoining to the west-side of the burying-ground, about 100 yards to the west of Lally's battery, and almost in the perpendicular of the N. W. or saliant angle of the royal bastion, from which it was distant 450 yards. The two guns, now opened in the burying ground, bore upon the west face of the north ravelin and on the west flank of the old N. E. bastion. The enemy's cannon still continuing to point high, did little damage to the works, but the buildings, much damaged before, suffered greatly by the fall of their shells. At the twilight of the next day, the 8th of the month, the three massoolas which had been sent with the English women to Sadrass, landed at the fort. The French being in possession of Sadrass, had seized these boats, laden them with 50 barrels of gunpowder, and several other military stores, and sent them with the same boatmen guarded by a French soldier in each, to their own army in the black town. At four in the morning when opposite to the fort, each of the soldiers had fallen fast asleep, on which the boatmen concerted in their own language with the

1759 January. the certainty of not being understood, although overheard ; and having first poured water into the firelocks, overpowered and bound the soldiers, and then landed the boats at the sea gate. This uncommon instance of fidelity and spirit in men, who are deemed a mean and outcast race, was rewarded and encouraged by paying them immediately the full value of the gunpowder and stores.

The enemy's mortars renewed at midnight, and at day-break their cannon, with two pieces more, mounted in the battery at the burying ground. In the afternoon they set fire to a warehouse near the S. E. bastion, full of saltpetre and brimstone, which could not be extinguished for several hours ; during which the enemy plied the spot, where the black column of smoke arose, with shells and plunging shot, which did no damage. Lieutenant Brooke, a deligent officer in the artillery, was killed by a cannon ball in the demi-bastion. The enemy's ship Diligent, reladen with artillery and all kind of stores, anchored in the morning off the black town, having been 30 days in working along the coast from Alamparva, although the straight distance is not 60 miles.

The same fire, but more frequent on both sides, continued on the 9th, the enemy's mortars still against the buildings ; but their cannon, which in the two preceding days had only silenced two guns, in this disabled or dismounted five, and two mortars. In the night, besides the usual repairs, five embrasures were cut through the glacis of the saliant angle before the demi-bastion, pointing obliquely against Lally's battery, and guns were mounted in them ; but Lally's, nevertheless, dismounted two guns on the demi-bastion the next day ; and on the 11th all the five towards the land on the old N. E. bastion were disabled by this and the Lorrain battery. Early this morning the enemy likewise opened two more guns in a ricochet battery intended for four, which they had raised near the English hospital, on the rising ground fronting the centre ravelin on the west side of the fort, against which, however, it was not intended to fire, but to enfilade the royal bastion : it likewise bore upon part of the north-west curtain towards Pigot's. Notwithstanding this battery stood at a much greater distance from the fort, than any of the other three, it was more exposed than either of

of them to a sally; for none of the guns had embrasures, but fired, 1759
plunging over the parapet, and the guard might be beaten up, and the guns spiked, before succour could arrive from the nearest of the enemy's quarters: aware of this they had carried on a trench, from the end of the street through which Draper had marched to the foot of the bridge, which crossed the ground fronting the battery, and a picquet guard was constantly kept in the trench, ready to give the alarm. They had likewise began a breast-work at the bar of the Triplicane river to the south, in order to annoy the black people and cattle, which were sheltered on the spit of sand at the foot of the glacis on this side; and as many inconveniences would ensue from their dispersion, it was resolved to drive the enemy from the break-work.

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Accordingly a detachment of 200 Europeans, of which half were grenadiers, and 400 Sepoys, marched under the command of Major Brereton, between four and five in the morning, whilst it was still dark: when arrived at the bar they received a fire from some Sepoys posted behind the unfinished parapet, which killed one and wounded two of the grenadiers; but, as the Sepoys immediately disappeared, the fire was not returned, and the detachment proceeded through the coco-nut groves to the left, without meeting any other opposition, until they came into the lane which leads into the St. Thomê road, along the garden wall of the governor's house, when a trooper, sent forward, discovered a party of the enemy drawn up at the end of the lane, with a field-piece. On this intelligence the advanced guard of grenadiers marched up briskly, fired, and pushing on, received the discharge of the gun loaded with grape, as well as the musketry that supported it, by which five of them were wounded, and Lieutenant Robson mortally: the rest, nevertheless, seized the gun before the enemy had time to fire it again, who took shelter in a house and garden on their right, from whence their fire killed three Sepoys and wounded two, with an European, before they were dislodged. It was yet scarcely twilight, and as the grenadiers were drawing off the gun, Jemaul Saheb, the commandant of the Sepoys, who had been prying in the St. Thomè Road, discovered another

gun

1759 January. gun a little below the garden-house, and appearing jealous of the honour, was permitted to seize and bring it off with a party of Sepoys only, which they effected without receiving any return to their first fire. The detachment marched back the same way they had come, and arrived in the fort at sun-rise with the two guns, and five European prisoners, one of whom was an officer severely wounded. Previous to this, two other, but slight sallies had been made; the one to the N. W. bridge, which fired into the enemy's trench before the hospital battery: the other, to disturb the workmen in the zig-zags to the northward; this party advanced to the head of the work, killed a centinel, and brought away two or three muskets, without any loss. The enemy's mortars slackened this day, but the fire of their cannon continued with as much vivacity as before, and disabled four guns, which as usual were replaced before the next morning.

By this time it was evident that the enemy intended to direct the stress of their attack against the two northern bastions, which dictated the necessity of securing them with additional defences: accordingly a palisade was begun in the ditch on the hither side of the cuvette, to extend quite round the demi bastion; a blind, or rampart of earth, at 30 yards distance, in the ditch before the N. E. bastion; and a fascine battery of six guns, on the strand between the east curtain and the sea, a little in the rear of the shoulder angle of this bastion. Early the next morning, which was the 13th, a shell from the fort set fire to some huts behind Lally's battery, which spreading, caught a magazine, and blew it up, with a number of loaded bombs: no fire passed this day either from or against the N. E. or demi bastions; and no gun was dismounted in any part of the fort; but the enemy doubled the number of their workmen in the zig-zag, who were interrupted as much as possible by what fire bore upon them from the royal bastion, the north ravelin, and the embrasures of the saliant angle before the demi bastion; in the night the enemy fired with a field-piece loaded with grape, from the head of their works, on a small party posted near this angle, under the cover of a boat, and wounded three of them, on which the rest retired into the covered-way.

In

In the morning of the 14th, the enemy, opened a battery of three mortars between Lally's and the burying-ground, but in the rear of both, and concealed by the houses between them, from the sight of the fort : their fire this day disabled a mortar and two guns : during the night a constant fire of musketry from the covered-way, and of cannon and mortars from the works of the north front, was kept up against the enemy's approaches, and retarded their progress. On the 15th, they had 10 guns mounted in Lally's, and kept up through the day a fire from 21, besides their 11 mortars as before : but Lally's guns did all the mischief to the works, dismounting two guns in the demi, and two in the north-east bastion, and their shot, which flew over, took in flank the three other batteries towards the sea, and dismounted two guns on the sea-gate battery, two on the saluting battery, and one on the S. E. or St. Thomè bastion, in all eleven : the fire on the trenches continued through the night, from which the enemy, nevertheless, detached a picquet, which drove in the party posted on the salient angle of the glacis. 1759 January.

The enemy's cannonade continued on the 16th, with the addition of two guns on Lally's battery, which now fired with 12, all 24 or 18 pounders, to which the fort could only oppose the direct fire of six of equal weight, which were from the north-east and demi bastions; for the guns in the salient angle of the glacis, and in the fascine battery on the ground below, were of inferior calibres; and as it was constantly necessary to employ many men in reinstating the damages of the demi bastion, a traverse was raised to preserve the guns in its flank from the enfilading fire of Lally's; and whilst this and other work was doing, the three embrasures of its face to the right, which were open to the shot of Lally's, were kept closed until the next day; so that no guns in this bastion were either fired against, or dismounted by that battery; which having the more to use against the other works disabled one on the north-east, and obliged the garrison to withdraw the five guns in the salient angle of the glacis; and as the trenches were now advanced within 50 yards, these embrasures were filled up, and the earth levelled again to the general slope of the glacis. At 11 at night a sally was made from St. George's or the west ravelin

1759 January. to fire into the trench extending before the hospital battery; but the guard there taking the alarm in time, 50 men advanced across the bridge leading to it, and after a fire given and returned, drove the party back into the covered-way. Another sally of 12 Europeans was made at one in the morning, under the command of Ensign Barnes, against the head of the enemy's trenches, into which they gave their fire, and finding only five or six men in it, advanced, until a relief, of 40 or 50 came up from the rear, who drove them back, and before they regained the covered-way, Ensign Barnes, with two of the soldiers, were killed. Before and after this sally, a constant fire, as in the preceding nights, was kept up until morning on the enemy's workmen; who, notwithstanding these interruptions, advanced the sap above 20 yards.

Even the garrison acknowledged the activity of the enemy's progress, and frequent letters had been dispatched, enjoining Captain Preston and Mahomed Issoof to approach, and interrupt their operations; but these officers were no longer masters of their own. Retreating after the action at Trivambore, they arrived at Vendalore on the 3d, where they found some provisions. Preston's division was unimpaired; of Mahomed Issoof's, most of the Tritchinopoly Sepoys, and 150 of the new-levied horse, had rejoined the rest of those who had fled to Chinglapet, who were the 1500 Colleries and 500 horse sent by Tondiman, the 300 horse from Tanjore, and the same number of his own levies; and all these troops refused to march back from Chinglapet to Vendalore. The kind of warfare for which they were intended, and only fit, rendered their desertion in the present conjuncture of too much consequence to be neglected: and after several ineffectual messages, the two commanders marched on the 6th from Vendalore, and joined them at Chinglapet. On expostulation, the cavalry in general pleaded with much complaint, the loss, although owing to their own cowardice, of their baggage and effects at Trivambore, and little less than declared, that they had not engaged in the service, with the expectation of exposing their horses against Europeans, but were willing to act in their usual modes; which Preston rightly interpreted plunder; and to gratify their wishes,

wishes, consented to march with them into the French districts 1759
around Conjeveram, in which they continued several days employed January.
in plunder and ravage; and no shelter grounds protected the cattle from the search of the Colleries. On the 13th, Preston thinking they had been sufficiently indulged with booty, began his march back from Conjeveram, intending to come again in sight of Madrass; but on the first halt, all the troops which he had endeavoured with so much complacence to conciliate, Colleries as well as cavalry left him and crossed the Paliar. This second desertion left no doubt of their inutility, and Preston resolved not to act with them any longer, even if they should return of their own accord; but as the horse of Rajahsaheb, who were 800, and the European cavalry of the French army, rendered it impossible for the infantry of both the English commands, although many, if unsupported by horse, to continue near enough to harass the enemy's camp, without more risk to themselves, Preston resolved to march to Arcot, in order to collect a body of better cavalry, of which he heard several parties were waiting ready to take service on the western confines of the province. Mr. Pigot received intelligence of this motion and its motives on the 16th of the month, but concealed it, as every other which might dispirit the garrison.

The enemy's fire continuing the same on the 17th as the day before, dismounted three guns and a mortar. Ever since the ninth of the month, two ships had been seen off St. Thomé which had every day weighed anchor, endeavouring to get to the northward, but were constantly stemmed by the current from gaining ground; but this evening they passed the road, and joined the three other vessels off the black town. They were the Expedition, laden with artillery and stores, which had left Pondicherry on the 12th of December; and the Bristol of 30 guns, manned with Europeans, which had lately arrived there from Persia, and was immediately laden with shot and shells for the camp.

On the morning of the 18th the enemy had completed three more embrasures in Lally's battery, which joining the former on the

1759 January. left, reached almost to the surf, and being a little turned to the s. w. bore upon the north ravelin, which before night was much impaired by them. Nevertheless, the general fire from the north was diminished, for these new embrasures in Lally's were supplied with three guns from other embrasures of the same battery; and the four in the Lorrain, which bore upon the royal bastion, ceased entirely, and their embrasures were filled up; but Lally's and the burying-ground disabled two guns in the demi bastion, two in the north ravelin, a mortar in the royal, and rendered the three northern embrasures of the N. E. bastion unfit for service. A party of the enemy had been employed through the day in raising a breastwork at a little distance to the left behind their former post at the bar, and began to fire from it at dusk with two field-pieces in barbet against some Sepoys posted on the spit of sand: their mortars continued firing vehemently through the day and night, but, as from the beginning of the bombardment, still against the inside of the fort. Every day one, two, or three of the garrison, and sometimes more, had suffered by the fire; but on this day five Europeans and three Sepoys were killed, and five of each wounded. Notwithstanding a constant fire of cannon and small arms, wheresoever probable, through the night, the enemy advanced their zig-zag across the foot of the salient angle of the glacis, inclining a little to the left towards the surf; and being so near, the governor issued instructions to the officers of the different posts, how to conduct themselves and dispose their parties in case they should assault the outworks.

The next day, which was the 19th, the enemy changed their two field-pieces to the south for two eighteen-pounders, from which they fired shot into the fort: in the forenoon their musketry in the advanced or second crochet had fired smartly upon the north ravelin and the covered-way; their mortars continued incessantly through the day, and set fire to three buildings in different parts of the fort at once, but ceased in the night: during which they only produced their third zig-zag obliquely from the ridge of the glacis to the water-mark of the sea, which was not more than 15 yards. The next day, which was the

the 20th, they fired none of the four guns on Lally's battery, which bore on the north-east bastion; but continued with the seven bearing on the demi bastion, and the three on the north ravelin, although more sparingly than usual, but those in the burying-ground battery with more vivacity: a platform on the demi bastion, and a mortar on the north ravelin were ruined by shells: five Europeans were killed; and seven, with three Sepoys, wounded. During the night, they threw few shot or shells, and made but little advance in their approaches, but enlarged their second crochet, and worked hard in erecting a battery, which projected from it along their last or third zig-zag leading to the crochet which terminated this zig-zag on the glacis. Two small sallies were made upon the trenches during the night, in both of which only one European was killed. 1759 January.

On the 21st the enemy's batteries remained almost silent, but the musketry in their trenches fired briskly on all they saw moving. At five in the evening, a serjeant and ten men went out by a sallyport in the east curtain, and an officer with 20 by the barrier in the north-east angle of the covered-way, who were followed by 40 pioneers with their captain: the soldiers advanced to the second crochet, which was only 30 yards from the foot of the glacis; out of which their first fire drove all the troops, who were mostly Sepoys: after which they maintained the crochet for 10 minutes before the guard of the trenches arrived; and during this time the pioneers worked hard in destroying the gabions, and what other materials were collected for the construction of the intended battery: the sally was preceded and followed by a fire of mortars, cannon, and small arms from the fort, upon all whom the alarm brought within sight and reach; and it was supposed with much effect; two serjeants were killed, and five of the pioneers wounded; in the fort one European and one Sepoy were killed, and a ten inch mortar disabled. In the night the enemy worked hard in thickening the crochet out of which they had been driven, completed their third zig-zag, which extended 100 yards beyond it, mostly on the glacis, but inclining to the left of the salient angle; and not only began, but finished their

third

1759 January. third crochet, which extended to the right from the head of this zig-zag across the ridge of the glacis: they threw few mortars during the night, but mostly into the works; their cannon slackened likewise the ensuing day, which was the 22d, and especially from Lally's battery, in which most of the embrasures were blinded; nevertheless, the few employed were very effectual, for the repeated repairs, which had been made in the demi and north-east bastions, rendered the substituted merlons so weak that they crumbled to every shot: a twelve-pounder was disabled on the north ravelin by a shell, three Europeans and a Sepoy were killed, and seven with nine Sepoys wounded. In the night the enemy pushed on the sap of the fourth zig-zag 20 yards beyond their third crochet, and having made a small return or shoulder to the left, continued it from hence quite up to the salient angle of the covered way, and fixed some gabions on the crest of the glacis on the right hand of this angle; the contest was now brought very near the walls, and was disputed without intermission: the whole progress of the fourth zig-zag was exposed to the fire of the stockade of palmyra trees which the garrison had planted across the east side of the glacis to the surf, and from this stockade the guard kept up a constant fire of musketry on the enemy's workmen, as did another guard from the salient angle of the glacis; and parties of grenadiers were sent out every hour along the beach beyond the stockade to fire upon the third crochet, and all the sap advanced beyond it; cannon, mortars, and musketry, were likewise fired throughout the night from every part that bore upon their work; but could not stop it, for the enemy had increased the number both of their workmen and guards; they likewise finished their battery at the end of their third zig-zag, which shouldered on their second crochet, and opened it the next morning, which was the 23d, with four guns; but it was so ill constructed, that only one of the guns could be brought to bear upon the north ravelin, which it was intended to batter. The Lorrain battery remained closed, but the hospital, the burying-ground, and Lally's, with the mortars as before, continued a slackening fire, the cannon only in the day, but the mortars through the night likewise. The ammunition of both

began

began to wax scant, and they were waiting for more which had been embarked on the 14th in a brigantine from Pondicherry. However, their fire disabled a twenty-four-pounder on the royal bastion, and completed the ruin of all the embrasures on the right face of the ravelin; in which a shot from Lally's penetrated quite through the merlon: in the night, the enemy attempted to push their gabions close to the covered way of the N. E. salient angle, from whence pioneers were sent to overset them, who rolled some into the sea, and pulled others into the covered-way; this contest was maintained at repetitions for three or four hours, and supported by the hottest fire of musketry, and of grape shot from the north-east bastion, and the fascine battery on the beach: 70 discharges were made out of one of the guns: five Europeans were killed and ten wounded in the night and day, most of whom suffered in these attacks: one Sepoy was likewise killed, and six wounded: on the 24th, a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the north-east bastion, of which the works had scarcely received in the night a repair adequate to the detriment of the preceding day: but six of the embrasures in the north ravelin were restored; the other three still remained unfit for service. 1759 January.

At seven in the evening, a party of the enemy, consisting of 50 men, who had waited for the dark, advanced from the nearest crochet to the stockade, from which the guard, which consisted only of 12 men, ran away to the blind before the N. E, bastion; they were immediately sent back with the addition of a more resolute serjeant and ten grenadiers; but were scarcely returned, when this serjeant was shot dead through the stockade; on which the party stopped, waiting for directions; and the officer commanding at the blind recalled them; after which it was thought imprudent to make another attempt to recover the stockade, although capable of giving much annoyance to the enemy's work.

At night, a messenger from Tritchinopoly brought a letter from Captain Joseph Smith, with intelligence he had received from Angengo. The Presidency ten days before had received advices from Mr. Pococke, that the squadron had arrived on the 10th of December at Bombay, where he found six of the company's ships and

1759 January. and two of the line, with 600 men of Draper's regiment on board; which were arrived there a few days before, having passed the Cape of Good Hope too late in the season to gain the coast of Coromandel; the letter from Captain Smith gave intelligence that the company's ships, with all the troops on board, had sailed under the convoy of two frigates from Bombay on the 31st: and the spies which came in from the enemy's camp reported that this news was likewise known there, and had determined Mr. Lally to make a general assault on the fort this very night; on which the whole garrison and all the inhabitants were stationed and remained under arms at their respective posts until the morning.

The fire of the cannon, musketry, and mortars, from the fort, although maintained constantly throughout the night, did not prevent the enemy from advancing their sap along the glacis, on the east face of the covered-way, as far as the left of the stockade, and they made a return on the right to the crest of the glacis; but had not time to extend the sap to the left, along the front of the stockade towards the surf, nor even to complete a proper lodgment in the return, the want of which left their workmen exposed to the fire of the covered-way; but on the other side of the salient angle they had raised gabions, and made considerable progress in a retrenchment intended for a battery.

The night passed without any alarms of the supposed assault; and the ensuing day, which was the 25th, continued with the usual fire of cannon and Mortars until two in the afternoon, when a sally was made by the guard at the blind, and the same number of grenadiers, in all forty soldiers with arms, who covered twenty pioneers with tools. Just before the blind, on the east face of the covered way, parallel to the same face of the demi bastion, was a passage cut in the glacis towards the surf; through which the party passed, and then proceeding along the surf, round the right of the stockade, came in flank of the head of the enemy's sap, from which their first fire drove all their guards and workmen, who retreated to their retrenchment at the salient angle waiting for succours; during which the English soldiers maintained their ground, and the pioneers overset the gabions, some into the sea, others into the

 covered-

covered-way, and destroyed whatsoever implements they found : this attack lasted 20 minutes, by which time the enemy had gathered, and were advancing in much superior numbers, from the retrenchment; upon which the party was recalled, and retreated, giving and receiving fire. A serjeant with three grenadiers were killed; six others of the soldiers, with Captain Black, who commanded the sally, and Lieutenant Fitzpatrick, were wounded. The enemy's artillery bore most on the royal and demi bastions; their mortars falling on the works wounded many more than usual. The total loss, including that in the sallies, was eight Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and 17 Europeans with 13 Sepoys wounded. 1759 January.

The enemy's sap being advanced to the east flank of the covered-way threatened immediate danger by surprize on the east face of the fort, to which the sea-gate gave the fairest opening; for the embrasures in the north flank of the battery before it had been ruined by the enemy's shot which had missed or flown over the N. E. bastion and fascine battery; and the gateway itself was a spacious arch shut occasionally with folding doors; so that, should the enemy ever make a general assault on the ruined works to the north, a party sent at the same time along the surf, or even in boats, might force their way through the gate with petards; and this party might pass without much interruption; for the fascine battery which barricaded the beach was nearly demolished. The whole of the working party of the night was therefore allotted to remedy these defects, and before morning they repaired the fascine battery, restored the embrasures of the battery before the sea-gate, bricked up the arch of the gateway, and opened a small gate on the left hand, which had been closed. In the succeeding nights the workmen began and continued the intended ditch with palisadoes round the sea-gate battery, which had hitherto been deferred for services of more immediate necessity. The enemy employed the night with equal diligence, and pushed the sap of their retrenchment from the salient angle 70 yards along the north face of the covered-way, and widened the work in an excavation sufficient to contain cannon and a large detachment of troops: this work, with what was done the night before on the

1759 the other side, entirely embraced the salient angle of the covered-way.

January.

The following day, which was the 26th, the enemy fired most of their shot into the town; and most of their shells, as in the preceding night, into the works of the north front, by which a twenty-four pounder was dismounted on the N. E. bastion, and the casualties from the evening to the evening were five sepoys and one European killed, and 11 wounded, of whom were the Lieutenants Lang, and Little, who lost his left arm. In the succeeding night the enemy widened and raised their work on the crest of the glacis, notwithstanding the constant fire of the defences; and no guards could any longer be kept at the salient angle they had invested, but centries were advanced every quarter of an hour from the blind before the N. E. bastion, to observe whether they were beginning any new works, but discovered none. In the 24 hours to the evening of the 27th, no damage was done to any of the artillery, but five Europeans were killed and five wounded, and one with five Sepoys. The enemy's workmen remained very silent in their trenches through the night.

Three hundred Sepoys were intended to sally before day-break on the 28th, in order to surprize the enemy's battery of two guns to the south of the bar: but marching too late were discerned, and received the fire of the battery before they had crossed the bar, on which they were immediately recalled into the fort. In the morning the enemy began to fire again from the battery near their second crochet, which had remained silent ever since they opened it ineffectually on the 23d, and during this interval they had endeavoured to rectify the erroneous construction of the embrasures, which were intended against the right face of the north ravelin: they had likewise brought up two ten-inch mortars to this battery, with which, and three guns, they commenced their fire; but one of the guns failed at nine o'clock, and another at ten; in the afternoon another, which they were trying in the 4th embrasure, was disabled by a shot from the fort; after which, the cannonade from this battery ceased entirely, but the mortars continued. At noon a party with many

yoke of oxen assembled at the bar, in order to draw off the two guns there; but the firing of the fort soon made them remove the cattle out of reach. The casualties from the preceding night to the evening of this day were one European and one Lascar killed, with ten Europeans and nine Sepoys wounded. 1759 January.

During the night the enemy drew off one of the guns at the bar; their workmen carried on a mining sap from the left of the palmyra stockade across the glacis, and on a level lower than the covered way, intending to pass under this likewise in order to open the counterscarp of the ditch; they executed this work with so much silence that the garrison had no suspicion of it until two the next afternoon, when the sap was advanced as far as the scarp, or brick facing of the glacis, and being carried too high, the earth of the covered way with the facing fell in, and discovered them; some grenadiers were immediately sent to fire and throw grenades into the hole, which obliged the miners to stop, but they renewed their sap lower. Their mortars continued during these 24 hours against the works. A nine-pounder was disabled on the N. W. ravelin by the fire from the hospital; and the embrasures of Pigot's bastion, and of Lawrence's, the next on the left, were much damaged by shells and stray shot; for both these works were out of the front attack, nor was there a single gun which bore directly upon them; for the enemy had for some days ceased the 4 they opened on the 7th of the month in this direction, which joined to the left shoulder of the Lorrain battery. The casualties from the evening to the evening were two Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and two and one wounded. In the ensuing night the enemy threw many shells into the town, and continued hard at work both in their covered sap, and in raising a battery on the crest of the glacis, but with so much silence, that the garrison could not discover what they were doing: the working party of the fort were employed in restoring the right face of the north ravelin, and the same side of the caponiere leading to it across the ditch.

In the interval since the desertion of the black troops at Conjeveram, several letters and other notices had been received from Cap-

1759 January. tain Preston and Mahomed Issoof. Pursuing their intention of enlisting a body of better cavalry, they arrived on the 12th at Lallapet, a town of great resort, 10 miles to the N. W. of Arcot, where their invitations soon collected 500 Moorish horse, and 600 Morratoes. The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab Cawn, was at this time residing with their mother at Chitore, and being urged by her representations to some compunction for the distress of the Nabob's affairs, he proffered his assistance; on which Mahomed Issoof, with a small escort, went to Chitore, and in a few days returned, accompanied by Abdulwahab with 1000 horse, and more foot, being the troops he had kept in pay since he quitted Arcot in the preceding year. Overtures were likewise made to a body of 3000 Morratoes belonging to Balagerow, and commanded by an officer named Gopaulrow, who were lying at the pass of Damalcherry; but Gopaulrow insisted on receiving money before any moved, on which Preston sent him the bill of an opulent shrof for 60,000 rupees, which was to be paid as soon as the horse arrived at Velore; but as the messages and march required eight days, the army in the interval set out from Lallapet on the 22d, and halted on the 25th at Trivalore, within four miles of the fort of Tripassore, in which, as well as Pondamalée, the French had a garrison of Sepoys; but the pettah of Pondamallée, being much opener than of Tripassore, Mahomed Issoof sent off a detachment to plunder it, which they effected after some skirmishing with the Sepoys from the fort, of whom several were killed. Besides the booty they got in the pettah, the detachment returned with 3000 sheep and oxen, which had been collected from the country, and were kept under the protection of the garrison, in the common round the fort, to supply the French army before Madrass. The Nabob's brother Nazeabulla, who had accompanied Mr. Moracin to Pondicherry, and afterwards the French army to the siege, had lately returned to Nelore; and the example and exhortations of his brother Abdulwahab, had reclaimed him so far, as to promise to join him at Trivalore with his force; but he delayed, and the army having been reinforced with ammunition and two more three-pounders from Chinglapet, proceeded on the 27th to Trimliwash, a town situated on the

skirts

skirts of Malrawzes wood, 12 miles to the N. W. of Madrass. The 1759
Polygar, with an agent who had been sent to him by the governor, January.
came to the camp, and promised to bring 2000 Peons and a supply of rice: but, finding no money was intended to be given him, returned the next day into his wood, and appeared no more. Mahomed Issoof, as soon as the camp was pitched, rode with a party of horse as far as Maskelyne's garden, which stands two miles N. W. of Fort St. George, where most of the oxen belonging to the French army were kept under the care of a guard of Sepoys and black horse; whom Mahomed Issoof's party put to flight, and seized most of the cattle. The next day the whole body of French cavalry, who were 300, and Rajahsaheb's who were 800, encamped to the north of the garden, and on the 29th one of their parties routed one of Abdulwahab's, and took ten prisoners. The attention to this army, since their arrival in the neighbourhood, diminished the activity of the enemy's operations against the fort, by the detachments they were obliged to send and recal on different reports and alarms. Their approach, just as the enemy's works were advanced so near the defences increased the alacrity of the garrison.

On the 30th, at 11 in the forenoon, a sail was descried to the southward; when nearer, her colours were discerned to be English, and her form that of one of the Company's ships. All the French vessels, which were five, flung out English colours likewise; and the two ships, the Harlem and Bristol, prepared to get under weigh. A catamaran was immediately dispatched from the fort, warning the stranger to beware of them; in the evening Mr. Dalrymple was sent in a boat, with farther instructions to the captain. The catamaran got on board before the ship came to an anchor, which was not until nine at night; and soon after the Bristol came up, received and returned a broadside, and fell to leeward. The ship was the Shaftsbury East Indiaman, commanded by captain Nathaniel Ingliss, and one of those which were bringing Draper's regiment from Bombay: but, sailing much worse than the others, they made her the hospital ship, and left her off the south of Ceylon on the 7th of the month, after, which, a luckier vein of wind and current brought her to her port before them. The sick, who were

36 men

1759 January. 36 men of the regiment, only added to the distress of the garrison; but she had on board 37 chests of silver, and many military stores, amongst them, hand-grenades, and bombs of the largest sizes, of which the garrison were much in need, having nearly expended their stock of these articles. The communication of letters was easy and expeditious, after the ship came to an anchor; and, by the governor's order, she threw out at day-break the ensigns of a man of war, and received, as if such, a salute of 13 guns from the fort. At the same time the enemy on shore began to fire upon her with one gun from their neglected battery at the second crochet, and two from the breast-work to the south, near the bar; all the three were twenty-four pounders; and sometimes sent red-hot balls. At three in the afternoon, the Bristol, which had fallen far to leeward, worked up again into the road: whilst drawing nigh, boats with soldiers went off to her from the black town. The Harlem, which had likewise been manned from the shore, bore down at the same time, and the Shaftsbury had got under weigh to change her station, but being intercepted by the Bristol, sustained the engagement under sail for two hours, and then anchored, where directed, as near as the soundings would admit, opposite to the south-east bastion. The other ships anchored likewise, but far out in the offing, and nevertheless continued firing until night. The rigging of the Shaftsbury was much damaged by the fire of the ships, and she received several shot through her hull from the shore: but no one was wounded, except Lieutenant Browne of the regiment, who lost his right arm. Before 10, the massoolas of the garrison landed the sick and the treasure; and it being suspected that the enemy's ships might attempt to board the Shaftsbury with their boats, the governor sent optional orders to Captain Ingliss, either to escape out of the road, maintain his station, or run the ship ashore. The confidence was well placed, and Ingliss determined on the choice of danger. The next day, which was the first of February, she stood the same fire from the shore, some from the Harlem, but none from the Bristol, for this ship had sailed away in the night to Pondicherry; and on the second, none from the Harlem, which anchored far out in the offing; but the fire upon her from the shore still continued.

The

The preparations of the enemy on shore against the Shaftsbury, slackened their fire against the fort on the 30th, the day she was discerned. The three embrasures on the left of Lally's battery, which bore upon the right face in the north ravelin, continued; the two next to them, which were the left of the four that had hitherto been employed against the north-east bastion, likewise remained free; but the interposition of their own work on the crest of the glacis precluded the use of the two other embrasures against this bastion, as well as of the four which had battered in breach the salient angle of the demi bastion: but they did not think it worth their while to remove the guns of these embrasures into those on the right, in order to batter towards the shoulder angle, that next the flank of this bastion, because they intended, as usual, to make the breach at the salient angle, in which their fire had already almost ruined the parapet. The fire of the burying-ground battery, with four guns, continued on the left face of the north ravelin, and the flank of the demi bastion, and the four guns in the hospital-battery enfiladed the whole of the north front. The outward gun in Lally's battery which remained free against the north-east bastion, they turned against the shoulder merlon on the left of the fascine battery, raised by the garrison on the edge of the surf, of which all the four guns bore on this and the three next embrasures of Lally's, to the left. Their mortars in this, the burying-ground, and the battery between them, likewise continued as before. Such was their fire at the close of this day; and in these 24 hours one 18 pounder was dismounted by the hospital-battery on Pigot's bastion, 1 European, with 3 Sepoys were killed, and 9 Europeans, with 2 Sepoys, wounded.

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The enemy's mortars continued through the ensuing night, and mostly against the defences. They worked hard under ground from the palmyra stockade; but, as before, without being discovered; and the earth they threw up on the crest of the glacis likewise concealed their intentions there, although the garrison gave frequent alerts, and threw grenades every half hour, hoping the occasion of a successful sally to explore their work; but the enemy here took

no

1759 January. no alarm. It was supposed they were carrying on a covered sap towards the blind before the north-east bastion, which threatened the most dangerous mine they could spring; and to counteract their intention by meeting their work, the garrison opened a sap from the left of the ditch, and directed it across and under the ground immediately in front of the blind. The mining gallery towards their battery on the crest of the glacis was likewise pushed on with much diligence. The ensuing morning, the enemy at sun-rise opened four embrasures in this battery, which extended to the right from the summit of the salient angle: one of them pointed to the N. E. bastion, and all the four bore on the salient angle of the demi; but they had raised the embrasures so high, that none of their shot could strike the parapet, but all flew over the fort; so that after five or six rounds they ceased firing, and closed the embrasures in order to alter the level. Besides the guns which they opened and kept up against the Shaftsbury, their other batteries against the fort continued through the day: the hospital and burying-ground, with all their guns, but Lally's only with five, three of which were those against the north ravelin, and the other two, which were the next to them, fired mostly against the fascine battery, where they disabled two twelve pounders; a twenty-four pounder was likewise dismounted on the royal bastion: the casualties to the troops were 4 Europeans killed, and 9, with 3 Sepoys wounded. During the night, the garrison, besides the repair of the works, continued their gallery towards the salient angle, and the covered sap before the blind. The enemy continued their sap likewise still undiscovered, and worked in altering their breaching battery; but when they opened it again the next morning with five guns, the shot as before flew over, and they were again obliged to close the embrasures.

February. This day was the first of February: the fire of the two guns from the bar to the S. and the other to the N. at the second crochet, continued a crossing fire against the Shaftsbury with much aim, and sometimes with red-hot shot, of which several went through the hull. The Harlem likewise fired and helped to ruin her rigging. The fort fired upon the Harlem and on the enemy's southern guns and

and in the evening a twenty-four pounder, which bore on them 1759
from the St. Thomé or south-east bastion, burst, whilst Mr. Pigot February.
the governor was there; he and two other men were slightly wounded, but four more died of their hurts. The rest of the fire on both sides continued as the day before, excepting that the enemy's mortars were not so frequent. The Cuddalore, a schooner belonging to the Company, which had lain some days at Paliacate where she had stopped several boats coming from the northward to the enemy's camp, came this day near the road; but seeing the Harlem ready to weigh, stood out again to sea. A twenty-four pounder was disabled in the saluting battery of the fort by its own fire on the Harlem. The casualties, besides those who suffered on the St. Thomé bastion, were 2 Europeans killed, and 4, with 2 Sepoys, wounded. In the night, as well as the day, the pioneers of the garrison continued the two galleries, the one towards the enemy's battery on the salient angle of the glacis, the other under the blind, and the rest of the workmen were chiefly employed in repairing the parapet towards the salient angle of the demi bastion.

In the morning of the 2d, the enemy opened again their embrasures on the crest of the glacis, which they had been repairing all night, but with as little judgment as in the preceding, for their shot still flew too high; and the guns being exposed as before without resistance to the cannon and mortars of the defences, were closed again in an hour after they had opened, and remained silent the rest of the day. The other batteries continued as before. The Harlem had weighed before day-break, and anchored out of gun-shot of the Shaftbury, which now only sustained the fire of the three guns on shore; and theirs less frequent than in the preceding days. At eight in the morning, several parties of horse were discerned from the steeple, advancing in the plain about five miles N. W. of the fort; and soon after appeared the whole army, with Preston and Mahomed Issoof. The enemy's cavalry at Viparee drew out, reinforcements joined them from the black town, and at three in the afternoon firing commenced, which lasted until sun-set.

1759 February. The governor had repeatedly recommended to Preston and Mahomed Issoof to march round, and take possession of St. Thomé, and from thence to come by the sea-shore into the fort; or to penetrate wherever else they should see an opening; the intention of this junction was to concert measures for a general attack on the enemy's camp, which could not be explained by letters in cipher and liable to interception. The effort, however, was not to be made by a sally of the united force from the fort; but Preston's army, after being furnished with money and four days provisions, which the garrison could spare, were to march out and encamp abroad again; and at the appointed hour fall on the black town, whilst the garrison at the same time sallied upon the enemy's works. This project was scarcely feasible; for the enemy, knowing the junction in the fort, would be on strict guard in all their posts. Preston, although he disapproved the scheme, was as solicitous as the governor to carry it into execution; but the Polygars had failed to supply the provision of rice they had promised, which obliged the army to send for it as far as Chinglapet and Conjeveram, and detained them three days at Trimliwash until the morning of the 2d; when they marched, intending to pass to St. Thomé between the black town and the Mount, notwithstanding the whole body of the enemy's cavalry were lying in the way at Viparee. Mr. Lally, hearing of their approach, took a detachment of 300 European infantry, 500 Sepoys, and six field-pieces, from the black town, and joined his two bodies of cavalry which were lying at Viparee. He was accompanied by Mr. Bussy, and most of the principal officers, of the army. They marched onward in the plain towards Preston's force, who seeing them coming, halted on the other side of a long morass formed by paddy fields, which intersected the whole extent of the plain from west to east: the cavalry with Preston, to avoid the enemy's cannonade, kept at a distance in the rear; but the infantry drew up under the shelter of banks which continued along the edge of the morass. Mr. Lally made several motions to intice them to cross; but they were not seduced: on which he took post at three o'clock in a spot of ground covered by hedges and trees, and

and opened his cannon across the morass, although at the distance of 1000 yards, which were answered by only six three-pounders. The Sepoys, and even the Europeans on both sides, fired sometimes likewise with their small arms: but the horse were never near each other. From the advantage of situation, notwithstanding the disparity of the cannon, the loss in Preston's army did not much exceed the enemy's, being 15 Sepoys, one European, and five horse killed, and five Sepoys wounded; whereas the enemy left nine Europeans and thirteen horses dead on the plain. At sunset they retreated to Viparee, where Mr. Lally likewise remained with the detachment of infantry; and Preston, for want of provisions, returned to Trimliwash.

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In the night the enemy threw fewer shells than usual: from the morning of the 2d to the morning of the 3d, was the first day since the 4th of January, in which no one was killed in the fort; and no Sepoys received any hurt, but five Europeans were wounded. The pioneers of the garrison continued the two mines: they who were at work under the blind discovered no signs of the sap they suspected; but the miners, who were pushing under the covered-way towards the breaching battery, heard, at two in the morning, the sound of men working near them in the enemy's mine on the right under the east face of the glacis, which it was supposed they had relinquished since it failed on the 23d. At daybreak they sprung this mine on the inside of the covered-way, through the counterscarp of the ditch, at the extremity of the cuvette; into which the bulk of the explosion was thrown. Fragments of the brick-work wounded five Europeans and a Sepoy; but the explosion itself blew up none: nevertheless, to destroy many men seemed the only intent; for if it was meant to facilitate the descent into the ditch, their approaches were not sufficiently forward to attempt this operation; since the excavation was entirely commanded by the three innermost guns in the flank of the royal bastion, of which all the seven being covered on the flank by the oreillon, and by traverses in the rear, had received no hurt from the

1759 February. enemy's cannon, and none of their mortars had chanced to light amongst them; so that all remained in perfect condition, and the enemy, before they sprung the mine, should have raised a battery in the same direction, on the crest of the glacis, to take off these defences. Immediately after the explosion, they began to fire from two embrasures of their breaching battery in the salient angle, which the fire of the fort, as before, soon obliged them to close; their other batteries likewise slackened, and their mortars still more. Their workmen were chiefly employed during the night, in lowering the embrasures of their breaching battery; the garrison, besides the repairs of the demi bastion, against which the greatest part of the enemy's fire had been directed, worked at their two mining galleries. The casualties of the day and night, besides the men wounded by the enemy's mine, were only one Sepoy killed, and one wounded.

At day-light on the 4th, the enemy again opened their breaching battery on the crest of the glacis, and for the first time fired from all the six embrasures, which, although something lowered, still remained too high to strike below the parapet of the bastions; and the endeavour necessary to reduce them even to this level retarded the repetitions of their fire. The two embrasures in the left of the battery bore on the north-east, the other four on the demi bastion. The N. E. returned with three guns, but the demi bastion with none; for the embrasures were closed, in order to let the workmen thicken the parapet within; and their fire was much better supplied by the four innermost guns in the flank of the royal bastion, upon which not a gun in the breaching battery against which they fired, nor from any other, could bear; and the gunners, sensible of their security, fired with deliberate aim, whilst the three guns on the N. E. bastion continued hotly on their opposites, and both together obliged the enemy in less than an hour to withdraw their guns, and close the embrasures: nor did they attempt to open them again during the rest of the day. At seven the gallery carrying on towards this battery having been pushed to the banquet of the covered-way, fell in at the end

end there, and the light came in; but the miners stopped the hole 1759
so soon, that the enemy did not discover the mischance. The gal- February.
lery was then filled five or six feet back, and from hence a return made to the right, from which it was again continued straight forward under the glacis. In the night, the enemy had withdrawn the two twenty-four pounders from the bar, in order to replace others which had been disabled in the north front of the attack; they however substituted a six-pounder to check any sally from the fort. The cessation of this fire to the south released the Shaftsbury from the greatest molestation she had endured, by which several of her men had been killed and wounded, her hull shot through in many places, and all her masts and rigging ruined. In the morning, before day-light, she had moved from her station under the guns of the S. E. or St. Thomé bastion, and anchored about a mile in the offing, opposite to the sea-gate. The French ships continued at their anchors out of gun-shot; so that all the annoyance which she received through the day was a shot now and then from the single gun at the second crochet. Against the fort, the four guns at the burying-ground continued with vivacity, but the two enfilading in the Lorrain, and the four crochet on the hospital-battery with less frequency: all the enemy's first-rate bombs were expended, and most of the next sizes, so that they only fired a few shells of eight and ten inches from the second crochet. In the evening, a sloop from Pondicherry anchored at St. Thomé with a supply of stores. During the night, the enemy fired a great deal of musketry upon the covered-way, and the garrison, besides the repairs, continued the two mines. The casualties of the night and day were one European and three Sepoys killed, and four with two wounded, and a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the demi bastion.

Early in the morning of the 5th, the Harlem, the Diligent, and three smaller vessels, got under sail from their station before the black town, where they left only one, a small sloop, and standing to the southward were out of sight before the evening. The cause of their sudden departure, was a report from Pondicherry, that several ships of force had been seen off Negapatam. At sun-

rise,

1759 February. rise, the enemy again opened their breaching battery, but before they had fired three rounds were obliged to close it again by the same fire as the day before. At nine, a red flag seen on the Mount signified that Preston's and Mahomed Issoof's army were arrived there from Trimliwash; they had before represented the necessity of remaining at a distance until supplied with ammunition and stores from Chinglapet, provisions from the country, and money from Madrass. Mr. Pigot ordered them at all events to attempt the effort so often recommended of marching into the fort; but, lest it should fail, dispatched in the evening ten of the troop of European horse, with Captain Vasserot, each carrying a thousand pagodas, who crossed the Island, forced through the enemy's guard at Chindadrapettah, and arrived at the Mount at ten at night, of which they immediately gave notice to the garrison by four rockets and a large fire. The fire of the enemy's batteries was slacker than usual in the day, their shells very few, and little musketry in the night. Nevertheless the casualties until the morning of the 6th, were another twenty-four pounder disabled on the demi bastion, one European and three Sepoys killed, and four Europeans wounded.

The enemy's breaching battery remained silent during the 6th; nor had they repaired the damages it had sustained; but in Lally's of which the fire had ceased since the 30th of the last month, six embrasures appeared to have been restored to good condition for service: but so many of the enemy's guns had been ruined, that they were obliged to withdraw the four from the recrochet battery at the hospital, to furnish the embrasures at Lally's which, however, they did not open until the next day; so that their fire this day was from fewer guns than in any since they began the siege, consisting only of the four guns at the burying-ground, and two in the Lorrain battery; but they added two ten-inch mortars to the two already established at the second crochet. All their cavalry, European, as well as the black, were observed filing off to the Choultry Plain; and Sepoys, with guns and tumbrils, were seen marching that way from the black town. The night passed without skirmish, for the enemy were not heard at work on the crest of the glacis; but their mortars continued.

continued. In the day and night two Europeans were killed, and two wounded, but none of the Sepoys were hurt. 1759 February.

In the morning of the 7th the enemy began to fire, as was expected, from Lally's battery, but only from four of the embrasures and with a mortar on the right, all bearing upon the demi and north-east bastions, which together returned six guns : the other batteries continued as the day before, and the mortars in the night ; during which no alarms were given either by the enemy or the garrison : two guns were disabled on the north-east bastion ; two Europeans were killed, and five, and two Sepoys, wounded.

Notwithstanding the inefficacy of the breaching battery, the rest of the enemy's fire had by this time rent the salient angle of the demi bastion from top to bottom ; and Mr. Lally, who viewed every thing with enthusiasm, ordered the principal engineers and artillery officers to give their opinion on the feasibility of storming this breach, and declared his own of success ; but the officers considered the question with more deliberation. They agreed that the descent into the covered way from the breaching battery on one side, and the gabions on the other, of the salient angle of the glacis, was easy, and that the descent into the ditch and passage across it had been rendered very practicable by the mine they had sprung in the covered way from the eastern side of the glacis, of which the explosion had filled up a sufficient space at the end of the cuvette or trench of water dug along the middle of the ditch ; but a rank of strong palisadoes ranged along the other side of the cuvette, and having hitherto received no damage must be torn down by hand, before the troops could gain the foot of the breach ; who, during the descent into the ditch, would be exposed, without the cover of a single gabion on the flank, to the fire of the north-east bastion and of musketry from the blind before it ; to six guns in the curving flank of the royal bastion, and abundance of small arms from the caponiere which led across the ditch to the north ravelin ; and the havoc of these two fires would continue without the least resistance or interruption upon the troops whilst assaulting the breach itself. From these circumstances the officers declared the breach, although practicable,

1759 February. practicable, inaccessible; but added, what they were not asked, that from a comparison of the forces, the prosecution of works to quell the fire of the place would only sacrifice the lives of many men without the least probability of success.

The only variation in the attack during the 8th, was the addition of one gun on Lally's, which now fired with five. The force with which the enemy intended to oppose the army at the Mount had collected in a separate camp on the Choultry Plain, and in their rear at Egmore were six field-pieces with four tumbrils. In the afternoon the Bristol anchored off St. Thomé returning with stores from Pondicherry; and, as it was apprehended that she might have brought a supply of large shells, the governor proposed that the Shaftsbury, reinforced with 40 soldiers from the shore, should attack her. Captain Ingliss concurred in this intention with alacrity; but his masts were so much damaged, that it required the repair of two days before he could set a sail. No annoyance, excepting mortars, passed between the besiegers and the fort during the night. Before the morning, the gallery in front of the blind before the north-east bastion had been carried far enough toward the sea to secure this work from any mines of the enemy, and was continued in a direction forward towards the palmyra palisade, of which the enemy were in possession, in order to cross any other they might be attempting against the east face of the covered way. Two explosions of powder had been occasioned in the enemy's works by the fall of shells during the night. In these 24 hours were one European and one Sepoy killed, and two Europeans and one Sepoy wounded; but no gun was dismounted.

In the three last days, information had been received from Captain Preston, that Major Calliaud was approaching with a reinforcement from the south; and these were the first advices concerning him, which had reached either Preston or the garrison since his departure to Tanjore; for every letter which he had written passing through the enemy's country, had been either intercepted by them, or carried far away by the messengers. A variety of untoward incidents had protracted the execution of his commission. He embarked at nine in

the morning on the 1st of December in a common massoolah, which 1759
had only six rowers and the steersman; he was accompanied by Mr. February.
Boswell the surgeon, as his interpreter, and one servant. In a few hours after they were at sea, a hard gale of wind arose, in which they could not show the sail, and scarcely use the oars; nevertheless the drift of the wind and current carried the boat by 9 o'clock the second night as far as Devi Cotah, which is by the sea one hundred and thirty miles from Madrass, when the rowers were so much exhausted, that no entreaties could prevent them from putting ashore; and they grounded on the strand within half a mile of the fort of Devi Cotah, in which was an officer and some French Sepoys, from whose notice they were preserved by the continuance of the storm, and before day-break put to sea again; but the boatmen would not venture over the larger and outer surf, and continued driving in the hollow sea between the two, until noon, when they landed at Tranquebar. The rains had overflowed the rivers, which remained impassable until the 12th. On the 14th Calliaud arrived at Aimapettah 15 miles from Tanjore, where he was again detained three days by the bad weather. On the 17th he reached the city.

The king of Tanjore, when more closely pressed by Captain Joseph Smith to furnish the 1000 horse requested of him by the Presidency in December, pleaded the ravages which his country had lately suffered from the French army, and demanded 200,000 rupees before-hand; at length he more plainly said, that he thought the English did not care what befel the territory of their allies, provided they could defend their own: but as he could not allege this indifference to himself when attacked by the French, he cited the unconcern with which they had suffered the French to take every fort belonging to the Nabob, and even his capital of Arcot, without making any efforts to protect them; although he knew that the Presidency had not the means, and with the Nabob's were losing their own revenues.

Major Calliaud found the king in the same temper, so prepossessed of the decline of the English fortune, that he neglected the

1759 February. usual attentions to himself, as their representative, and instead of a house, allotted his habitation in a choultry. In their conference, the king said he had sufficiently exposed himself to the resentment of the French, if Madrass should fall, by the assistance he had already sent with Mahomed Issoof, which were 300 horse ; but not paid by himself : nevertheless he was willing to lend 400 more, provided Calliaud would discharge their arrears : Calliaud demanded Colonel Kennedy and the Jesuit Estevan, the French hostages whom the king had detained ; but the king refused, and let them depart on the 19th, as it were, in his sight. Nevertheless, the horse were so necessary that Calliaud determined not to take offence whilst there remained any probability of getting them, and applied for money to the house of Buccangee, which was by far the most considerable bank in the Carnatic, and had hitherto transacted the greatest part of the Company's exchange throughout the province : but their agents in Tanjore refused to supply any money for bills on Madrass. The king knowing this promised the horse should be ready in four days, if the money was paid. Calliaud then applied to the Dutch government of Negapatam, who proffered a loan, but proposed to furnish it in coins, and at rates, which would have produced a loss of 25 per cent. These disappointments obliged him to seek the money at Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 24th, and obtained the promise of a supply from another shop of Buccangee's house established there : he returned on the 27th to Tanjore, where intelligence had been received the day before, that the Nabob with his family, who had left Madrass on the 20th, were arrived at Negapatam, and that his wife, in this short but tempestuous passage, had been brought to bed at sea. At the same time Seid Muctoon the Nabob's agent at Tanjore informed the king, that the Nabob intended to come into the city in his way to Tritchinopoly, and expected to be met, as usual, upon the road ; but the embarkation, the season, and above all, the travail of the lady, had convinced the king, contrary to the real motives, that nothing but the despair of Madrass could have induced the English government to expose the prince of their alliance to such risks and distresses ;

and

and either from the malignant pleasure of insulting his superior in distress, or from his dread of the French, if they should prove successful, or both, he refused either to admit the Nabob into the city, or to pay him a visit without the walls: nor heeded the representations of Calliaud endeavouring to correct his contumacy. The news likewise frightened the shroff at Tritchinopoly so much, that he retracted his promise, and refused to supply money upon any terms. However, 50 of the horse were assembled at Condore on the bank of the Coleroon, 10 miles north of the city, and Calliaud, in order to encourage the rest to follow, went thither likewise. The next day, which was the 28th, a detachment of 500 Sepoys, which he had ordered from Tritchinopoly to escort the Nabob, passed by in their way to Negapatam; and on the 1st of January he received from Mr. Norris, the member of the council who had accompanied the Nabob from Madrass, 10 of 20,000 pagodas which had been sent by the Presidency to defray the expences of the garrison of Tritchinopoly: but although this supply obviated the pretexts of delay, the king sent out no more horse. On the 5th, major Calliaud visited the Nabob at *Aimapettah*, and accompanied him to *Pondi*, a village 7 miles from Tanjore, where the illness of the Nabob's wife detained them the two succeeding days, during which major Calliaud went again to the city, when his exhortations, seconded by the appearance of the escort, prevailed; and the king visited the Nabob on the 8th with the usual ceremonies in a choultry on the road. Major Calliaud, to dignify the Nabob's appearance in his own territory, and at his earnest request, judiciously put himself at the head of the escort, and marched with him to Tritchinopoly: they arrived there on the 10th, but Calliaud returned the next day to Condore; where no more horse had hitherto joined the first party; his letters and messages, for he resolved not to visit the king again, availing as little as before, he returned to Tritchinopoly on the 17th, in hopes of levying a body of horse in the adjacent country; and on his departure expressed, intending it should be conveyed, the utmost indignation at the king's evasions. He however left agents at Condore to

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1759 February. improve any advantageous change which might happen in his disposition, and the king, alarmed by the resentment of his departure, sent out the remainder of the horse with scribes to clear their accounts; on which Calliaud returned on the 21st to Condore, and, advancing them fifteen days pay, they crossed the Coleroon the next day, and on the 23d moved to Trimalvedy, a fort belonging to the Arielore Polygar, on the bank of the river, about five miles above Condore. Here he proposed that they should proceed 10 miles farther that day; but they halted, parlying for more pay, until the 25th, when they marched 20 miles to Mongalpaddy, a village still in the districts of Arielore; where they were joined by three companies of Sepoys from Tritchinopoly. The whole arrived and halted the next day at Volcondah, and on the 25th reached Thiagar: here the horse refused again to proceed until they received their arrears, which the king had promised, and failed to send. They were however satisfied with another advance of 15 days, but requested another day's halt in expectation of some of their necessaries which were not yet come up from Tanjore. On the 31st they marched from Thiagar to Tricolore, which is 15 miles onwards. The killidar Kistnarow, who had before taken the field with Mahomed Issoof, promised to follow with all his force from Thiagar: but none appeared. On the 1st of February, Calliaud, with his own troops, reached Trivanalore, and the next day Villaporam. The partizan Lambert, with 500 Sepoys, had advanced to this place to oppose their progress; but, receiving certain intelligence of their force, went off the same day to Gingee. The want of provisions detained Calliaud's party at Villaporum until the 4th; and on the 7th, at noon, they arrived at Chinglapet, both foot and horse so much fatigued, for the march was seventy-five miles in three days, that they could proceed no farther; on which Calliaud left them there to refresh, and went away with his own attendants to the Mount, where he arrived at seven that night; and as the elder officer took the command of all the forces there, Preston's, Mahomed Issoof's, and Abdulwahab's.

The

The Mount is a craggy rock, of which the base is oblong from 1759
east to west, and a mile round. It has two eminences, of which that February.
to the eastward is much the highest, being 150 feet, and has at the top a small level plot, in which stands a church, the substitute of a much more ancient structure, dedicated, by the ancient Christians of Coromandel and Malabar, to a St. Thomas, whom the present erroneously suppose to be the apostle. A flight of broad steps leading to the church winds on the eastern side, just where the hill itself begins to round to the north. A village of country-houses, built by the English, extends from the foot of the Mount about 600 yards to the east, and consists of two rows of houses situated in gardens separated by a lane. The row which faces the south fronts a pleasant plain, and the walls of its enclosures as well on this side as on the other, where they skirt the lane, are on a straight line. The enclosure which terminated the front row, to the east, was the garden-house of Colonel Lawrence; it occupied 100 yards to the plain, and, as all the others of this row, the same extent backward to the lane; the gardens on the other side of the lane were not all enclosed with walls, but some with banks and hedges; all, however, capable of some defence. The last enclosure in this row, which from its owner was called Carvalho's garden, projected 50 yards farther out to the east than Lawrence's, the last in the front row, of which in consequence it flanked the eastern side: and about 200 yards out on the plain to the south, directly opposite to Carvalho's stood the ruins of five or six mud houses, with several trees surrounding a small brick building, which had once contained a swamy, or idol. This station flanked the ground before the front row of enclosures. The lane that separated the two rows continued nearly in a straight line from the east, and terminated at the bottom of the steps leading to the summit of the Mount. On the right hand of the steps was a craggy path from the plain on the south, and on the left hand an outlet leading round the north side of the Mount: contiguous to the path on the right, and within pistol-shot of the steps, was a house which looked upon the outlet to the north; and the last house on the other side at this end of the lane commanded

1759 February. manded obliquely the opening of the path from the south: a spacious gateway at the bottom of the steps fronted the lane between.

The black troops, exclusive of those which Major Calliaud had left at Chinglapet, were 2200 horse, and 2500 Sepoys; but the Europeans were only 103, 12 of whom were artillery-men, and 10 with Vasserot, troopers; the other 80 were musketry, including officers; the artillery were six three-pounders. Of the Sepoys, those from the garrison of Chinglapet, and 700 of Mahomed Issoof's might be relied on; but little dependance could be placed on the rest, and less on the cavalry. In this conviction, Calliaud determined to risk little in the plain, but to defend the whole village of the Mount, which afforded excellent stations. The plain to the north, behind the second row of enclosures, required few precautions, because the ground, being laid out in rice fields, precluded the approach of cannon, and the use of cavalry. But, if the enemy should get possession of Carvalho's garden, they might soon penetrate into all the other enclosures of the second row along the lane when the first row, attacked from this in the rear, and in front by another division of the enemy from the plain on the south, could not be long maintained. Calliaud therefore considered Carvalho's garden as the decisive post, and stationed in it 60 of the European musketry with four of the field-pieces. The two other field-pieces, with the 20 other European firelocks, and 300 Sepoys, were posted at the swamy-house; the inlets of this post were barricaded, and the walls of the mud houses were lowered to parapets for the musketry, and where necessary still lower for the field-pieces, but time and means were wanting to enclose them either with a ditch or palisades. Seventeen hundred Sepoys were distributed in the gardens of the front row facing the south, but the greatest part in Lawrence's to the east, and a communication was prepared between all these enclosures by openings in the walls of separation. The remaining 500 Sepoys were stationed to defend the inlets to the upper end of the lane, at the foot of the Mount; some in the two houses there, others on the steps, others at the gate, and others in different parts of the rock itself. The black cavalry had encamped along the north

 side

side of the Mount, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to act as occasion should require. 1759 February.

With the dawn of the next day, which was the 9th, the enemy were discerned approaching in two large bodies. The one consisting of 1200 Sepoys and 500 black horse, advanced from the Marmelong, or St. Thomé river, towards the east end of the village, but having no field-pieces, regulated their approach by that of the other body, which, having taken a circuit to the left, were perceived at two miles distance on the plain to the south. This body consisted of 300, being the whole of the French European cavalry, and 600 European infantry : the cavalry was in the centre in two ranks, the troopers on the right, the dragoons next, the hussars on the left. The infantry were equally divided on each side of the cavalry, and both divisions had two field-pieces on each of their flanks, eight in all, of which two were twelve, two nine, and the other four six-pounders. The whole was commanded by a relation of Mr. Lally's, of the same name, and with the rank of colonel. The black horse with Calliaud formed on his summons in front of the garden walls ; they were crowded, according to their custom, ten or twelve ranks in depth. Abdulwahab presented himself with seeming resolution at their head, and Calliaud, with the 10 troopers and Vasserot, rode on their left. The French cavalry were advancing before their infantry ; and it was the intention of Calliaud, that his own should wait until they came in a line with the flank fire of the field-pieces at the swamy-house : but when they were within 1000 yards, where the ground began to take an ascent towards the garden walls, although scarcely perceptible in a less space, the whole body of the black cavalry with Calliaud set off scampering, shouting, and flourishing their sabres. The French cavalry came on to meet them at a round trot ; but halting suddenly, the first rank discharged their carbines, by which four or five horses, and as many men, were brought to the ground, on which the whole, excepting Calliaud and the 10 troopers, went off at once, some escaping along the side of the Mount to their right, but others turning, pressed into the path in their rear, which led into the head of the lane at the foot of the steps, and pushed across

it

1759 February. it by the other outlet, to the plain on the north of the Mount. The French cavalry followed them until they themselves came within reach of the flank fire of the field-pieces at the swamy-house, which falling amongst the troopers and dragoons on the right, obliged them to check and turn back; but the hussars on the left, not feeling so much of this annoyance, pushed on, and pursued the fugitives through the opening into the upper end of the lane, where they immediately fell under the fire of the 500 Sepoys posted in the different stations in that part of the Mount and in the two houses, which drove them with as much precipitation as those they were pursuing, through the outlet to the north, from whence they galloped round the Mount, and rejoined the cavalry from which they had separated, in the plain to the south. Calliaud, with the troopers, retreated to the enclosure next Lawrence's garden, and his horse, which had received a ball in the breast, fell under him at the gate. As soon as the hussars returned, the whole of the French line advanced again in the same order as before, and halted at the distance of 600 yards; the division of infantry on the right, opposite to the swamy-house; the other on the left, over against the last enclosures at the foot of the Mount. From these situations the infantry of both divisions sent forward their field-pieces 200 yards nearer, which began a brisk and indiscriminate cannonade against the garden walls, and the post at the swamy-house, which was answered with effect only by the two field-pieces at this post; for the fire of the Sepoys, even here as well as in the gardens, was thrown away, and nevertheless could not be restrained. Meanwhile the body of enemy's troops to the east halted behind a ridge, which extended at the distance of 400 yards, opposite to Carvalho's garden, against which their Sepoys kept up a constant and useless fire of musketry, which nevertheless was often answered from the four field-pieces in the garden.

Colonel Lally seeing no effect from his field-pieces against the garden walls to the south, and the danger of storming them, before the advanced post at the swamy-house was carried, detached at nine o'clock 100 Europeans from the division of infantry on the right, to attack it at the push of bayonet; but the fire of

of the two field-pieces, and the musketry there, met them so hotly, 1759
that they broke within 30 yards of the post, and retreated with pre- February.
cipitation to their division, which on this repulse recurred again to their field-pieces. Calliaud, nevertheless, was convinced that the post would be soon attacked again, and could not be maintained throughout the day, and therefore drew off one of the field-pieces. At ten the enemy sent a stronger detachment to make another attack, who were beat off as the first; and half an hour after another attack was made by 200 of the division, who were likewise repulsed; but these successes had so much elated the defenders, that all the Sepoys, with most of the Europeans, accompanied by ensign Airey himself, rushed out to pursue the detachment; who, as if by design, retreated fast, and led them 300 yards into the plain; two troops of horse, who had been patrolling in the rear of the infantry, chanced at this moment to be just behind the remaining Europeans of the division to the right; and seeing the advantage, set off at full gallop and fell sword in hand upon the pursuers, before they had time to form in proper order to resist the shock. All were in an instant scattered, and many were cut down before they reached the swamy-house; when, although safe, they did not think themselves so, but leaving the field-piece, ran out on the other side to gain the gate of Lawrence's garden, which stood open before them; but before they got there, the troopers galloping round the east side of the post, fell upon them again, up to the very gate, where their career was checked by a strong fire of the Sepoys, whom Mahomed Issoof, seeing the disaster, had ranged along the walls. The surprize, for several fell, deprived the cavalry likewise of the recollection to return, and take shelter behind the cover at the swamy-house; but they galloped across the angle of Lawrence's towards the angle of Carvalho's garden, where Calliaud seeing them coming, met them with the fire of the 4 field-pieces in this post: but the gunners having hitherto only used ball, forgot to change their charge for grape shot, which greatly diminished the execution; for the cavalry passed within 30 yards of the angle, and continued galloping onward to the north-east, until out of reach, when they turned in the rear of their Sepoys be-

1759 February. hind the ridge. However some of them fell; but all the loss they had suffered was much less than the havock they had made; for they had killed or cut down more than a hundred, but mostly Sepoys.

The right division of the enemy's infantry with their field-pieces immediately took possession of the deserted post; their left likewise advanced something nearer the inclosures on their side, and both began a hot cannonade against the garden walls, which being slight, but of brick, were easily perforated. The Sepoys within took shelter behind the houses, ready to man the walls on a closer attack; but ever and anon, one or other of those, obliged to move to and fro, was killed; and these casualties, although few, dispirited many, who took every opportunity to quit their stations, and steal into the back inclosures, from whence they escaped round the Mount, and hastened far from the field. Of the black cavalry not more than a hundred had returned since the rout in the morning, and kept both the rows of enclosures between themselves and the enemy's shot. At noon a party was discerned advancing from the St. Thomé river, with a piece of cannon drawn by many oxen. It was a heavy iron eighteen-pounder. The field-pieces at Carvalho's fired upon them at random shot, which frightened the cattle, and obliged the drivers several times to unyoke the restive, and at last to throw them all off, when the Lascars alone dragged the gun; but when arrived at the ridge, where the Sepoys had taken post, it could not be made use of behind it; and whilst they were drawing it further forward into the plain, several shot which took place amongst them interrupted their attempt. At length it was brought to a proper station, and at 2 o'clock began to fire at point blank; it was opposed as before by the 4 three-pounders, which could not with the same certainty reach so far, and several of the men serving them were killed by the shot, and wounded by fragments of the house. Mean while the enemy to the south, besides their cannonade, which continued hotter than in the forenoon, advanced at different intervals several parties, as well from the division on the left, as the swamy-house, with the appearance of assault, but only to draw the unnecessary fire of the Sepoys which

always

always succeeded; and it became fortunate that so many had quitted, for even the best who remained could not be restrained from firing on every motion, although in vain. But by 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the perseverence of the enemy's cannonade obliged them likewise to diminish it, for fear of ruining their own guns, and at sunset it ceased totally, and they were seen yoking, and soon after drew off all their artillery, moving to the eastward: the eighteen-pounder ceased and drew off at the same time. The sight was more joyful than they suspected to the troops in the village, for Calliaud had just before received information, that the musket ammunition was expended to six cartridges a man, and only three balls, besides the grape-shot, left for each of the field-pieces; so that no retreat could have been made, if pressed by the enemy in the open plain. Spies followed them until they had crossed the river of St. Thomé, and began to take up their quarters in the village of Marmelong; and immediately on the return of the spies at eight at night, Calliaud marched away with all that remained of his force, in silence, for fear of the enemy's cavalry, and left fires to deceive them. Before the morning, they arrived at Vendaloor. The fugitive cavalry of the morning had run away with so much hurry, that they reached Chinglapet before noon. To rejoin them, as well as to get a supply of ammunition, Calliaud continued his march the next day, and arrived there in the evening, where all the Sepoys, who had not entirely deserted, were likewise assembled. Of the Europeans, seven were killed, and 13 wounded. It was not so easy to ascertain the loss sustained by the Sepoys; but by the reports of those who held out through the action, it was computed that fifty were killed on the spot, and about 150 were brought away wounded. The loss of the enemy was not known, but supposed to be 50 Europeans, and most in proportion of the cavalry. The firing of the action was heard in the fort, and several parties at different times of the day were seen going towards the Mount, and not a few palankins and doolies returning from it with the wounded.

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Notwithstanding the draughts which had been made for this attack, the enemy's fire on the fort continued with more vivacity than might have been expected, although not so frequent as the day be-

 fore,

1759 February. fore, but both their shot and shells were directed against the buildings. The Shaftesbury was not ready to weigh and bear down upon the Bristol, at anchor in the road of St. Thomé, before the night closed, and in this interval the Bristol employed all the boats which could be assembled in unloading her stores, and for more dispatch put a part of them on board of the sloop which was in the road when she arrived, and into the other from the black town, which had passed and anchored near her; nevertheless she had not discharged half her cargo before night, and for fear of the Shaftesbury set sail, and was out of reach before morning. It being supposed that the service at the Mount had drained the enemy's posts to the southward of the fort, two companies of Sepoys were detached in the afternoon, who proceeded as far as the governor's garden, from whence they brought off some ammunition, and in their return set fire to the gabions of the battery near the bar, meeting no opposition. The enemy's mortars continued sparingly through the night, but as in the day against the houses. Not a man or a gun was hurt in the fort during these 24 hours; but the numbers of the garrison were by this time so much impaired by casualties and sickness, that the grenadier company, which had hitherto been kept in reserve, were obliged to furnish a proportion to the guards of the different posts.

The next day, which was the 10th, the enemy fired with four guns and one mortar from Lally's, three guns from the burying-ground, two from the Lorrain battery, and with two mortars at the second crochet: the guns at Lally's fired smartly, but most of the shot from hence, as well as the shells from all the three mortars, were, as the day before, directed against the buildings, which were much rent and shattered. The mortars continued through the night, during which the garrison began another embrasure in the fascine battery on the beach, within the flow of the surf; it was intended to sweep the strand, along which the enemy might approach under cover of the bank of sand which forms the beach and stops the sea that has thrown it up. The gallery or mine at the salient angle was this day completed: it had been pushed 90 feet from the counterscarp of the ditch, which brought it under the enemy's breaching

ing battery, when a short return was made on each hand from the end, and in a chamber at the end of each return was laid a box, containing 200 pounds of powder, to which the saucissons were fixed. The gallery before the blind was sufficiently advanced towards the sea-side to cross any approach under ground to the blind, and another branch was opened from this gallery ten feet on the outside of the east face of the covered-way, parallel to which it was intended to prolong the branch to the north, in order to discover and meet the enemy if working under ground in this part. In the morning the Cuddalore sloop belonging to the Company returned into the road, which she had left ten days before, having employed this time in regaining the distance she had sailed in one; orders were immediately sent off to her by a catamaran; in consequence of which she bore down into the road of St. Thomé, and attacked the two small vessels lying there, which had not yet landed all the stores they had received from the Bristol. The vessels, after receiving a few shot, weighed and ran close to the surf, within 100 yards of the shore; the Cuddalore followed them as near as she could, when a party of musketry, with two field-pieces, came to the strand, and began to fire on her; by which the crew, who were all Lascars, were so much frightened, that they could hardly be prevailed on to stand the deck: the master, therefore, bore away, and in the evening anchored again before the fort. The fire of the day and night wounded two Europeans and one Sepoy, and disabled a 24 pounder on the demi bastion.

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On the 11th the enemy's fire continued from the same cannon and mortars as the day before, but more briskly. The Cuddalore sloop bore down again in the morning upon the two vessels in the road of St. Thomé, and was again beat off by the same fire from the shore. The outward embrasure of the fascine battery in the surf was completed, and palisadoes staked in front of it: a range of trees were laid before the palisadoes, and others along the shoulder of the battery in the surf itself. The casualties in the day and night were two Europeans and one Sepoy killed, and four Europeans and one

1759 February. one Sepoy wounded; a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the royal bastion.

The same fire continued on the 12th, but with more effect, disabling six guns. Before this time all the original parapet of the N. E. bastion had been battered away; and so much of the body of the bastion itself crumbled, that the outside of the gabions and sand-bags, which had been substituted on the rampart, did not extend beyond the ground which had been the line of the inside of the original parapet; and in the afternoon of this day a shot from a twenty-four-pounder on Lally's battery came quite through the gabions, and wounded a sentinel in the bastion; four other Europeans and one Sepoy were wounded, and two Europeans were killed, during these 24 hours.

At three in the morning of the 13th, a party from the enemy's trenches, consisting of 50 Coffrees, advanced along the sea-side from the stockade, of which they were in possession, intending to storm and nail up the guns in the fascine battery. They were led by a serjeant chosen for his bravery, with the promise of a commission if the attempt succeeded. The party was discovered when within 30 yards of the work, on which they halted, probably to form for the push, and in this short interval received two rounds of grape-shot from the embrasure next the breach, the execution of which threw them into such confusion, that they all ran back to the trenches, leaving seven dead, and the serjeant desperately wounded. Upon this alarm, the drums beat to arms, and all the garrison and inhabitants repaired to their several posts: and a smart fire was kept up from the defences, and returned by the enemy from the trenches, for some time after the party was repulsed. The serjeant crawled into the covered-way, where he was taken up, told what he knew of the enemy's intentions, and died before day-break. This day the enemy ceased firing from the three guns in the Lorrain battery, by which the number of their cannon was reduced to seven pieces; but the five in Lally's fired very briskly: their three mortars continued as before through the day, but very sparingly during the night, which gave suspicion that they were busy at work in their trenches, and before day-light at

at three o'clock in the morning, it was discovered that they had advanced some gabions on the edge of the surf beyond the Palmyra stockade, which indicated that they either intended to bring cannon against the fascine battery, or to advance by traverses under cover of the beach which was steep, and then attack the covered-way and the fascine battery together: a strong fire was kept up from the fascine battery upon the stockade, and the gabions they had advanced until the morning. In these 24 hours no guns were dismounted in the fort, but three Europeans were killed, and four, with one Sepoy, wounded. The mine under the enemy's battery at the salient angle of the covered-way was completely stopt up before noon; and three pioneers, covered at night by ten grenadiers, were continued at the counterscarp in readiness to make the explosion.

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It being discovered at day-break of the 14th, that the enemy had renewed their gabions beyond the stockade, a sally was made upon them at sun-rise. A subaltern and 15 men went along the covered-way till they came upon the flank of the stockade, 40 men with two captains advanced directly in front of it along the glacis, followed by 20 pioneers and an engineer without arms. The two parties attacked at the same instant, and their first fire drove the enemy from the stockade, and continued firing forwards from it on all that appeared; at the same time the north ravelin, the royal, the demi, and N. E. bastions plyed the trenches with grape shot, and all together deterred the enemy from venturing out of them, which gave the pioneers leisure to overturn the gabions into the sea, and to spread and level the earth they contained. After which, the whole detachment returned unmolested into the covered-way, having only two men slightly wounded. The enemy's fire continued as the day before, but they threw very few shells in the night, during which they worked hard in replacing the gabions which had been overset in the morning, and endeavoured to complete the traverse from them towards the surf; but the fire of a twelve-pounder from the fascine battery, and the shells from the demi bastion, continually interrupted their work. In the evening the Diligent, and a sloop with stores from Pondicherry, anchored in the road of St. Thomé;

1759 February. Thomé; and on their appearance 15 sailors which had been taken out of the Shaftsbury to serve in the garrison, with 30 more Europeans, were sent on board with orders to Captain Ingliss to bear down, and attack these vessels. The decks of the Shaftsbury being lumbered with goods, she did not get under sail until 11 o'clock at night, and was too soon discovered by the two vessels, which immediately got under way, and before day-break were too far to the southward to be pursued. In these 24 hours two Europeans were killed, and five wounded; but none of the Sepoys were hurt. A twenty-four-pounder, on the demi bastion, was split in the muzzle by one of the enemy's shot. For several days a number of labourers, guarded by a party of soldiers, with an officer, had been discerned from the steeple demolishing the governor's garden-house, and in the afternoon of this day they set fire to the village of Chipauk, which stood at the back of the garden, between the bar of the river and the village of Triplicane.

The next day, which was the 15th, the enemy's fire was very brisk in the morning, from six guns in Lally's, four at the burying-ground, and two in the Lorrain battery; but it decreased in the afternoon, and at five o'clock they only fired from three in Lally's, and two at the burying-ground, and from neither of the two in the Lorrain battery; the fire of their mortars likewise slackened. Several camels and many Coolies were seen passing fron St. Thomé across Egmore plain to the black town, loaded, it was supposed, with ammunition; but a much greater number of Coolies, with all kinds of burthens, passed from thence to the southward, which confirmed the intelligence of a spy, that the enemy were sending away their superfluous stores and the remains of their booty to Pondicherry, and gave credit to the information of the deceased serjeant, that they had determined to raise the siege. They fired very few shells, and continued very quiet in their trenches during the night; but the garrison suspecting that they might be carrying on their gabions by the seaside, kept up a smart fire from the fascine battery upon the head of their sap until two o'clock in the morning, when the moon gave sufficient light to discover that they were doing nothing there; on which

which the firing ceased. At the same time, the enemy's guard in 1759
their battery on the the crest of the glacis, which for some days had February.
only been used as a lodgment for musketry, perceived and fired upon a party of Sepoys who were levelling the rubbish at the foot of the demi bastion, which had been beat down by the cannonade of the day. One of the Sepoys was killed, on which the rest ran away, and no other of these troops could be prevailed upon to continue the work, which was however completed by a party of Europeans. A six-pounder in the fascine battery was disabled by one of the enemy's shot. The casualties in the 24 hours, were one Coffree and one Sepoy killed, and one of each, with two Europeans, wounded, and Lieutenant Hopkins lost his right arm by a cannon shot. Two letters were received this day from Major Calliaud, dated the 11th and 13th, advising his intention to make a forced march from Chinglapet, with the troops under his command, in hopes of surprising the fort of Sadrass, of which the French continued in possession; and requesting that money and ammunition might be sent to him there, in consequence of which the Cuddalore sloop was immediately dispatched with 300 three-pound shot, and 20,000 pagodas in money. This sum completed 70,000, which had been sent out of the fort, since invested, for the supply of the army abroad. Much more remained in the Company's treasury, which was indebted for this affluence to the remittances from their acquisitions in Bengal; but, had this source failed, the wealth of individuals collected within the fort would have been much more than sufficient to have answered all the expences incurred for its defence. Very different were the faculties and finances of the enemy. The treasury of the government at Pondicherry was exhausted, and individuals from their distrust and detestation of Mr. Lally would lend none to forward the public cause, although their own; and from violence and mismanagement, the countries which had been reduced, and were the whole extent between Devi Cotah, Arcot, and Madrass, had furnished neither revenues or other means adequate to the wants and consumption of the enemy's army employed in the siege, where the pay of the common soldiers was at this time six weeks in arrear, and

 their

1759 February. their other necessities equally ill supplied; who nevertheless, notwithstanding the discontented discourses of their officers, still more dishonourable because they had all got plunder, persevered in their duty with unremitting spirit and alacrity, and Mr. Lally seems to have respected their merit. But the Sepoys had neither the same principles, nor received the same encouragement, for he had always treated them, as all the natives in general, with the utmost contempt and severity, which they now revenged, just as their slender services became most important, by threatening to leave the army, if they were not immediately paid; and spreading their example by their correspondence, 500, who had been posted with a few Europeans in the fort of Tripassore, forced the gates, and marching out with their arms plundered the country, in order, as they said, to collect their arrears. The news was brought to the black town a few hours after the event, on the 15th, and created much anxiety, because all the provisions which the army received, came by Tripassore, and might be easily diverted by these malcontents. Few refrained from declaring that the siege ought to be immediately raised; but Mr. Lally, to maintain the lead of his own opinion, gave out that he would never quit the enterprize, until he had tried the success of a general assault, and talked as if the hour was not far distant.

The next morning, which was the 16th, the enemy's cannon, although not increased in number, fired with more vivacity than for many days before. At 3 in the afternoon intelligence was brought by a catamaran from Paliacat, that a sloop, which had just anchored there, had spoke on the 9th of the month in the lat. of 14°, with the ships from Bombay, from which the Shaftsbury had separated; and that they had been seen on the 12th off Durasapatam, 100 miles to the north of Madrass. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the six ships were descried in the N. E. standing towards the road; nevertheless the enemy's fire continued with uncommon vivacity until sunset; and it being concluded, that, if they had ever intended to make a general assault, it would be attempted this night, before the reinforcements could be landed, every soldier and inhabitant in the garrison capable of standing to his arms repaired to their respective posts,

 and

and as soon as it was dark a hot fire of musketry from the north face of the defences was kept up on the enemy's works, which they returned with equal alacrity. At ten at night the ships, directed by lights held out in the fort, anchored in the road. The firing on shore still continued, and at two in the morning that from the enemy, in their lodgment, on the crest of the glacis, and in their posts and sap opposite to the N. E. bastion and fascine battery, although very strong before, grew stronger than ever, but their shot flew too high: it began to slacken soon after, when the blaze of fires was perceived in their trenches; at three all their annoyances ceased entirely, after which no motions of men were any longer distinguished; but several large piles of wood in the rear of Lally's battery were seen in flames. The casualties since the preceding morning to this time, were three Europeans and one Sepoy wounded, and one Sepoy killed. 1759 February.

At day-break the whole army were discovered in full march from the west side of the black town towards the Choultry Plain, and the greatest part had already crossed the northern river. They had previously undermined the redoubt and powder-mill at Egmore; and at nine o'clock a party left for the purpose made the explosion, which entirely ruined both; these works had cost the Company 30,000 pounds, and could not be restored in a twelvemonth. The enemy were then perceived marching on to the Mount. The hurry of their retreat saved the black town from the resolution which Mr. Lally had taken of reducing it to ashes, if compelled to raise the siege. By noon the troops in the ships were all landed: they were, including officers, 600 men.

Joy and curiosity carried out every one to view and contemplate the works from which they had received so much molestation, for the enemy's fire had continued 42 days. Thirty-three pieces of cannon, 18 or 24 pounders, were found in their posts and works, of which 26 were disabled; but seven were in their carriages, and both in good condition. Some spare carriages were likewise left, and many cannon shot, but no mortars, although several beds; and many military stores, with quantities of powder in casks and flannel bags,

1759 February. were found carelessly scattered in the trenches. They evacuated St. Thomé, and whatever guards between this place and the fort were withdrawn at the same time that the army left the black town. The garrison, as soon as certified of their departure, sent out parties to the southward and to Egmore, who collected 19 guns more, mostly iron three-pounders : so that the whole number which the enemy lost and left behind were 52 pieces of cannon. One hundred and fifty barrels of good powder, and as many casks of damaged ammunition, were found in St. Thomé. But the strongest proof of the hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege, was the neglect of their sick and wounded, leaving 44 Europeans, (all who had not been sent away before) in their hospital in the black town, with a letter from Mr. Lally, recommending them to the care of the English governor : they were received and treated with the same attentions as if they had belonged to the garrison, and most of them afterwards recovered.

The fort fired during the siege 26,554 rounds from their cannon, 7,502 shells from their mortars, and threw 1,990 hand-grenades : the musketry expended 200,000 cartridges. In these services were used 1,768 barrels of gunpowder. Thirty pieces of cannon and five mortars had been dismounted on the works. There remained in the fort, artillery sufficient for another siege, with 30,767 cannon-balls, but only 481 shells, and 668 barrels of gunpowder. As many of the enemy's cannon-balls were gathered in their works, or about the defences of the fort, or found in wells and tanks in the black town, as the garrison had expended. The enemy consumed all the shells of the two first rates in the stores of Pondicherry, and threw of all sorts 8000, of which by far the greatest number were directed against the buildings, all of which lay together in half the area within the walls, in the old town to the eastward : and scarce a house remained that was not opened to the heavens.

Of the European officers, one major, Polier, two captains, six lieutenants, and four ensigns, were killed : one captain and one lieutenant died of sickness : 14 other officers were wounded, of whom some

some dangerously; and four were taken prisoners: in all 33. Of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, and of the men belonging to the artillery, 198 were killed, 52 died in the hospital, 20 deserted, 122 were taken prisoners, and 167 were wounded; in all 559; but many of the wounded recovered. Of the Lascars, who were natives assisting in the artillery, nine were killed, and 15 wounded. Of the Sepoys, including officers, 105 were killed 217 wounded, and 440 deserted. The loss in Europeans was more than reinstated by the troops brought in the ships.

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The governor Mr. Pigot, as soon as the enemy disappeared, relinquished the special authority which had been vested in himself, to the usual administration of the council, of which he was President; and received their thanks for the good effects of his resolution and activity during the siege: he had visited the works every day, encouraging the garrison by his presence, and rewarding those exposed to severer services with money. Provisions of all kinds in abundance, and of the best condition, had been laid up, and as well as all the military stores, were distributed from the different magazines, under the direction of the members of the council, assisted by the inferior servants of the company, whose habits of business established and continually preserved these details free of all let and confusion.

The Presidency, as soon as re-established in its usual forms, acknowledged their sense of the zeal and constancy with which the garrison had sustained every danger and fatigue; and no men ever better deserved this testimony; for scarce a murmur had been uttered: all was emulation. All however acknowledged that the enemy, in proportion to their numbers, compared with the strength of the garrison and works, had pushed the attack with unremitting perseverance and endeavour, and the enemy equally respected the science and steadiness of the defence. Indeed most of the principal officers of the company's troops had been inured to service under their general Colonel Lawrence, whom they still regarded as their preceptor in the siege: they were, Major Polier; the Captains Pascall, Charles

1759 Charles Campbell, Beaver, Richard Smith, Gurtler, de Beck, Freishman, Vasserot, Black, Hume, Donald Campbell, Greig.
February. Every repair and additional work was executed with regularity and dispatch under the direction of Mr. Call the chief engineer, although this was the first siege, whether offensive or defensive, in which he had served. Captain Hislop, who arrived with a company of the King's artillery-men, at the same time as Adlercron's regiment, was the senior officer in this branch; he had served in Bergen-op-zoom. The Company's artillery, which furnished all the cannon and ammunition, was commanded by Captain Robert Barker: even the enemy acknowledged that the promptitude and execution of the fire from the fort was superior to their own: whatsoever guns or mortars were disabled on the defences, were immediately replaced by others prepared in store: Colonel Draper and Major Brereton were of the King's troops: so that no town was ever attacked, which had in proportion to the garrison such a number of excellent and experienced officers. The exertions of Major Calliaud and Captain Preston were equal in the field. Thus every officer of distinction on the establishment of Coromandel was employed in the defence of Madrass, excepting Captain Joseph Smith, to whom was committed the preservation of the next important object, Tritchinopoly, in which the French prisoners out-numbered, five to one, the invalid Europeans of his garrison.

In the evening, after the enemy retreated, came in Vasserot and the ten troopers with intelligence from Calliaud. This officer marched from Chinglapet on the 13th, but misled by the guides did not arrive at Sadrass, as he intended, the next night, but the morning after; when the Dutch residents, although remaining in the town only on sufferance from the French, who were in possession of their fort, protested against his entrance with hostile appearance on the territory belonging to the Dutch company. At the same time a party of French troops, which were halting there in their way from Pondicherry to join Mr. Lally, went into the fort, and this reinforcement rendered the attempt impracticable excepting by a regular attack, to which the artillery with Calliaud was not adequate.

adequate. He nevertheless remained to invest the fort, and soon 1759
after intercepted a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Deleyrit, dated the February.
14th, written in the bitterest terms of reproach and resentment, imputing the failure of his attempt against Madrass, which he then saw inevitable, to the iniquities and treachery of the government of Pondicherry, denouncing, that if this place should escape the vengeance it merited of fire from heaven, nothing could preserve it long from destruction by the fire of the English.

The loss of men sustained by the French army is no where acquired; they were 2700 firelocks when they advanced from Conjeveram; and Mr. Lally, in the intercepted letter, says, that he had still 2000 Europeans; the Sepoys with him were not more than 1000, for several detachments were abroad. The loss of the cannon and ammunition which had been left or thrown away, he imputed to the want of serviceable bullocks, and this deficiency to the rapacity of the contractors leagued with the council of Pondicherry. His army marched away in rags, and without provisions, but, having gunpowder and horse, exacted them, and continued their rout to Arcot. Advices of their retreat had been sent off to Calliaud as soon as they disappeared, who immediately on the information detached Mahomed Issoof with 1200 Sepoys from Sadrass, to reinforce Chinglapet, lest the French army should invest this place; the Sepoys by a forced march arrived before the enemy could have intercepted them, if such had been their intention: the next day Major Calliaud, with the remaining six companies of Sepoys, and all the cavalry, Abdulwahab at the head of his own, came into Madrass. Thus ended this siege, without doubt the most strenuous and regular that had ever been carried on in India; and we have detailed it, in hopes that it may remain an example and incitement.

END *of the* TENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK XI.

NOT only the Carnatic and its dependencies, but all the adjacent powers, had fixed their attention, with various hope and anxiety, on the siege of Madrass, as an event which sooner or later must greatly affect their respective views and interests. It was believed, and justly, that much and extensive reputation would be acquired by the defence; but as this advantage would soon be lost if the adjacent territory were not recovered and protected, it was resolved to take the field without delay. With the reinforcement brought in the ships, there were in the town when the siege was raised, of all ranks, 1900 estimated Europeans, including 90 Topasses and 60 Coffress, inserted in the different companies: of this number 1500 rank and file were fit for immediate duty; and this force was sufficient to face the French army. Nevertheless, the Vigour of the determination exceeded the means: many carriages for the artillery and stores were to be prepared, and the artificers being mostly natives were few, and had much other work to do: draught and carriage bullocks were to be provided, and the ravages of the enemy had left none in the country; provisions were equally scarce: perseverance, however, continued. Chinglapet being secured, the rest of the troops with Mahomed Issoof, the horse with Abdulwahab, and those sent with Major Calliaud by Tondiman and Tanjore, encamped on the Choultry plain, were they were joined day by day by the Europeans of the garrison; but the whole were not ready to move before the 6th of March, and in this interval arrived two more companies

1759 February.

March.

1759 March. panies of Draper's regiment, which the ships they came in from England had carried to Bengal in the latter season of the last year, and they were now returned to the coast. The whole force which now took the field were 1156 Europeans, rank and file, including the artillery-men, with 10 field-pieces, of which two were 12-pounders, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 Colleries, and 1956 horse. On news of their approach, Mr. Lally moved back from Arcot with the main body of his troops, and took post at Conjeveram, where the advantages of the situation left them nothing to fear from an inferior force; and, his health being much impaired, he went away to Pondicherry on the 6th, leaving the command to Mr. Soupire, with orders not to risk a general battle; but to wait the attack. The defects of equipments still retarded the progress of the English army, and it was the 18th before they arrived at Paupa Braminy's Choultry, within seven miles of Conjeveram. On the last march, Mahomed Issoof, with some horse, advancing before the line, met some of the enemy's European cavalry, who, though much inferior in number, stood a skirmish with the foremost of his; and were driven back, with the loss of an officer and two horses killed. On the 3d, Captain Preston at Chinglapet, hearing there was but a slight force in the fort of Carangoly, had detached Lieutenant Airy, with seven companies of Sepoys, to surprize it; but they took a panic under the walls, not to be recovered by the bravery of their officer, which encouraged the garrison to sally, who killed 25 of them in their flight.

Whilst the army was before Conjeveram, letters were received from Colonel Forde, who was set down before Masulipatam, despairing of success, unless he were reinforced with men and supplied with money. By this time, it was found that all the resources of the Presidency were inadequate to the expence of keeping the army in the field, and no probability appeared of gaining a decisive advantage over the enemy. The Presidency therefore inclined to bring the troops into cantonments, and to send 200 men to Colonel Forde. Colonel Lawrence, although convinced of the imprudence of attacking the enemy in the posts they occupied at Conjeveram, was equally persuaded of the evil con-

sequences of retreating before them, and came to Madrass on the 26th, to dissuade the Council, either from diminishing their force, or from withdrawing it into garrison; and his arguments prevailed. He then declared the inability to which the impaired state of his health had reduced him, of continuing in the command of the army; and received the highest regrets and encomiums of his eminent services, crowned by exertions much beyond his age in the defence of Madrass. The command then devolved to Lieutenant-colonel Draper, who was likewise too ill to accept it, and soon after embarked for England; on which it fell to Major Brereton, the next officer in the king's regiment, and Major Calliaud succeeded Colonel Lawrence in the distinct command of the Company's troops. 1759 February.

Nazeabullah, the Nabob's brother, had accompanied the French army to Madrass, and remained some days with them in the black town; when his own affairs, his doubts of the success of the siege, and the representations and example of his brother, Abdulwahab, who was joining the English troops in the field, induced him to return to Nelore, which, Mr. Lally having derived no advantage from his presence or endeavours, permitted without reluctance. Still, however, holding fair to the French, he retained a few of their Europeans, and 200 of their Sepoys; but as soon as he heard that the siege was raised, he resolved to declare entirely for the English, and blackened his zeal, by putting to death all the French Europeans, excepting their officer, Saint Denys. It is not known whether they attempted resistance; but the Sepoys laid down their arms, and were quietly turned out of the fort. With the advices of this deed, he proffered to pay 30,000 pagodas a year, if the Presidency would confirm him in the government of Nelore, and its districts; and, as no revenue, excepting from his good-will, was to be expected from that part of the country, until the English army had gained the superiority, his terms were accepted, and he sent the French officer to Madrass. Abdulwahab continued with the army, and his services were rewarded by a confirmation of the districts of Chandergherry and Chittore. The three greater Polygars to the

 north-

1759 March. northward, Bangar-yatchum, Bomrauze, and Damerlah Venkytappah, wrote letters of congratulation, although they had given no assistance during the siege: they were ordered to guard their own hills, and assist Chandergherry and Chittore, if attacked. The minor Polygars nearer Madrass were frightened, in expectation of punishment for the robberies they had committed in the English districts during the distresses of the siege; but their delinquency was overlooked, and they were told to assist the forts of Pondamalée and Tripassore, into which garrisons of Sepoys had been sent, as soon as they were abandoned by the enemy in their retreat to Arcot.

Even the cautious Mortizally of Vellore congratulated the Presidency on the repulse of the siege. The body of Morattoes, with Gopaul Row, who had in the preceding year warred and gained the half of Cudapah, and to whom proffers had been made for their assistance, remained at the passess of Damalcherry, waiting the event; and as soon as the French retreated, Gopaul Row claimed 12 lacks of rupees, alleging that he had neglected other concerns of greater consequence, in expectation of the ultimate summons of the Presidency, and that the dread of his troops had obliged the French to raise the siege. It was known that he had equally been offering his assistance to the French, and the Presidency recommended to him, to cut their army to pieces before they reached Pondicherry, and then he should have the money. He replied, in several letters, fraught with insinuations of the mischief he intended to bring on the English, as well at Bombay, as in the Carnatic; and sent 500 of his Morattoes to join the French army; but Mr. Deleyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, advised Mr. Lally not to entertain them, because they would not fail to plunder with greater detriment in the French districts, as more extensive, than in those which the English had recovered. They were dismissed with compliments and a small present, on which Gopaul Row, to compensate and revenge the disappointment, sent a detachment round the hills, which took possession of the town and pagoda of Tripetty, intending to collect the revenues of the approaching feast in April, which the French government expected

expected to receive. This detachment in their way summoned the 1759
three northern Polygars as friends to the English, to pay their shares March.
of the chout, or tribute, which Gopaul Row had demanded, and had not time to exact in the preceding year.

The king of Tanjore fired guns, and congratulated on the fortune and prowess of Madrass; and the Presidency, encouraged by his professions, proposed to him to assist them in a plan to surprise the fort of Karical, when the squadron should arrive on the coast: to which he answered, that the last hostilities of the French had ruined his country, and that the crop at present on the ground would likewise be destroyed, if disturbances were renewed; but that, as the English had beat off the French army from Madrass, they should immediately drive them out of Pondicherry, when Karical would fall of course. He was then requested to let beeves be purchased in his country as provisions for the squadron; which the strictness of his religion regarded as an abomination, nor would he suffer the interpreter to go on in reading the letter written to him on this subject.

The Nabob, ever since his arrival at Tritchinopoly, had continued sick. His disorder was a jaundice, produced by excess of vexation at the late humiliations of his fortune: the repulse of the French attack on Madrass conduced not a little to the recovery of his health; but his mind retained much solicitude for every future contingency. However, the vigilance of Captain Joseph Smith had preserved the districts dependant on the city in peace and cultivation, and their revenues were more than sufficient to defray the necessary expences of the garrison, as well as of the Nabob's family. The great number of French prisoners in the city, who were 500, whilst the European force in the garrison did not exceed 70 men, had been an object of constant anxiety, and plots were continually discovered of their intentions to break out of their dungeons; which obliged Captain Smith to confine them with the utmost severity. The Rheddi of Terriore, whom he had driven out of that town and district in the month of July of the preceding year, went away with those who escaped with him, to the borders of the Mysore country, where he was, at different times, joined by such as

were

1759 March. were disaffected to the other Rheddi, who had been restored in his stead. They sometimes made plundering excursions into the country between Terriore and Utatore; but attempted nothing of consequence. However, their numbers increased; and they kept up a correspondence with several of the principal men who continued to reside with the Rheddi in Terriore. When Mahomed Issoof marched away in November to the relief of Madrass, the garrison of Tritchinopoly could not spare the number of Sepoys necessary to complete his command, and three of the five companies which had been left in Terriore, were recalled to make up the deficiency. As soon as they were gone, the expelled Rheddi, with his troops, who were waiting to retake the place, arrived before they were discovered at the barrier of the wood, where some of the remaining Sepoys were stationed; but the rest of the guard had been seduced, and instead of assisting the Sepoys, turned their arms upon them, and delivered up the barrier to the enemy, who marched on, and advanced to the town without interruption, sending so much terror before them, that the Rheddi within, with his troops, and the inhabitants, that adhered to him, ran away into the wood and hills, leaving the English serjeant, with the Sepoys, to defend themselves as they could. The serjeant took possession of the palace, which was an extensive building; but the enemy surrounded it in the houses on all sides, that not a man could appear who was not exposed to their fire, which obliged the serjeant to capitulate, and he easily obtained permission to march away to Tritchinopoly, with their arms, and whatever else they chose to carry. Captain Joseph Smith had received some intelligence of the intention to attack the place, and had detached some troops to reinforce it, but it was lost before they arrived at the wood. This event happened in the end of November. In the next month, Hussein Cawn, who had been driven, in the month of July, from Seringham by a detachment from Tritchinopoly, returned from Pondicherry with some Sepoys and two field-pieces, and took post at Utatore, intending again to advance to the island, and retake the pagoda; but Captain Smith sent a party from the garrison, under the command of Captain Blake, who did not

not suffer them to rest until they took refuge in the Mysore country, where they remained, proposing schemes, and soliciting assistance; but meeting little encouragement from this government, Hussein Cawn offered to join the Rheddi, who had retaken Terriore, in making incursions into the Nabob's country: but the Rheddi, making a merit of refraining from the mischief in his power, proffered money and regular terms of submission to the Nabob, who, for the sake of the money, and to save the expence of defending the distant villages, accepted his obedience, and confirmed him in the government; in which this was his fourth installation, and the other Rheddi had lost and resumed it as often. 1759 March.

The countries of Madura and Tinivelly had relapsed into their former state of anarchy and confusion, after Mahomed Issoof, with so large a part of his force, was recalled out of them in the month of July. All that the seven companies of Sepoys left in the city of Madura could do, was to collect from the country provisions sufficient for their subsistence. The incursions of the Nattam Colleries from the north, and of those under the Polygars along the hills to the west, ruined or appropriated whatsoever cultivation or revenue arose in the districts at a distance from the city. To the southward, in the Tinivelly country matters were much worse. Maphuze Cawn forgot all his former professions of reconciliation, united more firmly than ever, and took up his residence with the Pulitaver, who led the western Polygars; and Catabominaig, with Etiaporum, who were the heads of the western, concluding from the superiority of the French in the Carnatic, that the affairs of the Nabob and the English would never recover, seized whatsoever country lay convenient for them: nor did the five companies of Sepoys left in the fort of Palamcotah, and bereft of all alliance, venture any opposition to their encroachments, or even to maintain the town of Tinivelly; of which Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver once again took possession. The Sepoys contented themselves with preserving Palamcotah, where they were often obliged to defend the walls against the skirmishes of the Pulitaver's Colleries, which consumed their ammunition; and, as none of their letters reached the Carnatic, or even Tritchinopoly, they

1759 March. they wrote by the hand of a Topass, a letter to Anjengo, which is the southern of the English factories on the coast of Malabar, requesting supplies; but the Topass writing what he thought English, the letter was so unintelligible, that the factory neither understood from whence or whom it came, nor what they wanted. At length, letters from Mahomed Issoof procured them credit, which enabled them to purchase provision, and even to get lead and gunpowder from the sea-coast in the bay of Tutacorin. It was very fortunate, that the fidelity of the Sepoys in Madura and Palamcotah continued unshaken; for had either of these fortresses been betrayed, no means remained of retaking them; and the cession of Madura might have purchased Hyderally, the Mysore general, to join the French, who at this very time had an officer of distinction treating with him at Seringapatam.

The repulse of the French from Madrass had increased the danger of losing these countries, since the French, being no longer under the necessity of keeping their whole force collected in one point, might, still leaving sufficient to oppose the English army in the field, detach the rest to other objects. The partizan Lambert was moving with his flying troops from Pondicherry to the westward; and danger to the city of Madura might accrue even from Hussein Cawn, if he should get a body of Mysoreans to accompany him from Dindigul. On these considerations, the Presidency resolved to send Mahomed Issoof back into these countries, and to accept his offer of renting Madura and Tinivelly together, at the rate of five lacks of rupees for the ensuing year clear of all charges, excepting what might arise from the necessity of defending them either against the French, the Mysoreans, or Morratoes. The Nabob had, ever since the first appointment of Mahomed Issoof to conduct the war in these countries, regarded him with suspicion and aversion, and insisted that they should be left to his own disposal and controul; although he had not in his whole dependance, a relation or officer of military resolution and experience sufficient to maintain them in this time of difficulty.

The French and English armies continued almost in sight of each other for two and twenty days; the one wishing to be attacked, in their

their posts at Conjeveram, the other, a general action in the open plain; and neither was seduced to give the advantage which the other desired. Most of the districts to the south of the Paliar were under either the protection or jurisdiction of the French government; and as other defiances had failed, Major Brereton resolved to march into them, as the likeliest means of bringing the enemy to a battle, or at least of obliging them to quit Conjeveram, when some opportunity might arise of retaking this place, without which, even the districts already recovered as far as the English army had advanced could not be protected, unless by their continuance in the field, and in this part of the country. Accordingly, the army moved on the 1st of April from their encampment at Papa Braminy's Choultry; on the 6th, they arrived, and took possesion of the pettah of Vandiwash, in which they began to open ground, against the fort, and sent to Madrass for two pieces of battering connon; and a detachment sent by Captain Preston from Chinglapett beat away the guard at Outramalore, of which place he took possession, to secure the line of communication with Vandiwash.

1759 April.

Mr. Soupires neither gave any interruption to the English army, as they were marching away, nor followed them. Mr. Lally had ordered him to risk nothing, and the French army had for some days been reduced to great distress for want both of money and provisions. The siege of Madrass had exhausted the treasury of Pondicherry, and its revenues were anticipated by mortgages for loans and what monies could be collected from the country between Conjeveram and Arcot, or borrowed in the camp, scarcely furnished the expences of the day, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages finding that the English paid punctually, and at better prices, evaded as much as possible to carry any provisions to the French camp. The renters of the neighbouring districts magnified the detriment which their lands had suffered from the Morattoes of Gopaul Row, in order to protract their payments, by the plea of discussing their accounts. In this situation, Mr. Soupires considered the removal of the English army as an advantage; since it permitted him to retreat to Arcot, with the appearance of parting on equal terms. He left in Conje-

1759 April. veram 300 Sepoys and 100 horse, under the command of Murzafabeg, who had deserted from the English a little before the siege of Madrass. The renters at Arcot furnished Mr. Soupires money and provisions for eight days, and he extended his troops in different parties between Arcot and Trivatore, which is situated 20 miles S. W. in the high road from thence to Vandiwash.

Mr. Lally, as soon as he heard that the English army was before Vandiwash, immediately came out of Pondicherry with 300 Europeans, ordering Mr. Soupires to meet him with the main body at Chittapet; where they arrived on the 14th. Trivatore is farther from Chittapet, than it is from Vandiwash. The nearer road from Vandiwash to Conjeveram is not good; but from Vandiwash to Trivatore, and hence to Conjeveram excellent, and of quicker dispatch, although by the large angle it makes several miles more. Major Brereton was informed in the evening of the 13th, of the march of the French army with Soupires, and that the whole had passed Trivatore; on which he decamped in the night from Vandiwash, and, by a forced march, arrived the next day at Trivatore, which he found abandoned, and blew up one of the bastions; and continuing the same stress of march they arrived, on the evening of the 15th, near Conjeveram. Several letters had passed with Murzafabeg, who pretended to be willing to betray his trust, but asked such terms as proved, that he only wanted to gain time until the French army could come to his relief; on which Colonel Monson, with the advanced division, invested the pagoda in the evening, which it was determined to storm the next morning. Murzafabeg no longer dissembled, but kept up a brisk fire of musketry through the night, by which several, and Colonel Monson himself, were wounded.

The gateway of the pagoda at Conjeveram is spacious and lofty, and the tower over it one of the largest and highest in the Carnatic. It stands in the middle of the western wall, and fronts the principal street of the town, which is very broad; but there is an area between, of the same breadth as the wall of the pagoda, and 300 yards across. There were no gates fixed in the gateway; and to cover the entrance the French had thrown up a ravelin before it in barbette, on which,

as well as on the small towers at each angle of the pagoda, were mounted guns, but old, and of little service; and scaffoldings of bamboos for small parties of musketry were raised along different parts of the wall within. There was, in the area without, a large choultry, with the back to the pagoda, about 200 yards from the gateway, but a little to the right. Near this choultry, as good cover, the troops threw up a ramp in the night, and early in the morning began to fire over it against the ravelin from their two twelve-pounders, which the enemy returned with all their means, but with little execution; only wounding Major Brereton slightly, and two or three of the gunners. By eight o'clock the earth of the ravelin appeared sufficiently beaten down, and the troops marched to the attack, led by Major Calliaud at the head of the grenadiers. Few of the defenders waited the assault hand to hand, but, after giving their fire, ran into the pagoda. The officers, stimulated by an intemperate rivality of danger, got first over the ravelin, and began, as the men came, to form them for the attack of the gateway, in the middle of which the enemy had laid a large old iron gun on logs of wood; and within were two lines of Sepoys disposed in an angle for the advantage of a cross-fire on the entrance. In a minute, 40 or 50 men, of whom much too many were officers, were crowded together within the ravelin, when the enemy fired their gun, which they had treble loaded with powder, and to the muzzle with musket-balls and bits of ragged iron. The excess of the explosion, and the thick black smoke which arose from it, gave the idea of a mine, nor was the effect much less. It killed eight men on the spot, and wounded ten. Of the killed were Captains Stewart and Bannatyne, Lieutenant Elliot and Ensign Hunter; of the wounded, Major Calliaud, Captain Vaughan dangerously, a Lieutenant and two Ensigns. Even most of those who were safe were so surprized by this havock, that they stood awhile before they formed again to the attack; during which, they luckily suffered very little from the musketry within. By this time, a party of Sepoys, led by Mahomed Issoof and Lieutenant Airy, had clambered over the opposite wall of the pagoda, and appeared in the rear of

1759 April.

1759 April. those who were defending the gateway; and, on their shout, the troops at the gate rushed in, and in a minute the whole garrison was between two fires, at mercy, every man for himself begging quarter; which was given with more humanity than usual on such exasperation. After all was quiet, Murzafabeg surrendered himself, out of one of the chapels into which he had retired, to some of the Sepoys; but, as they were conducting him to Major Brereton, Mahomed Issoof met them, knew the prisoner, and saying, "These are "the terms to be kept with a traitor," with one stroke of his scymetar, almost severed his head from his body. The news of this success was received at Madrass the next day, on which likewise arrived advices of no little importance from Colonel Forde.

1758 December. The Rajah Anunderawze had so little sense of the advantages which might have ensued by pressing on the French immediately after their defeat at Peddipore, that he did not come up with his troops to Rajahmundrum, where Colonel Forde with the English forces were waiting for him, until the 16th of December, which was ten days after the battle, although the distance is only 40 miles. Anunderawze had promised to make the first payment of his treaty, as soon as he should be put in possession of the fort of Rajahmundrum; and, in confidence of his word, Colonel Forde had lent him 20,000 rupees, before he marched with the English from Cossimcotah. This sum, with a supply to the factory at Vizagapatam, and the expences of the field, had absorbed all the money which came from Bengal; and Colonel Forde had nothing but the Rajah's promises to answer the pay of the troops for the month of December. However, still relying on them, he crossed the Godaveri on the 23d, still hoping to appear before Masulipatam before the French had recovered the stun of their late defeat: but the Rajah neither followed with his army, nor sent any money; and, as it would have been vain to have attempted even the march without both, Colonel Forde, with much vexation and resentment, recrossed the river with all the troops on the 26th. The Rajah imagined they were returning to punish him, and, in this fright, fled immediately to the hills which skirt the

province

province about twenty miles to the North of the city ; and Colonel Forde, for the convenience of a nearer communication with Vizagapatam, marched two days back, and encamped at Peddapore, which, with a name very nearly the same, is a fort ten miles to the west of that which has designated his victory. Mr. Andrews immediately sent him 20,000 rupees from Vizagapatam, and on the 13th of January came himself to the camp ; from whence he went into the hills, and reached the Rajah on the 15th, whose fears of the Colonel, and aversion to furnish any money, continued as strong as ever, insomuch that he seemed no longer solicitous about the success of the expedition. His conduct was the more perplexing, because the news that the French were besieging Madrass had stopped the English credit in these provinces, which the Rajah's name alone could immediately restore ; and if his troops did not march, others must be hired, for which no money could be found. The dilemma induced Mr. Andrews to alter the treaty he had made some time before, and to agree, "that whatsoever sums the Rajah might furnish should be con-"sidered as a loan ; and that the revenues of all the countries which "might be reduced on the other side of the Godaveri, excepting such "as belonged to the French either by establishment, or grant in "propriety, should be equally divided between him and the English." With these conditions Mr. Andrews brought him back to the camp on the 18th : and it was agreed to march on to Masulipatam ; but it took seven days more in bargains for exchange with the shroffs before he furnished only 6000 rupees in ready money, and bills at ten days for 60,000 more. At length the armies moved from Peddapore on the 28th, after fifty days had been lost, of which the first twenty diligently employed would probably have accomplished all the purposes of the expedition, which now appeared of much more difficult execution, as the enemy had gained full time to recollect themselves : nor had the delay the smallest plea of necessity ; for the Rajah might with as little inconvenience have done at first what he unwillingly complied with at last ; although the expedition had been undertaken from a reliance on his promises, warranted by the earnestness of his solicitations.

1759 April.

January.

The

1759 April. *January.* The Hardwicke and the two sloops, which had been dispatched from Vizagapatam on the 12th of December, anchored the next day in the road of Yanam, which lies on the eastern mouth of the Godaveri, where the agents of the French factory, on news of the defeat at Peddipore, had embarked their effects and themselves in a snow, which had not got out of the river when the Hardwicke arrived; and they surrendered to her longboat without resistance. Some days after, the vessels sailed down to Masulipatam, and cruized between this place and Narsipore on the western arm of the Godaveri, *February.* until the 9th of February, when they fixed their station in Masulipatam road, waiting for the arrival of the army; but weighing occasionally to bring vessels to, that were passing in the offing, of which they intercepted several laden with rice for Pondicherry, and the French army before Madrass.

The English army arrived on the 6th of February at Elore; but, to prevent another quarrel, Colonel Forde had been obliged to let the Rajah march as he listed, employing his troops to the right and left, in levying contributions, on promise, however, of rejoining him soon at Elore. This place, otherwise called Yalore, is situated 50 miles S. W. of Rajahmundrum, and nearly 40 N. of Masulipatam. It is the capital of a province, or phousdarry, of no great extent, and one of the four obtained from Salabadjing by Mr. Bussy. It has been very little known to the English, and never frequented by them since they withdrew their factory from Masulipatam in the last century. The town is extensive, and in the middle of it is a very large fort, in which the French used to keep a garrison mostly of black troops; but the Marquis de Conflans had taken them away with him, as he was passing on to Masulipatam, where he had determined to make his stand. The long delay of the English troops in following him seemed to have inspired him with a little resolution: for with some of the troops which had joined him after the defeat of Peddipore, and the garrisons of Elore and Rajahmundrum, he formed a body of 200 Europeans, with four field-pieces, and 2000 Sepoys, which he called his army of observation; but they did not venture within less than thirty miles of Elore, and kept moving

moving to the West of Masulipatam, collecting or extorting tributes. 1759
Colonel Forde, whilst waiting for the Rajah and his troops, detached April.
Captain Knox, with the first battalion of Sepoys, to reduce the *February.*
French factory at Narsipore, where by this time the garrison, by the arrival of stragglers from the late defeat, was augmented to 100 Europeans, and 3 or 400 Sepoys. Narsipore stands 20 miles to the S. E. of Elore. Letters were previously sent to the Indian Zemindar of the district, threatening the destruction of his country, if he gave the French any assistance, but offering him alliance if he would join the English army with his troops. The Zemindar met Captain Knox on the road, and accepted the terms with cheerfulness; and the French troops at Narsipore having relied on his assistance, marched away as soon as they saw his defection, leaving in the factory, besides common effects, some cannon and marine stores, and in the river several boats and vessels; but they sunk what ammunition they could not carry off. The English detachment leaving a few men with the Zemindar's officers to take care of what was worth preserving, returned to Elore, where on the 18th came in the Rajah with all his troops collected; and the next day the Zemindar of Narsipore with 1500 foot, armed in the fashion of the country. But, although so much time had already been lost, the Rajah was not yet ready to proceed, and detained the army at Elore until the 1st of March.

Mr. Conflans, on his defeat at Peddipore, had written letters to *March.*
Salabadjing, earnestly requesting he would march with his army from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, when both their forces united could not fail of destroying the English troops, and punishing the powers of the country which had revolted to their common enemy. The desistance of Salabadjing with Mr. Bussy from the pursuit of Nizamally towards Brampore had encouraged this prince to resume his former ambitions; in which he was, at least secretly, abetted by the adherents of Shanavaze Khan and Mahomed Hussein, whose deaths, as well as his own flight to Brampore, had been the immediate consequences of the assassination of Hyderjung, the duan of Mr. Bussy: but this confederacy refrained from any conspicuous

1759 cuous exertion, until they saw Mr. Bussy and the whole of the French force quitting Hyderabad, and the service of Salabadjing,
April. in obedience to the orders of Mr. Lally; when judging little
March. likelihood of their return, they acted with more open declaration; and soon after, Nizamally was enabled, with the assistance of his friends, to increase his force from 1500 to 15000 horse, with which he marched from Brampore in November, and was received with homage into the city of Aurengabad; but the fortress of Dollabad still held out for Salabadjing. The insolence of Salabadjing, wedded to habits, saw no means of coercing his brother, but by the accustomed assistance of a body of French troops, which his own aid to Conflans in this time of necessity was certainly the likeliest means of procuring: but few of his officers were desirous of seeing the re-establishment of a power, which had interfered so much with their own authority and advantages in the government; nevertheless, they imagined, that the present contest for the ceded provinces between the French and English might give a chance of recovering these countries to their former dependence on the soubahship; and in this view most of them advised him to march towards Masulipatam. His brother, bassaulet Jung, concurred in the same opinion, and marched with his forces from Adoni at the same time that Salabadjing was advancing from Hyderabad. Both joined near the Kristna, and amounted to 15000 horse and 20000 foot. Neither their approach, nor the probability of their assisting the French, deterred Colonel Forde from his purpose of proceeding against Masulipatam. It was obvious, that the junction of Salabadjing's army with the French would bring heavy vengeance upon the Rajah, if the English troops should be obliged to retire before them: but even this consideration, because the danger was distant, could not induce him to relinquish the immediate advantages of his delay, although nothing more than the collections of the day levied by his troops spread abroad in all parts of the country.

Five miles to the south of Elore you arrive at the bed of a vast lake, which extends 47 miles in length, from west to east across the

the situation of the city, and 14 in breadth from north to south. 1759
From the beginning of the rains in July, until the end of Septem- April.
ber, the whole is spread over with water, excepting 60 or 70
small islots, on which the inhabitants remain; but during the rest March
of the year the whole is dry and passable, and in many places highly cultivated. The army, and for the first time any of the English troops, marched across the lake, and on the 3d of March encamped near a small fort, called Concale, in which the French had left a serjeant with 13 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys. Captain Maclean, with six companies of Sepoys, were sent to attack and even escalade the fort: the garrison had the day before received assurances from Du Rocher, the commander of the army of observation, that he would arrive to their assistance on the 28th; relying on which, they manned the walls, and seemed resolute to defend themselves. Much firing of musketry passed with much loss to the assailants, who nevertheless twice attempted to break through the wicket of the gate, for want of better implements, with iron crows; but were each time beaten off; on which Captain Macleane sent to the army for a reinforcement of men and two guns; they arrived in the evening, and the guns were immediately applied, and beat open the gates. The detachment rushed in without mercy, and in the first onset killed all they met, who were only Sepoys; for the Europeans hid themselves until the firing and slaughter ceased. A few hours after, a native brought intelligence, that a party of forty Europeans, with some Sepoys, from the army of observation, were arrived within a few miles; on which Captain Macleane marched out to attack them. But they, hearing the fort was taken, had retreated. A small garrison of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, was left to secure the fort from surprize, and the army marched on towards Masulipatam, in sight of which they arrived on the 6th of March; and the same day received advices, that the French army under the command of Mr. Lally, had been obliged to raise the siege of Madrass.

 The

1759 April. March.

The fort and town of Masulipatam are situated beyond the reach of cannon-shot asunder. The fort stands a mile and a half from the sea-shore, on the edge of a sound formed partly by an inlet of the sea, partly by drains from the circumjacent ground, and still more by a continued stream which the river Kriśtna sends off about 15 miles to the S. W. and which falls into the upper part of the sound, very near the fort. The Sound has sometimes three fathom, and at others only three feet water; and opposite to the fort, is 500 yards in breadth. The south side of the fort extends about 600 along the Sound, and 800 from thence to the north; and its area, as well as form, would differ very little from a parallelogram of these dimensions, if the eastern side did not lie in a re-entering angle, which, however, is a very obtuse one. The ground along the sea-shore for two miles to the north and south of the inlet of the Sound, is a collection of sand-hills, which extend about half a mile inland, when they cease on the border of a morass, which surrounds the fort on every side, and continues to the west and south for several miles; and to the N. W. and north, there is no hard ground at less than a mile of the fort, excepting a few small spots of sand in the morass, which are near it to the N. E.: but to the east, the sand hills along the sea are within 800 yards of the walls. The morass in all directions is intersected with creeks and gullies, which fall into the sound.

The Pettah, or town of Masulipatam, is situated a mile and a half to the N. W. of the fort, on a plot of ground rising above the morass; across which, the communication between this ground and the fort is by a straight causeway 2000 yards in length. The town is very extensive, and its ground on the farther side still to the N. W. is bounded by another morass, which stretches along it from the S. W. to the N. E. but is stopped by the sand-hills of the sea-shore, along which is the only access to the town on firm ground; for both morasses are miry even in the driest season, and were so now, although no rain had fallen for 40 days.

Mr. Conflans, with all his troops, excepting the few guards in the fort, were encamped in the Pettah for the convenience of water, of

of which there is none in the fort but what is preserved in cisterns. 1759
His ideas of remaining here extended no farther than this advantage; April. March.
although, by flinging up an entrenchment across the dry ground from one morass to the other, he might have stopped the English army, to which the force with him was equal, being 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, without the army of observation, which he had not recalled; and, as soon as the English army appeared, he retreated by the causeway, into the fort. The troops of Anunderauze and of the Zemindar of Narsipore encamped in the pettah; the English on the sand to the north-east.

The French, since they took possession of the Fort in 1751, had modernized the defences: the walls were mud faced with bricks as high as the parapet; and the three sides to the west, north, and east, contained 11 angular bastions of various shapes and sizes; before which were a palisaded berm, and a wet ditch; but no glacis. The front to the south along the sound, from reliance on that defence, was left open. The bastion next the N. W. fronted the causeway leading to the pettah: in this bastion was the gateway, and 120 yards of the causeway was converted into a caponiere, which terminated in a strong ravelin that scoured along the length of the causeway.

No regular approaches could be made to the fort, but by an army ten times stronger than Colonel Forde's; for hitherto black troops, howsoever numerous, were counted for nothing in the service of carrying on trenches. Colonel Forde therefore resolved to attack the fort from the sand-hills to the east, as the nearest shot; and by batteries detached from each other, without the communication of trenches, as little was to be feared from the sallies of the besieged. The ground had the advantage, although this circumstance would not have determined the choice, of being nearest to the disembarkation of the stores and heavy artillery from the Hardwicke, which, with the two sloops, were in the road.

Three batteries were erected; one in a fishing village near the inward point of the sand to the S. W. where it is bordered by the inlet of the sea to the south, and the west by a large creek in the morass coming from the north. Four hundred yards to the north of this bat-

1759 tery, and nearer to the edge of the same creek, was another : the third battery was at an equal distance 100 yards in the rear of both.
April.
March. The battery to the north, and that to the south, had each two eighteen and two twenty-four pounders ; but in the south were likewise the bombarding artillery, which were three mortars, of 13, nine, and eight inches. The battery in the center had only two twelve-pounders.

In the S. E. angle of the fort, close on the sound, was a bastion called the François, of 10 guns. For some distance from hence to the north, the want of hard ground had obliged the rampart to recede in a re-entering angle, in the bottom of which was a work in the form of a demi-lune, having only two faces, without flanks, which would have been needless, since the line of the faces sufficiently flanked the bastion François on the right, and that called the Saint John on the left. This work was called the Dutch bastion. The Saint John had eight guns, and beyond it in the N. E. angle of the fort was the bastion called the Camelion, mounting 10 guns. The southern of the English batteries fired on the François and Dutch bastion ; the center on Saint John's ; and the northern on the Cameleon. As soon as their position was decided, the garrison raised a battery on the left shore of the inlet as you enter from the sea ; which took them all in flank ; but as this battery was separated from the fort by the whole breadth of the sound, and might be attacked in the night by the boats of the ships, the garrison kept a constant guard in it of Europeans, besides Sepoys. They likewise stationed a stronger guard in the ravelin at the end of the caponiere on the other side of the fort. Besides the immediate superiority of artillery standing on their works, the garrison had others in store, mounted ready to replace what might be rendered useless in the course of service ; whereas the English army could only restore the loss of theirs by borrowing the common guns of the Hardwicke, which were nine-pounders, or the Rajah's, which were good for nothing.

The French army of observation, as soon as the English passed onwards from Concale, crossed the country to Elore, where there was no garrison to oppose them ; and from hence went on to Rajahmundrum, where the sick of the army, in all 25 Europeans, and 40 Sepoys, had

had been left under the command of Mr. Bristol, who a few days before had received a large sum in gold and silver, sent from Bengal to Vizigapatam, and from hence to him, for the service of the army with Colonel Forde. On the approach of the enemy, Bristol sent away the treasure to Cockanarah, a Dutch settlement on the coast: and as soon as they appeared on the river, ordered all such of his men as were capable of the fatigue to go away, and endeavour to gain Vizagapatam. The enemy marched two days onwards from Rajamundrum, giving out that they intended to take Vizianagarum, the capital of Anunderauze, as well as the English fort at Vizagapatam; but their views were only to extort money from the chiefs and renters, by the severities they exercised in the country. However, finding they could not collect as much as they spent, they returned; and directed their march to join the army of Salabadjing. The daily news of their motions terrified the Rajah with apprehensions for his countries, and no persuasions could induce him to advance either his credit or money: none remained in the military chest: Colonel Forde had borrowed all that the officers under his command had realized from the spoils of the campaign, and had even used the prize-money of the troops; and the interposition of the French army of observation precluded the hopes of receiving what had been sent to Mr. Bristol; and by this time, every soldier in the army had perceived the obstacles which must be surmounted, to reduce the fort, which exasperated the sense of their distresses. In these agitations, the whole line of Europeans turned out on the 19th, with their arms, and threatened to march away. Colonel Forde, with much difficulty, prevailed on them to return to their tents, and to depute one or two to explain their complaints. The deputies declared, that all were resolved not to serve the siege, unless they were immediately paid the amount of the prize-money already due to them, and were assured of the whole booty, in case Masulipatam should be taken. According to the Company's regulations, authorized by the Crown, the troops in India are only entitled to one half of what is taken in the forts they reduce; the other half is reserved to the Company. Colonel Forde promised to pay them their prize-money,

1759 April. March.

out

1759 April. out of the very first he should receive; and, as he could not break through the regulation, assured them he would solicit the Company by a representation of their hardships and services, to give up their share of what might be take in Masulipatam; of which, he should retain the amount, until their determination was known. These promises appeased them; and they returned to their duty with their usual ardour. Nevertheless the batteries were not completed till the 25th, 18 days after the arrival of the army, during which the fort had kept a constant fire, which had only killed five men.

Salabadjing, as he approached, sent forward letters and messengers, commanding Anunderauze and the Zemindars who had joined the English, to quit them, and repair immediately, as vassals to his standard. On the 27th, advices were received in the camp, that his army was arrived at Bezoara on the Kristna, 40 miles from Masulipatam; and the same day came reports, that the French army of observation had retaken Rajahmundrum.

The Rajah, who had for some days been faltering, was now so terrified, that he marched away with all his forces the same night, without giving warning, intending to regain his own country on the other side of the Godaveri; and, notwithstanding the dilatoriness of his former motions, he on this occasion advanced 16 miles before day-break. Colonel Forde sent messengers after him, representing the absurdity of his conduct, in thinking to escape the numerous cavalry of Salabadjing on the one hand, and the French army of observation, who were towards Rajahmundrum, on the other; whereas, by remaining with the English troops his retreat would be assured, and the reduction of Masulipatam, even now not impracticable. The plain good sense of this advice brought him back with his army to the Pettah. Colonel Forde, although with little hopes, would not neglect the only means in his power of amusing Salabadjing from advancing to the relief of Masulipatam, and requested his permission to send a deputy to treat, professing no other intention than to take possession of the French garrisons and factories on the coast, without assuming the authority they had held in the inland

inland countries. Salabadjing consented to receive the deputy, and Mr. Johnstone was sent to his camp on the 1st of April. 1759 April.

The three batteries continued a hot fire from the 25th of March to the 4th of April. On the 5th, the weather, which had hitherto been gentle, changed to a hard gale of wind, with thunder, lightning, and immense rain, which brought in the southern monsoon, with the return of fair weather on the 6th. In the evening the artillery officers reported, that there was no more than two day's ammunition left for the service of the batteries. Intelligence was likewise received, that Salabadjing was advancing from Bezoara, and that the French army of observation, which he had invited, were very near his. It was now no longer possible for the English army to retreat the long way they had come, as the whole garrison of Masulipatam and the army of observation would join the Subah's in the pursuit. However, the camp might embark; for the shore at Masulipatam is still, and the only part on the coast of Coromandel, on which the sea does not beat with a strong surf. But Colonel Forde regarded this mode of retreat as intolerable disgrace, and resolved to storm the fort; judging, moreover, that the garrison would not suspect the attempt at the very time when the excess of the rain had rendered the approach over the morass much less practicable than before. He accordingly ordered the fire of the batteries to be kept up with double vivacity through the next day, and all the troops to be under arms at ten at night.

The ditch of the fort, at the ebb of the tide, which would happen at midnight, has only three feet water, and having no glacis, nothing prevented the immediate access. Notwithstanding the garrison had constantly repaired in the night the damages of the day, the hot and continued firing of this day had ruined the bastions sufficiently to mount; and each of the three had been equally fired upon, to confound the enemy's guess of the assault. As no outworks obstructed a full view of the body of the place, it was seen from the batteries, that the two bastions upon the sound on the extremities of the fort to the S. W. and the S. E. were in barbette, that is, without embrasures and merlons, but with a parapet low enough for cannon to

1759 April. to fire over, which is rarely four feet high. From the S. W. bastion, which was named St. Michael's, to the next on the W. called the Saline, the exterior ground was a miry swamp of mud, in which the ditch that surrounded the rest of the fort, could not have been continued, but at great expence and labour, and was left in this state, because supposed of more difficult passage than the ditch itself. Some days before a black servant of Captain Yorke's, who had lately lived in Masulipatam, told him that he had sometimes seen the natives employed in the fort wade over the quagmire between the two bastions: and on this intelligence, Colonel Forde had permitted Captain Yorke and Knox to examine this passage; they took 100 Sepoys, and placing them in different parties behind one another to support their retreat, went on at midnight, properly clad to the skin, in order to resemble black men naked, and entered the quagmire, which they passed half over, and found it not above knee deep, but the mud very tenacious; they returned undiscovered, and their report determined Colonel Forde to try an attack on this quarter at the same time as the main assault; which at least would distract the enemy's attention. In the same intention the country troops belonging to the Rajah were to march along the causeway over the morass, and on each side of it, and to skirmish against the ravelin in front of the gateway.

The battalion of Europeans, reinforced with 30 sailors from the Hardwicke, all the artillery-men, and half the Sepoys, were allotted for the real attack, which was to be made on the bastion called the Cameleon in the N. E. angle of the fort. Their whole number was 346 Europeans, rank and file; the Sepoys amounted to 1400; of which the other half were allotted to the false attack to be led by Captain Knox. Each of the three attacks was to be ready on their respective ground before midnight; when, as soon as the false commenced on the west side, the real, and the Rajah's were likewise to begin. As no counter-attempt was apprehended, the guard of the camp was left to some of the Rajah's troops. The attack with Captain Knox having farther to go, marched off first; the main attack was in three divisions, of which the Europeans formed two, and the Sepoys the last;

 but

but when they were to move, Captain Callender, who by his rank 1759
was to lead the first division of Europeans, was not to be found; April.
and after much search and enquiry, the troops proceeded without him, crossing the morass from the dry ground of sand directly opposite to the Cameleon, the bastion they were to storm. In the way they were joined by the gunners crossing the morass, likewise from the batteries, which for fear of surprize they did not quit until the last moment. But before the troops arrived at the ditch, they heard the firing of Knox's attack, which nevertheless had only begun at the appointed time; on which all marched as fast as they could, as before up to the knees in mire, and in crossing the ditch, up to the middle in water and mud. Here they were discovered just before they got to the pallisade on the berm; and whilst the first division, commanded by Captain Fischer, were tearing it up, which took several minutes, the enemy gathered on the breach, and began likewise to fire cannon and musketry from the next bastions, the Saint John's on the right, and that called the small-gate on the left. The opposition only encreased the ardour of the assailants, and whilst the first division of Europeans with Fischer were gaining the breach, the second, commanded by Yorke, fired up against St. John's and the division of Sepoys led by Macleane against the small gate. Several were killed before Fischer's division had mounted, and got possession of the Cameleon; when, having waited until Yorke's came up, they turned and advanced along the rampart to the left, to get possession of the small gate. There was a handy gun, with its ammunition, on the Cameleon, which Yorke, on the suggestion of Captain Moran, who discovered it, ordered the gunners to turn and fire along the rampart towards the Sound, and in the mean time prepared his division to follow the same direction, as soon as a number of Sepoys sufficient to maintain the bastion were come up the breach; but, just as he was setting off, he perceived a line of Sepoys coming along in the way below, between the foot of the rampart and the buildings of the town: they were sent to reinforce the Cameleon from the arsenal near the Sound, where Conflans continued waiting the event with the grenadier company and other troops. Yorke immediately ran down, and seiz-

1759 April. ing the French officer at the head of the Sepoys, bid him order them to lay down their arms and surrender; which they obeyed with little reluctance, and were sent up to the bastion. Yorke, having observed that the way below was free from interruption, and much broader than the rampart above, resolved to march along it, to get possession of the rest of the defences allotted to his attack; his division accordingly came down, excepting a few left with the prisoners, and the artillery-men with the gun. The guard of the next bastion, St. John's, had sheltered themselves within the angles, from the infilade of the gun; they were 20 Europeans, and more Sepoys, who, as soon as Yorke's division came under the bastion, advanced to the edge of the rampart, fired down upon them, which killed several and wounded more, and then cried out, that they would surrender. Yorke generously spared the return of their fire: their arms were gathered, and they were conducted by a party to the Cameleon, where the Sepoys were in reserve, who reinforced the party, which was posted to secure the St. John's. The division then marched on, and when under the Dutch bastion, received the fire of the guard, scattered indeed, but with equal iniquity followed by the immediate offer of surrender, which was accepted with the same humanity as before, and the bastion and men secured by parties from the division, and the reserve. These interruptions had allowed the division time to think and expect more, and many shewed much unwillingness to go on; for darkness covers shame; however, they yielded to the threats and exhortations of Captain Yorke; but had not advanced many paces beyond the Dutch bastion, before they passed a small brick building close to the rampart, which fear or curiosity led some to examine. It was an extensive magazine of ammunition, and one unluckily cried out, a mine: this word struck the whole division with terror, and all instantly ran back to the Cameleon (the officers accompanying to reclaim them), and Captain Yorke, who marched at the head, was left alone, with only two drummers, who were black boys, beating the grenadiers' march, which they continued; but in vain, for none rejoined: on which Captain Yorke went back, and found all his men in much confusion

at the bastion, some even proposing to go out of the breach and quit the fort. Severity was instantly necessary, and Yorke, as soon as on the bastion, threatened to put the first man to death who offered to come near the breach; on which some of the soldiers who had served with him in Adlercron's regiment, and had enlisted in the Company's service, cried out that their commander was ill used, and offered to follow him wheresoever he pleased: their number immediately increased to 36, with whom he marched off, leaving the rest to follow, as the officers could bring them on. The length of this interruption, joined to the preceding, had given the French officer at the next bastion, the François, which stands on the edge of the Sound, time to get down a gun loaded with grape-shot and to point it up the way the party was coming; it fired when they were within a few yards, and with great execution, killing several and wounding sixteen. Captain Yorke fell, with a ball through each of his thighs, and each of the black drummers was killed dead at his side. This havock, however, did not discourage the rest from bringing off their Captain, whom they carried to the Cameleon; and the guards, posted in the St. Jean and Dutch bastions, not dismayed, kept their ground, waiting the event. 1759 April.

During these efforts of the left division, the right, commanded by Captain Fischer, was advancing from the Cameleon to the right, but along the rampart. The next, which is the small gate, was not in complete repair; and the Sepoys with Macleane were attempting to scramble up it, which, with the approach of Fischer's division, drove the guard away to the next bastion, called the Church-yard, from which they fired continually, but without order, as the division approached; and when near, asked quarter, which was granted.

Colonel Forde continued with the reserve on the bastion of St. Jean, issuing the necessary orders, according to the reports from both divisions. The prisoners as fast as taken were brought to him there, and he sent them, as they came, down the breach, into the ditch, where they were guarded as well as the night permitted by a proper

 number

1759 April. number of Sepoys, threatening at the point of bayonet to kill the first that moved; but very few of them ventured any disturbance. The Rajah's troops had for some time begun their attack on the ravelin on the causeway, and, if nothing more, with much din and clamour; but the fire of the false attack with Captain Knox continually diminished; as having begun earlier, they had expended most of their ammunition, although, finding the enemy prepared in this quarter, they only fired across without venturing to pass the quagmire. However, this attack kept some of the garrison from the more material service against the real, and the Rajah's prevented the guard at the ravelin from returning into the fort, which they ought to have done, as being of little use without the walls, whilst the body of the place was in instant danger. But the separation of the main attack into two divisions, confounded the defence much more than the attacks without. Mr. Conflans, not knowing what to do, kept at his house near the Sound, continually receiving messages magnifying the danger, and sending orders which new reports continually induced him to contradict.

The parade of the fort was under the bastion of the great gate, and as this is the usual place of rendezvous on alarm, most of the troops and officers who remained willing to continue the defence, whether driven from their posts, or wanting immediate orders, repaired hither, and had joined the guard of the bastion above, before Fischer's division was ready to advance from that of the church-yard. Near 100 were assembled, but their fire began before the division was sufficiently near, which preserved theirs, and only giving that of the first platoon, rushed on, and soon cleared the bastion. Fischer immediately sent down to secure the gate below, which shut out the troops on the ravelin, and prevented the escape of any from within. Whilst the division was getting into order to proceed again, appeared Captain Callender, no one knew from whence, and taking the command, marched at their head towards the next bastion, called the Pettah, from which came scattering shot, scarcely more than one at a time, and the last that dropped, shot Callender dead; immediately after which the fire of the garrison

garrison in all other parts of the fort ceased, and soon after came a message from Colonel Forde, ordering Fischer's division to cease likewise, as Mr. Conflans had surrendered. He had sent a message offering to capitulate on honourable terms; to which Forde answered, that he would give none, but at discretion, nor even this; but would put every man to the sword, if all did not instantly surrender. 1759 April.

On the return of the officer, Mr. Conflans sent orders round for the troops to quit their arms, and repair to his quarters at the arsenal, which is a spacious enclosure. As soon as all was quiet, the English troops assembled on the parade, under the bastion of the gate-way; and 100 Europeans, with two guns, and two companies of Sepoys, were detached to remain on guard over the prisoners until the morning; when, whatsoever troops were at the ravelin, and the battery at the inlet, and had not escaped, came into the fort, to become prisoners with the rest of the garrison. The whole number exceeded the assailants, being 500 Europeans; of whom 100 were either officers or inhabitants of better condition, and 2537 either Coffrees, Topasses, or Sepoys. Of the assailants, 22 Europeans were killed, amongst them the Captains Callender and Mollitore, and 62 wounded. Of the Sepoys, who behaved with equal gallantry as the Europeans, as well in the real, as at the false attacks, 50 were killed, and 150 wounded. The Rajah's people likewise suffered more than was expected from them; but nothing in proportion to the English troops. The fort was furnished with 120 pieces of cannon, and abundance of military stores. The plunder of other effects was likewise valuable; and all that was not merchandize was given back to the prisoners; half the rest was divided amongst the English army, and the other half reserved for them according to the promise they had received.

The improbability of the attempt was the principal cause of its success, for the garrison from the beginning had regarded the siege with mockery, and, being in daily expectation of the arrival of a body of troops which were coming by sea from Pondicherry, had concerted, that the army of observation, joined by this reinforcement,

and

1759 April. and a great detachment, if not the whole of Salabadjing's army, should then surround and attack the English army, which they represented to themselves as involved in impending and inevitable destruction; and indeed, if these efforts had been made by Salabadjing's army, and the French troops abroad, without waiting for the reinforcement, the English army could not have kept their ground, since the Rajah, with all his troops, would certainly have run away, and the enemy's horse, amongst whom were many Morattoes, would have cut off all provisions, and harrassed every motion: nor could they have made the embarkation, to escape by sea, without abandoning all the stores and artillery.

The ministry of Salabadjing were therefore not more surprized, than vexed, at the loss of the place, because, conscious that it might have been prevented by the activity they had neglected to exert. They held councils with the French commander of the army of observation, and determined still to wait for the reinforcement; when they expected at least to reduce the English to compound for their retreat by the surrender of Masulipatam. The Rajah Anunderauze, divining what might happen, proposed to return to his own country, as soon as the place was taken; and Colonel Forde, from utter contempt of his character, made no objections to his departure; he marched away with all the Indian forces on the 12th, to regain the Godaveri; and, by hasty marches, was, in two days, out of the reach of pursuit.

Early in the morning of the 15th appeared two ships, standing into the road, under French colours. The commander of the Hardwicke, Samson, was ashore embarking prisoners, of whom he had already received 40 on board: but his brother, who was the chief mate, immediately weighed, and got to windward of the strange ships; on which the largest anchored in the road, as did the Hardwicke at a distance; but the other still plying up, the Hardwicke weighed again, as did the largest ship, and the wind having changed, both of the enemy's bore down, with a fair sail; in the mean time, Captain Samson with eight gunners lent from the army, got

got on board, and determining not to run, before he had tried the 1759
strength of the ships, waited to exchange a broadside, which discovering them to be stouter than his own, he again hauled the wind, and working more dexterously got again out of their reach, but continued in the offing. The two French ships anchored again in the road, and in the night sent a catamaran, which they had brought with them, on shore, with letters to Mr. Conflans, signifying, that they were the Harlem and Bristol from Pondicherry, with 300 troops Europeans and Topasses, besides the crews: they were the aid of which advices had been received before. No answer being returned, they suspected the loss of the place, and early the next morning stood out again after the Hardwicke, which bore away for Bengal, and before noon all three were out of sight.

April.

The army of Salabadjing was at this time within 15 miles of Masulipatam; and imagining, that the French ships would return to land the troops, sent forward all the Morattoes towards the shore. Colonel Forde, notwithstanding the great number of prisoners which were to be guarded, divided his force, and leaving half in the fort to take care of them, encamped with the other on the ground he had occupied before. This countenance kept the Morattoes out of cannon-shot, but they burnt and slew all around for several days; when Salabadjing, seeing no probability of retaking Masulipatam, began to treat in earnest; and Colonel Forde went to his camp, and was received with much attention.

But another motive of equal weight concurred to induce this change in Salabadjing's disposition towards the English. Some account of the assassination of Mr. Bussy's Duan, and of Nizamally's flight to Brampour, had reached Bengal before the departure of the present expedition; and Clive, judging that the atrocity of the injury which Nizamally had committed would carry his detestation of the French nation beyond the reach or wish of reconciliation, wrote letters to him, requesting his assistance to the army with Colonel Forde in exterminating the French out of the provinces they had dismembered from the sovereignty of the Decan. Colonel Forde dispatched these letters, with his own to the same purport, and Nizamally

1759 April. zamally had received them: whether they contributed to influence his immediate operations we are uncertain; but as soon as he was certified that Salabadjing was marching against the English army to Masulipatam, he took the field with his own from Aurengabad, advancing towards Hyderabad, and giving out, that he intended to reform the administration. The news of his intentions, which preceded the advices of his march, alarmed Salabadjing for the preservation of Hyderabad itself, and made him not only anxious to return thither as soon as possible, but desirous of being accompanied by a body of English troops; fearing, that if he entertained the French army of observation, all reconciliation with his brother Nizamally would be precluded. Nevertheless the influence which the commander of these troops had gained over his brother Bassalutjung, who managed the most important affairs of the government, delayed the execution of his treaty with Colonel Forde until the 12th

May. of May, on which day it was signed, and delivered.

The treaty consisted of four articles. By the first; The whole territory dependant on Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the jurisdiction over the territory of Mizamapatam, with the districts of Codaver and Wacalmannar, were granted to the English without the reserve of fine or military service. By the second article, Salabadjing promised to oblige the French troops, meaning the army of observation, to pass the Kristna in 15 days; nor, in future, to permit the nation to have any settlement in the country of the Decan, which this treaty defines to be bounded on the south, by the Kristna; nor to entertain any French troops in his service, nor to give them assistance, or ever call them again to his own. By the third, he promised not to call Anunderauze to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments belonging to the French, nor for the tributes of his own countries for the present year; but he was hereafter to pay the same for them as had been paid by Vizeramrauze, and the father of Vizeramrauze. If Anunderauze failed in this stipulation, Salabadjing was left free to treat him as he pleased: but in all cases was neither to assist, or give protection to the enemies of the English; and by the 4th article, the English engage neither to assist, or give protection to his. The territory ceded to the

the company extended 80 miles along the sea, and 20 inland, and the revenues amounted to 400,000 rupees a year. 1759

April. May.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Salabadjing offered Colonel Forde a district near Masulipatam, as a jaghire or pension for himself, if he would accompany him with part of the English troops against his brother Nizamally. Colonel Forde, with as much earnestness, requested his assistance to take or destroy the French army of observation, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, avowedly under the protection of Bassaulet Jung. Neither side had the least inclination to gratify the other, and Salabadjing on the 18th marched away in much disgust with the English, to whom he had confirmed, without any reciprocal benefit, the most advantageous acquisition of its extent, they could wish to gain, with the view of maintaining, on the whole coast of Coromandel from Ganjam to Cape Comorin. The body of French troops crossed the Kristna, but marched to the westward, in consequence of assurances from Bassaulet Jung to take them into his service, when he should return from Hyderabad to his own Government of Adoni. The Presidency of Madrass considered Masulipatam as dependant on their authority, and appointed Mr. Andrews, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade: and Colonel Forde remained there with the troops, in expectation of orders for his future proceedings from the Presidency of Bengal.

Mr. Lally, with the French army, was in full march after the English, when he received the news at Trivatore that they had taken Conjeveram, on which he halted; but sent forward the partizan Lambert, with the body of troops he commanded apart from the army, who posted themselves seven miles from the English, in the road to Arcot, in order to prevent the incursions of their cavalry into those districts; but the English army had no intention to ravage a country they intended to recover. Lambert's party consisted of 300 either Topasses or Europeans, unfit for the regular battalions, about 700 Sepoys, and 200 horse. They had been detached whilst the two armies some time before were facing one another at Conjeveram, to retaliate on Kistnarow, the Killidar of Thiagar, the ravages he

1759 April. had committed in the adjacencies of Pondicherry, and to retake the forts which he and Mahomed Issoof had reduced whilst the French army were preparing on the other side of the Paliar to attack Madrass. In the middle of March, he set down before Elavanasore, which Kistnarow, leaving his rock of Thiagar, resolved to defend in person; continual skirmishes passed between them for ten days, when Lambert, seeing no probability of taking the place without battering cannon, of which he had nine, marched away, and set down before Trivâtore; where likewise were some Sepoys left by Mahomed Issoof, and some of Kistnarow's, who were very near surrendering, when Lambert, with his whole detachment, was recalled to the main army; which on the 19th advanced to Covrepauk, where they took up their quarters, still keeping Lambert's party between them and the English, which continued at Conjeveram, and threw up redoubts in their front, and on their flanks.

Soon after the detachment of Gopaulrow's Morattoes had taken possession or Tripetti, he received orders from Balagerow at Poni to return and join him there without delay; lest he should be stopped by the floods of the Kristna, which swells in May. He accordingly recalled all his parties, excepting a small detachment left to guard Tripetti, under the command of an officer named Narrain Saustry, and the main body marched away from the passes of Damalcherri, in the beginning of April. At the same time, Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, was permitted to return with his troops, to Chandergerry; from whence he sent them against Tripetty, of which they got possession after a slight resistance: he then requested the Presidency to grant him the farm of the pagoda; but as his rank exempted him from controul, the Presidency let it to the same renters as were holding it when taken by the French, by whom they had likewise been continued in the management.

Three companies of Sepoys sent from Tritchinopoly joined Kistnarow soon after Lambert's party was recalled from the south, with whom and his own troops Kistnarow immediately took the field again, and ravaged

ravaged as far as Trivadi, within 14 miles of Pondicherry, and from thence to Cuddalore, where, since the reduction of Fort St. David, the French kept a garrison. Some bad troops were sent from both, and the adjacent districts, to oppose him, and having amongst them 30 Europeans, and he none, excepting the serjeants of the Sepoys, the enemy attacked him with confidence, and were decisively beaten. Ten of their Europeans, and a great number of their country troops, were killed. Of the English Sepoys 30, and nine of Kistnarow's people; but the enemy left behind them three pieces of cannon, a tumbril, and 30 barrels of ammunition, which he carried away in triumph to Thiagar; and from thence sent back the English Sepoys to Tritchinopoly. This success was gained in the beginning of May.

1759 May.

A few days after the reduction of Conjeveram, intelligence was received, that the garrison of Sepoys at Palamcotah, in the country of Tinivelly, had ventured to stand an engagement in the field against Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver, joined by most of the other Polygars, and, although the enemy quitted the field, so many of the Sepoys were killed and wounded, that the garrison could no longer appear out of the fort. It had before been resolved to send Mahomed Issoof into the southern countries, as soon as the army in the field could be diminished without risque; of which, the caution of the French army at Covrepauk to avoid even the chance of skirmishes, and the departure of the Morattoes with Gopaulrow, who might have joined them, no longer left any apprehensions. The troops of Tanjore and Tondiman were therefore ordered to return, with Mahomed Issoof's detachment, and the whole body were to pass by Vicravandi and Trivadi, in order to assist Kistnarow in ravaging the French districts in the way. They set out together on the 26th of April: the detachment with Mahomed Issoof was six companies of Sepoys, 60 of the horse, and six of the Europen gunners he brought with him, and two field-pieces: the Tanjorines were 300 horse, and Tondiman's troops 250, with 1100 Colleries. After the first day's march, the troops of Tanjore and Tondiman declared they would not expose themselves to the risque of passing through the

1759 May. the enemy's districts, nor of crossing the Coleroon near them. Mahomed Issoof, impatient to arrive at his destination, yielded to, if he did not suggest, their repugnance, and consented to go the way they chose. Accordingly, they all quitted the straight road to the south, and striking to the west, passed by Arnee, and entered the mountains about nine miles south of Velore: then continuing along the valley of Vaniambady, they came out at another pass near Tricalore, and burning seven or eight villages under the fort which were held by the French renters, they arrived at Thiagar on the 8th of May, where Kistnarow was returned from his excursion to Trivadi. The Tanjorines and Tondimans, thinking the rest of the country from Thiagar safe, proceeded home more like travellers than troops: but Mahomed Issoof's detachment marched on in regular order to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 14th; and, on the 16th, having taken leave of the Nabob, he continued his march to Madura.

Nothing could testify more confidence than the dismission of such a number of troops in the face of the enemy. Their distresses for every kind of supply, and for want even of their pay, after they arrived at Covrepauk, deferred Mr. Lally from trusting their good-will in action, until he could satisfy their complaints. For this purpose, he went to Arcot, and, having detected various frauds in the management of the Amuldar or renter, who farmed the districts, fined him 40,000 rupees; and he received 10,000 from Mortizally of Velore, with the promise of some provisions, to refrain from molesting his domain. But before he had procured these aids, he received news, that the English squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, and three frigates, had arrived on the 28th of April at Negapatam, from Bombay. Their appearance, whilst the French army was at such a distance, alarmed the garrison at Karical, and even Pondicherry itself; but not Mr. Lally, who, on the contrary, thought it requisite to shew better countenance, and, having satisfied immediate wants with the money he had obtained, marched on the 6th of May with the whole army from Covrepauk, and encamped

camped the next day at Balchitty's choultry, seven miles to the west of Conjeveram. The situation they chose was strong, and the country being quite level, the advanced guards of the two armies were in sight of each other. 1759 May.

An exchange of prisoners had been some time before agreed on, and 100 of those taken at Fort St. David arrived at Chinglapet from Pondicherry on the 6th, which enabled the Presidency of Madrass to reinforce their army with that number, although of other Europeans: but the French could not immediately receive an equal advantage, because their prisoners were released from Tritchinopoly, and had to march from thence to Pondicherry. Colonel Brereton fell at this time dangerously ill, and with much regret was obliged to be carried into Madrass, when the command devolved to Colonel Monson, the next officer in the king's regiment, who immediately made preparation, and on three successive days, from the 12th to the 15th, drew the army out of the lines, offering the enemy battle in the plain; but the ground of their encampment was too strong to be attacked by an equal force. By this time, the resources of money and provisions which Mr. Lally had lately procured were nearly exhausted, and the soldiery renewed their complaints, which most of the officers, from personal hatred to himself, were little solicitous to repress. Knowing their discontent, he would not venture the battle he otherwise wished, (for he was always brave and impetuous, and had 2000 Europeans in the field,) before he had tried how far their prejudices might influence their duty: and made several motions, tending to no great consequence, which convinced him, that, in their present mood, they would not fight with ardour under his command. The English army, ignorant of the motives, were much surprized to see the whole of the French quitting their encampment on the 15th, and in march towards Trivatore. From hence they were disposed into different cantonments. Parties were sent to Arcot, Covrepauk, and Carangoly, 200 Europeans to Chittapet, 400 with the field artillery to Vandiwash; 1200, with 100 European horse, marched to Pondicherry, whither Mr. Lally likewise went,

resolved

1759 May. resolved not to meet the English again in force, until the arrival of the French squadron, which was daily expected with reinforcements. On the 28th, the English army was distributed into cantonments at Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Stree Permadore, and Muslewack, which, with the forts of Pondamalée and Tripassore, formed a barrier from the river Paliar to Pulicate. The French had some time before withdrawn their troops from Sadrass, and restored the fort and town to the Dutch.

Thus ended this campaign, after it had lasted 100 days, during which of 8 or 10,000 men in arms, not five were killed. But the principal object of both sides was to protect their respective territory, and not to risk an engagement without positive advantage, which neither gave.

Mr. Lally carried with him to Pondicherry more resentment than ever against the governor, the council, and all who were employed in the civil administration of the company's affairs; imputing to their malversations all the obstacles and impediments which obstructed the success of his arms. The council, he alledged, received presents from the renters of all the districts, who, emboldened by the knowledge of their peculations, continually evaded the regular payments, or insisted on remissions in the terms of their leases: and whilst the public treasury was thus disappointed or defrauded of its incomes, its issues he insisted were squandered with equal prodigality, because the council and their dependants held shares in all the supplies for the public service, whether in the camp or city. Something of these accusations might be true; but Mr. De Leyrit, the governor, was a man of distinguished moderation and equity; and other members of the council were likewise men of worth, superior to such practices; but all who were not, sheltered their own characters under the public disbelief, of the calumnies against those who were guiltless of the delinquencies imputed to them: and all knowing Mr. Lally's aversion to Mr. Bussy, who had remained ill at Pondicherry since the siege of Madrass, paid particular court to his person and character, and continually expressed their regrets at the indiscretion of the ministry in Farnce appointing Mr. Lally to the supreme

supreme command in India, when they had it in their power to have employed an officer of such approved and successful services as Mr. Bussy. 1759 July.

As soon as the main body of the French army arrived at Pondicherry, 60 Europeans were sent to Karical; against which place, from its distance and situation on the sea-shore, although a regular fortification, Mr. Lally always apprehended a descent from the English squadron. Another party was prepared to attack Kistnarow, whose ravages had greatly impaired the revenues expected from the adjacent districts; but did not take the field until the 24th, which gave time to Captain Joseph Smith, at Tritchinopoly, to send three companies of Sepoys, under the command of Hunterman, the serjeant-major of the garrison, who arrived at Thiagar before the French party; which thereupon returned to Trivadi: where they remained waiting for detachments until they were strengthened to 200 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, 40 Hussars, 500 black horse, and eight guns, and where likewise joined by the matchlocks and peons of the French districts: when, by forced marches, they suddenly invested Elavanasore on the 5th of July; and took it by assault on the 11th. Kistnarow himself was in Thiagar; his gallantry, and the importance of the place, which protected all the districts southward toward Tritchinopoly, determined Captain Smith to make an effort for their preservation, which the strength of his garrison could ill afford. Forty Europeans, with three guns, and six companies of Sepoys, marched under the command of Lieutenant Raillard, a Swiss, and before they reached Volcondah were joined by 1000 horse, which the Nabob had levied since his arrival at Tritchinopoly, intending to employ them in the Madura and Tinivelly countries, which he expected would have been left to his management. Kistnarow, on hearing of the march of Raillard's detachment, came out of Thiagar with all his horse, and some Sepoys, in the night of the 12th, and the next day joined him at Volcondah. Serjeant Hunterman, with the rest of the three companies of Sepoys he had brought, and what foot Kistnarow usually kept in Thiagar, remained to defend it, until his return with the reinforcement. At break

1759 July. break of day on the 14th, the whole body of the French troops, now commanded by the Viscount Fumel, who had made a forced march in the night from Elavanasore, appeared before the pettah at the bottom of the rock, and investing it on every side on the plain, brought two guns against the two opposite gates on the north and south, and disposed two parties to escalade in other places. The fight was every where sharp; both the escalades and the attack on the north gate were repulsed; but after two hours, the enemy forced the other, and brought their guns into the town, and Hunterman, still unwilling to give up, had nearly been cut off in his retreat to the gateway of the passage leading up to the fort above, which he however gained, having lost one-third of his Sepoys; but the enemy more, having 200 of theirs, and 30 Europeans killed and wounded. They had scarcely disposed their guards, when their scouts brought word, that the troops with Ralliard and Kistnarow were approaching, and were within a few miles; on which Fumel, with the impetuosity of his nation on success, marched out with most of the troops, but without the field-pieces; and met the English, who were advancing fast on the plain within two miles from the fort. Ralliard, thinking the advantage of his two field-pieces greater than it really was, halted his line to cannonade, which the enemy stood; and, instead of coming on as Ralliard expected, waited till their own, which were five, came up, when they fired amongst the Nabob's cavalry, and knocked down several; on which the whole of this dastardly body went off, and left the infantry unflanked. Ralliard and Kistnarow were in this instant riding towards the cavalry, to lead them up to the enemy's; and, hurried by vexation, followed in hopes of rallying them, and left the infantry without command; against whom the enemy, seeing the horse going off, advanced to the push of bayonet. There was, not far in the rear of the English line, a village, in which the oxen with the ammunition and the stores were waiting; and the gunners, thinking it a safe station to secure the field-pieces, turned, and began to draw them off as fast as they could, thinking they should be covered by the rest of the infantry; who, confused by these various appearances of terror in others, took

panic

panic themselves, and broke, before the enemy's Europeans were at 1759
their breasts; and all instantly fell under the sabres of their black July.
cavalry: meanwhile the exhortations of Ralliard and Kistnarow were vain to retain the Nabob's, who went off on the full gallop in the road to Tritchinopoly. All the Europeans were killed, or made prisoners: all the Sepoys threw down their arms, and suffered more as the enemy did not think them worth taking, and only 200 of them got back to Tritchinopoly. Kistnarow, seeing all lost, followed the Nabob's cavalry; Ralliard road back to the enemy, discharged his pistols at the first he met, and then galloped out of their reach. He was afterwards found dead five miles from the field of action; his head and breast bruised with violent strokes of his pistol, under which he is supposed, as he had neither cartridges nor sword, to have expired, and to have inflicted this severe, but needless execution on himself, to avoid the disgrace of his defeat. The enemy returned to Thiagar, and summoned Kistnarow's officer in the upper fort to surrender, who, encouraged by Serjeant Hunterman, refused; which obliged them to send to Chittapet and Vandiwash, for three mortars, and more Europeans. They fired and bombarded the rock until the 25th; when Hunterman, having nearly expended all the ammunition, capitulated to 600 Europeans, and obtained honourable terms for the whole garrison, Kistnarow's people as well as the English Sepoys; all being permitted to march away with their arms, their persons without search, their baggage on oxen, and under an escort of French troops to the distance they chose: the artillery only excepted. The gallantry of Hunterman was rewarded with an Ensign's commission.

Nothing of consequence had passed between the two armies since they went into cantonments, except reciprocal excursions of small parties to drive off cattle, of which the English collected 5 or 6000. The French garrison in the fort of Arcot consisted of 60 Europeans and six companies of Sepoys: and being as ill paid as the rest of the troops, the Sepoys made overtures to Colonel Monson, proffering to deliver up the fort for a reward in money. At the same time, the Kellidar of Covrepauk, in which were only ten Europeans, and he

1759 July. of Timery, who had none, offered likewise to sell their forts. Timery, from its distance, was not deemed worth the purchase; but the reputation of Arcot, and the communication with it by Covrepauk, induced the Presidency to accept the terms of these forts, although costly. But the Sepoys at Arcot, when the day of execution approached, confessed that they could not succeed; and a few days after 200 Europeans were sent into the fort from Vandiwash, but not, as it seemed, from any suspicion of the plot. However, their march stopped the bargain with Covrepauk.

Narrain Saustry, the Morattoe officer, whom Abdulwahab had driven from Tripetty, took up his residence in Çarcambaddy, a town in the hills, 15 miles distant, belonging to a petty Polygar, subject to a greater called the Matlaver, with whose assistance he raised forces, mostly such as were to be found in those wilds; and in the night of the 30th of June, by a bye-path in the mountain of Tripetty, got possession of the temple on the summit. The troops maintained by the renter, and two companies of Sepoys with Ensign Wilcox, were in the town below, which commands the usual path of the pilgrims to the pagoda. Narrain Saustry therefore waited for another force, which the Matlaver was to send; when one from the rock, and the other from the plain, were to surprize the town. They accordingly made the attack on the 9th of July at four in the morning; and, after skirmishing an hour, were beaten off, with the loss of 20 men killed and wounded; but the Morattoes still kept possession of the pagoda. A few days after, the town was reinforced by the Presidency of Madrass, with three companies of Sepoys, 15 Europeans, and a small gun. None but Indians, and they of the better castes, are permitted to ascend the hill on which the pagoda stands; for the Bramins pretend, that if the summit should be trodden by forbidden feet, all the virtue of the pagoda in the remission of sins would be lost, until restored by an immense purification. Not apprized of this creed, the Sepoys sent by the Presidency were as usual a mixture of Mahomedans and various castes of Indians, so that out of the six hundred, only 80 were worthy to mount to the assault: and the Europeans were utterly excluded. The renter

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nevertheless, with the 80 Sepoys, and his peons and matchlocks, in all not exceeding 500 men, ventured to attack the enemy in possession of the pagoda, and was repulsed with loss, but the blood shed in the attack did not unsanctify the pagoda. 1759 July.

In the latter part of June, three of the usual ships arrived from England, with 200 recruits, sent by the Company; and brought intelligence, that the 84th regiment of 1000 men, in the king's service, were coming in other ships, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coote, the same officer whom we have seen serving in Bengal with the rank of Major; he was appointed to the command of the Company's troops in Bengal; but with permission to stop and serve with his regiment, if more necessary, on the coast of Coromandel. The satisfaction arising from this intelligence was in some measure impaired by a resolution of the Court of directors; who, dazzled by the wealth acquired in Bengal from the revolution of Plassy, and by representations of its sufficiency to supply their other presidencies, had determined to send no more treasure to any of them until the year 1760; but for every reason this intelligence was kept within the council.

At this time likewise, 200 English prisoners were received from Pondicherry, in exchange for the same number of French released at Tritchinopoly; but more than one half of the English were seamen, taken in the frigates stranded at St. David's, and other vessels; who were immediately sent away to the squadron, which was cruizing to the southward. However, these additions to the army enabled the Presidency to extend their attention to objects they had been obliged to neglect, in order to make head in the adjacencies of Madrass: and 90 Europeans, of whom 20 were invalids, and the others not the best men, were sent to Tritchinopoly, proceeding by sea to Negapatam, and from thence through the country of Tanjore.

Three companies of Sepoys had been sent to bring away as many of the French prisoners as they could guard from Masulipatam. As the sea was adverse, they marched by land, and were joined on the road by 100 horse of Nazeabulla's, from Nelore. They arrived at

1759 July. Masulipatam on the 1st of June, and on the 15th began their march back with 200 of the prisoners; but on the 3d day were recalled by Colonel Forde, in consequence of intelligence which threatened their farther progress with danger.

The Subah Salabadjing, on his return from Masulipatam, halted within four days of Hyderabad, and commenced a negotiation with his brother Nizamally. An interview ensued, which was followed by a reconciliation, and concluded by the restoration of Nizamally to the same extensive powers in the government of the Decan, which had excited the apprehensions of Mr. Bussy, and the mortal hatred of both to each other, in the beginning of the preceding year. This revolution in the administration deprived Bassaulet Jung, the other brother, of all his power; which had been considerable as Duan, and little controled by the indolence of Salabadjing. He therefore marched away in seeming disgust with his brothers; but with most against the ablest; and took with him the troops which had formed Conflans' army of observation. They were 200 Europeans, and the 2000 Sepoys under the command of Zulfacar Jung: his own were 1500 good horse, and 5000 foot of various sorts, with a train of heavy artillery. They recrossed the Kristna, summoning acknowledgments, and plundering the country; and when Bonjour's detachment, set out from Masulipatam, were arrived at Condavire, within 50 miles of the road of his march. From hence, Bassaulet Jung, and his principal officers, sent forward threatening letters to Nazeabulla at Nelore, and the three greater Polygars, as well as all the lesser ones along the Pennar, ordering them to account for their shares of the tribute with the arrears, due to the throne through the officiality of the Subah of the Decan, by whom Bassaulet Jung pretended he was commissioned to call them to account; and, as a more effectual terror, gave out, that he should pass through their countries, in order to join the French at Arcot. The style of his letters, and still more his approach, had deterred Nazeabulla, as well as the northern Polygars, from giving any assistance to the English in recovering the mountain of Tripetti; although all applied to Madrass for assistance to defend themselves. This consternation was strong, when the renter was repulsed in the

attack

attack of the mountain; and, on the news of his ill success, 200 of the black horse, with three companies of Sepoys, were sent from the army at Conjeveram to Tripassore, where they would be in readiness either to succour the renter, Nazeabullah, the Polygars, or to march on to join Bonjour's detachment, if returning. But this party was scarcely arrived at Tripassore, when the presidency received intelligence from Ensign Wilcox, that a detachment of Europeans, Sepoys, and horse, sent from Arcot to Narrain Saustry, were marching round the hills, in order to attack the troops in the town of Tripetti; which if they should take, the revenues of the approaching feast in September would be lost, and the recovery of the pagoda, resisted by French troops, rendered hereafter much more difficult; whereas, in the present state, Narrain Saustry in possession of the mountain, and the English of the town, neither at least could get any thing, excepting by a compromise. The importance of this object, and of the other concerns in this quarter, determined the presidency to send Major Calliaud, with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. They arrived at Tripetti on the 8th of July; but, as before, the re-inforcement of Sepoys furnished few of the right sort to attack the mountain. Calliaud therefore marched with the Europeans, four companies of Sepoys, and two guns, against Carcambaddy, the way over hills and vallies, covered with wood, but inhabited by a people fit only for skulking attacks, although of no contemptible caste being entitled to the pagoda of Tripetti. They fired continually from the thickets and covers, and killed and wounded several of the line before they forced the first barrier. At the second, Major Calliaud with much difficulty got one of the guns upon a rock, which flanked the barrier, and the first discharge, loaded with grape, killed the Polygar and several of his men, after which the detachment met no farther resistance. They were seven hours gaining their way, and arrived at three in the afternoon at the Polygar's town; which they found abandoned, burnt it down, and destroyed the adjoining plantations. The next day they returned to Tripetti, and Calliaud thinking the enemy in the mountain would be as much discouraged, as the renter's people were elated by this success, sent all the fit men of his Sepoys, who, 1759 July.

with

1759 July. with the renter's, did not exceed six hundred, although Narrain Saustry had twice as many, to attack the pagoda again; which the enemy, after skirmishing three hours, abandoned, and all ran away to take shelter in the hills of Matlaver. Four of the renter's men were killed, and 20 wounded. Every thing being thus quieted in the neighbourhood, and no farther tidings of the French party from Arcot, Calliaud set out on his return on the 18th with all the troops he had brought, excepting ten Europeans, whom he left with Wilcox.

No party of Europeans had marched from Arcot against Tripetti, and the report arose from the plundering excursion of some Sepoys and horse in the skirts of Bomerauze's country, to second a demand they were making on him of 60,000 rupees. Nevertheless the advices were so intirely credited at Madrass, that Colonel Brereton, without waiting to advise with the council, ordered Major Monson to move the army from Conjeveram towards Arcot, as nearer to succour whatsoever the enemy might intend to distress. They marched on the 5th; and on the 7th in the morning appeared before Covrepauk, with two 18 and two 12-pounders. This fort is small, but well-built of stone, and has a wet ditch, which was in good order. Colonel Monson summoned the officer, more according to form than his own expectation of the answer he received, which was, that, if the garrison, whites and blacks, were permitted to retire to Arcot, the soldiers with their knapsacks, and the officers with their effects, the gate should be immediately delivered: the capitulation was transacted and concluded in less than an hour. This easy success, for the fort was worthy of breach, gave hopes that the French garrison of Arcot would not make all the defence they might; and as the situation was equally near to Tripetti, the army advanced, and arrived in the city on the 9th. The garrison shewed good countenance, and their artillery was so superior, that nothing could be done, until the English army were supplied with a train from Madrass, before which the greatest part of the French army might arrive from their different cantonments to the relief of Arcot; and for this reason, Major Monson, before he received the orders of the

the presidency, marched back to Conjeveram; but left 400 Europeans of the Company's troops in Covrepauk, which secured the revenues of the country between these two stations. 1759 July.

Mr. Pococke, waiting for the arrival of the French squadron, had continued with his own to windward of Pondicherry, mostly at Negapatam, where they were plentifully supplied with cattle by Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly, who caused them to be driven to the sea-coast, out of the observation of the king of Tanjore. In the end of June, a Danish vessel arriving at Tranquebar, reported, that 12 sail of French ships were in the bay of Trincanomaly in Ceylon; on which, the whole squadron weighed on the 30th, and on the 3d of July came off the mouth of that harbour; where they neither saw, nor gained any tidings of, the French ships. Mr. Pococke then cruized off the Fryar's Hood, the N. E. headland of the island, which all vessels coming to the coast of Coromandel at this season endeavour to make, and, in this station, met five of the expected ships from England, with the first division of Coote's regiment, with which he returned, and anchored on the 30th at Negapatam; keeping them in company until the provisions and stores they had brought for the use of his squadron were taken out. The presidency received advices of their arrival on the 5th of August, and notwithstanding the various wants of men at this time for defence and attack on shore, requested Mr. Pococke to detain the troops, to serve with him in the expected engagement with the French squadron. Several advices had lately been received, that the Dutch government of Batavia, their captial in the East-Indies, were preparing an armament, which was to sail to the bay of Bengal; and on the 8th six ships arrived at Negapatam, having left another in the bay of Trincanomaly. They had on board 500 European soldiers, and 1500 disciplined Malays, with abundance of military stores. Various reports and conjectures were formed of the destination of this force. The Dutch themselves gave out, that it was chiefly intended to reinforce their garrisons on the coast; and their unavowed emissaries reported, that the whole were to act as auxiliaries to the English against the French on the Coast of Coromandel. Mr. Pococke knew how

1759 July. how much the military force in Bengal had been diminished by the expedition to Masulipatam, and might suffer by the usual mortality of the climate ; and reasoning from the antipathy of the Dutch government to the great successes and power which the English had lately acquired in Bengal, suspected that the armament he saw was principally intended to reduce their influence in that country : and, with the spirit of considerate gallantry, and zeal for the general success of the public service, which on all occasions distinguished his command, sent all the troops to Madrass, recommending, that a part of them might be immediately forwarded to Bengal. They were all landed by the 25th, and marched in different parties, as soon as refreshed, to the main body at Conjeveram, where Colonel Brereton, having recovered from his illness, again took the command.

A few days after the return of Major Calliaud from Tripetti, the Polygar of Carcambaddy with his own, and a number of the Matlaver's people, began to repair the town ; on which Ensign Wilcox marched with the 25 Europeans, 300 of the Sepoys, and an iron three-pounder. They were galled the whole way, and obliged to force the three barriers in the path ; and when they came to the open spot of the town, where they expected no resistance, met the most, by a continual fire from the thickets round. Wilcox nevertheless persisted, and, being aimed at, received at once three musket-balls, and was mortally wounded. On which the troops put him into a dooley and retreated, likewise bringing off the gun. The enemy did not follow them earnestly ; so that the loss was only three Europeans killed, and 14 Sepoys wounded.

The French party of Sepoys and black horse from Arcot, had been beaten back by Bomerauze's people, and lay at Lallapet, near the mountains, 10 miles N. W. of Arcot, waiting an opportunity of renewing their incursion ; but were beaten up there on the 26th, by three companies of Sepoys, and the troops of the renter of Covrepauk, sent by Captain Wood, who commanded in the fort. The enemy fled at the first fire, leaving 70 muskets, and 17 horses, and the Sepoys remained to guard the nearest pass leading from Lallapet into Bomerauze's country.

Bassaulet

Bassaulet Jung, with his army, had, in this while, continued his march from Condavire to the south, and, having passed Ongole, attacked the fort of Pollore, about 30 miles to the north of Nelore and the river Pennar, which, although out of the country of Damerla-Venkytapah-naigne, was of his dependance. This success encreased the fright of all the three polygars, and of Nazeabulla in Nelore; and all renewed their applications to Madrass for immediate assistance, and the Tripetti renter was fully persuaded, that Bassaulet Jung intended to get possession of the pagoda, before the great feast, which begins in the middle of September, and generally produces 20,000*l.*; and it was known that Bassaulet Jung was in strict correspondence with Pondicherry. 1759 July.

To these alarms on the north of the province, were added others in the south. The detachment with Fumel which had taken Thiagar had advanced as far as Volcondah, where, after many threats and messages, they had frightened the Kellidar out of 60,000 rupees; and, during the negociation, their horse plundered as far as the straights of Utatoor. It was then reported, that Fumel intended to advance with the whole, and take possession of the island of Seringham, which would give them all the country between Thiagar and Tritchinopoly. This detachment could not be opposed in time from Madrass; because the interjacent country was under the enemy's garrisons; and whatsoever troops might be sent from hence, proceeding half way by sea against the monsoon, and then through the country of Tanjore, would not enter into action in less than six weeks, and then, if successful, would be out of the reach of recall. Tritchinopoly was the nearest station to make head against them; but the whole garrison would not, in the field, have been equal to the force with Fumel.

Fortunately, in this concurrence of perplexities, the distresses and discontent of the French army had continued as urgent as ever, even after the expence of the campaign was diminished by their retreat into quarters. In the beginning of August, the whole of Lally's regiment, excepting the serjeants and corporals, and 50 of the soldiers, mutinied, and marched out of the fort of Chittapet, declaring, that they would not return to their colours, until they had received August.

1759 July. received their pay, of which many months was in arrears. Their officers, by furnishing their own money, and engaging their honour for more, brought them back, excepting 30, who dispersed about the country: but this defection, which the cause exempted from rigorous punishment, shook the discipline of the whole army.

From this view of circumstances, the Presidency of Madrass resolved to leave something to chance in the extremities, rather than diminish the superiority, which their force had lately acquired in the center of the province, by the reinforcements arrived from England, and the enemy's detachment to the southward; and determined to employ this advantage immediately against Vandiwash, the most important of the enemy's stations between Madrass and Pondicherry. Accordingly 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, and all the stores necessary for the attack, were sent to Chinglapet; but whilst on the road, and before the main body had moved from Conjeveram, arrived the Revenge, on the night of the tenth of September, with important intelligence from the squadron.

The Dutch at Negapatam, pretending that their armament from Batavia required the service of all their massoolah boats, would spare none to water the English ships; to procure which, Mr. Pococke sailed on the 20th with the squadron for Trinconamalée, where common boats can ply to the shore. They anchored there on the 30th, but at the mouth of the harbour; and the Revenge was sent forward to cruize off the Friar's Hood. On the 2d of September, at ten in the morning, some ships were discovered to the S. E. Soon after came down the Revenge, chased and fired upon by one of the strangers, which denoted them to be the long-expected enemy. The English squadron weighed immediately, and could not get within cannon-shot of them by sun-set; but perceived that the number and strength of the ships greatly exceeded the force they had met the year before.

Mr. D' Aché having left the coast, as we have seen, on the 3d of September, arrived, after thirty days sail, at the Isle of France, and found in the port a reinforcement of three men of war, under the command of Mr. D' Eguille, an officer of experience and reputa-

 tion,

tion. Several of the company's vessels, but none of force, for enough had been sent before, were likewise arrived from France. The crews of all these ships amounted to 5500 men, and all the provisions which could be collected in the isles, or even drawn from Madagascar, with the supplies sent from Europe, were insufficient to feed this multitude, added to the numbers already in the colony, which they nearly equalled. Several councils were held on this distress, and it was at length determined to send one of the men of war, with eight of the Company's ships, which would take off between 3 and 4000 men, to the Cape of Good Hope, where they were to purchase provisions sufficient for the squadron in the ensuing voyage and, in the mean time, the crews would be supported without breaking in upon the general stock. These ships arrived off the Cape in the beginning of January; and two of them had the luck to fall in with and take the Grantham, an English East-India ship, dispatched from Madrass in September. They purchased, but at a vast expence, a great quantity of meat, grain, and wine, and returned to the Isle of France in April and May; after which, the strength of four of the Company's fighting ships, which had not hitherto mounted the number of guns they were built for, were armed to the full scale of their construction. These alterations, and other equipments, retarded the daparture of the squadron until the 17th of July. They went first to the isle of Bourbon, and then to Foulpoint, in the island of Madagascar, to take in some rice, and other provisions, which had been procured there; and on the 30th of August arrived off Batacola, a port in Ceylon, 60 miles to the south of Trinconomaly; where they received intelligence of the English squadron, and two days after came in sight of them off Point Pedras. The land and sea-winds differing in the same hours at different distances from the shore, the currents likewise various, squalls, a fog, and contrary courses whilst seeking each other when out of sight, kept them asunder, or out of immediate reach, until the 10th of September, when they again fell in with one another off Fort St. David. The French, being farthest out at sea, lay-to in a line of battle a-head, their heads to the East. The English having the wind came down a-breast, and at two in the afternoon were within

1759 August.

 gun-

1759 gun-shot, when each ship edged to get into their stations alongside of
September their allotted antagonists.

The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, attended by a frigate, the Queensborough, two of the Company's ships, and the Protector converted to a fire-ship. The French were 11 sail of the line, of which four were of the navy of France, and they had three frigates under their lee. Difference of sailing, and disappointment in working, prevented the English from forming their line with as much regularity as the enemy, who were waiting for them, drawn up in order of battle.

The French line was led by the Actif of 64, one of the King's ships. She was followed by the Minotaur, another of the King's, of 74, in which Mr. D'Aguille wore the flag of Rear-Admiral, and by much the stoutest ship in the squadron, having in her lower tier thirty-two-pounders, which in the French weight is equal to 40 English; then stood three of the Company's ships, the Duc d'Orleans of 54, the Saint Louis of 56, and the Vengeur of 64. These five formed the van. M. D'Aché, in the Zodiaque, hoisted his flag in the center, supported by the Comte de Provence of 74: the four others of the rear-division were the Duc de Bourgogne of 54, the Illustre of 64, the Fortunée of the same rate as the Illustre, and the Centaur of 68; of which only the Illustre was a King's ship. The Elizabeth of 64 led the English line, followed by the Newcastle of 50, the Tyger of 60, and the Grafton of 68, in which was Rear-Admiral Stevens: these four were the van. Mr. Pococke, in the Yarmouth of 66, was in the center, followed by the Cumberland now mounting only 58, the Salisbury of 50, the Sunderland of 60, and the Weymouth of 60 closed the rear. The total battery of the French squadron exceeded the English by 174 guns, and consequently by 87 in action.

The Grafton was the first ship up, and whilst presenting her broadside fell a-breast of the Zodiaque, whom Mr. Pococke, as in the two engagements of the last year, intended to reserve for himself. M. D'Aché immediately threw out the signal of battle, and began to fire on the Grafton, the first shot at 15 minutes after two; but Mr. Stevens waited for the signal of his admiral, which did not

appear

appear until five minutes after, when the Yarmouth was very near 1759
and ranged against the Comte de Provence. The firing then became general through both lines; but the Sunderland, the last but one of the English line, sailing very ill, kept back the Weymouth behind her. By this mischance the Salisbury, which was much the weakest ship, being only of 50 guns, and they only eighteen and nine-pounders, ranged, unsupported, against the Illustre, and sustained likewise the fire of the Fortunée behind, which the Sunderland should have taken up, at least in this state of the action: the consequence was equal to the disparity, and in 15 minutes the fall of the Salisbury's main top gallant, and then her foresail, obliged her to quit the line: but by this time, the Sunderland shooting a-head, engaged the Illustre. The three ships of the English van, a-head of the Grafton, had luckily fallen soon, and in good order, into their stations, and in less than a quarter of an hour, the Actif, which was opposed to the Elizabeth, took fire, which brought the crew from the batteries, and the Elizabeth taking advantage of their confusion plyed her excessively, and soon drove her out of the line to extinguish the fire: the Elizabeth still edging down upon her, was stopped by the Minotaur starting forward; which obliged her to haul her wind again, and this operation shot her beyond the line of action. The Newcastle then took up the Minotaur, although a 60 to a 74; and the Tiger, of which the Captain had been blamed in a former engagement, supported the Newcastle, by taking on herself the fire of the two next ships. The fight between these five continued with the utmost violence for 70 minutes; when neither the Newcastle nor Tiger had a sail under command; on which Mr. Stevens, who had left the Zodiaque to Mr. Pococke, and had beaten the Vengeur out of the line, came between, and seeing the two ships of the French line next beyond the Vengeur much crippled, set forward to engage the Minotaur; and her broad-side, as she was passing on, drove the St. Louis out of the line. In the rear, the Sunderland, which had taken up the Illustre, was likewise attacked by her follower, the Fortunée; and in ten minutes, before she had fired three rounds, her maintop-sail fell, and her head-

September

1759 September head-braces being likewise shot away, her foretop-sail swung a-back, which made her fall a-stern of both her antagonists. At ten minutes past three the Count de Province, which had stood the Yarmouth, and was afterwards taken up by the Cumberland, likewise left the line to refit her rigging, as did the Duke de Bourgogne, which had divided her fire between the Cumberland and the Salisbury, and received theirs, divided likewise in return. The Weymouth, by what accident we don't find, was kept a-stern in the rear; but at three o'clock, the Salisbury came again into the engagement; and, on the French side, the Illustre, seeing the two ships before her gone, closed up to the Zodiaque. At four, the only ships engaged were the Minotaur and Duc d'Orleans against the Grafton, the Zodiaque against the Yarmouth, the Illustre against the Cumberland, and the Fortunée and Centaur against the Salisbury and Sunderland. The pilot of the Zodiaque seeing, as he thought, the Fortunée and Centaur going off likewise, put the helm a-lee, without order, and, as Mr. D'Aché was running to correct him, a grape shot carried off the flesh of his thigh, to the bone; he fell senseless, amongst four or five who were killed or struck down with him. The captain of the Zodiaque had been killed an hour before; and the officer who took the command after Mr. D'Aché fell, wore the ship to rejoin the comrades which had already left the line. The Centaur, Illustre, and Minotaur, thinking such was the will of their admiral, wore likewise, and set sail to accompany him. The English ships still in action endeavoured to follow them, but were soon left out of gun-shot, and all firing ceased at ten minutes after four.

In this engagement the rear division suffered much less than the van. On board the Weymouth, which closed the rear, not a man was either killed or wounded, and in the Sunderland a-head of her, the whole loss was only two men killed; nevertheless the Centaur, the last of the enemy's rear, suffered as much in her masts and rigging from their fire, as any of the other ships of the French line, who were closer engaged, and her Captain, Surville the elder, was, killed. The Salisbury had 16 killed,

killed, and 40 wounded; the Cumberland 8, and 30; the Yarmouth 10, and 27; the Grafton 13, and 37; the Tiger, which suffered the most of any, 37, and 140; the Newcastle 26, and 65. The Elizabeth four, and twenty. In all 114 killed and 369 wounded. In the Newcastle, the captain, Michie, an officer of distinguished gallantry, was killed; as were Mr. Jackson, the first lieutenant of the Tiger, captain More, who commanded the marines in the Elizabeth, and the master of the Yarmouth. Brereton, captain of the Tiger, Somerset of the Cumberland, the second lieutenant of the Grafton, and the fourth of the Salisbury, were wounded. None of the English ships, after the engagement, could set half their sail; and the Newcastle and Tiger were taken into tow by the Elizabeth and Weymouth. The loss of the French crews was supposed to be equal; but when they went away together at sun-set, all, excepting the Centaur, carried their top-sails. 1759 September

The uncertainty of the number of troops which the French squadron might have brought for Pondicherry, determined the presidency of Madrass to suspend for a while the attack they had resolved to make on Vandiwash; but to send a part of their troops to Tripassore to support that part of the Country against Bassaulut Jung. But no arguments could prevail on Major Brereton to desist from the enterprize, from which he expected to acquire distinguished honour; and the presidency, unwilling to check his ardour, refrained from giving him positive orders to desist.

Heavy rains had rendered the roads and rivers impassable until the 26th, when the whole army marched from Conjeveram; it had been reinforced with 40 men from Chinglapet, under the command of Preston, and with 100, of 158 released prisoners, which had arrived at this garrison on the 11th from Pondicherry. The whole force was 1500 Europeans, 80 Coffres, and 2500 Sepoys, infantry; 100 Eurepean, and 700 black cavalry; 10 field-pieces, and two eighteen-pounders: and two more eighteen-pounders were to join from Chinglapet.

On the 27th in the morning, the horse before the line, when within three miles of Trivatore, fell in with 50 of the French hussars,

1759 September sars, who stood them, but, overpowered by numbers, were routed, and eight, with an officer, taken prisoners : in the afternoon, the garrison of Trivatore, which consisted only of a captain and 22 men of the Lorrain regiment, surrendered on the first summons. The main body of the enemy had advanced from Vandiwash in the morning, and were halting at the village of Parsee, six miles on the road, of which Colonel Brereton receiving information, marched on without stopping at Trivatore, and encamped near them; and at midnight, the enemy moved off, and returned to Vandiwash; where, as before they took up their quarters in the pettahs, and under the walls of the fort, into which the governor Tuckeasaheb, notwithstanding the strictness of his alliance, was very averse to admit any of the French troops, excepting some of their gunners; and they to prevent worse consequences, would not compel him. The English army continuing their march the next day, encamped in the evening under the ledge of rocks, which extend about three miles to the N. W. of the fort. The day after, which was the 29th, parties were employed in reconnoitring; but neither their observations, nor the enquiries of spies, discovered the real state of the enemy's force.

On the march of Major Monson to Arcot in the beginning of August, the French drew the greatest part of their Europeans from the garrisons of Chittapet, Carangoly, and Outramalore, to their main body at Vandiwash, from whence the whole had advanced as far as Trivatore, when Monson, finding the attack of Arcot impracticable, returned to Conjeveram: on his retreat, they detached 100 Europeans to reinforce Arcot, and sent back the troops which they had drawn from the three other garrisons; which reduced the European infantry that returned to Vandiwash to 600; but the whole of the European cavalry, who where 300, went with them. The same alarm for Arcot had led Mr. Lally to recall the detachment to the southward with Viscount Fumel, who were then before Volcondah; but Fumel, not having levied the contribution he expected, delayed to obey the orders, and, on Monson's retreat, was permitted to persist, and had time to finish.

During

During the delay between the first resolution, and the present motion of the English army to attack Vandiwash, the government of Pondicherry obtained some uncertain intelligence of the intention, and again reinforced the main body there with 400 men from the adjacent garrisons. They likewise again recalled Fumel, and more than half his detachment were arrived at Pondicherry, from whence they were at this time advancing towards Vandiwash, and, as it was reported, under the command of Mr. Bussy. Major Brereton received intelligence of the approach of this party, but no information that the troops from the other garrisons were arrived at Vandiwash; and thus computing the whole number assembled there, including the cavalry, instead of 1300, to be only 900 Europeans, to which his own force was nearly double, thought no time should be lost before the arrival of the detachment they expected from Pondicherry, and determined to attack them in their quarters on the night of the 29th, which was the next after that of his arrival before Vandiwash. 1759 September

There were three pettahs under the fort, lying to the W., the S., and the E.; the W. at 150, the S. at 220, and the E. at the distance of 170 yards. The south pettah contained the houses of the more opulent inhabitants, and was inclosed on the E. S. and W. by a mud rampart, which on the S. side had circular projections to serve as bastions; but the north side next the esplanade was left open, that the guns of the fort might preserve their command on the streets and houses. The pettah to the east commenced opposite to the N. E. angle, and extending 650 yards, covered the east side of the fort, of the esplanade, and of the pettah to the south. The western pettah extended only along the breadth of the esplanade to the south; it had for some time been abandoned, and was in ruins, and most of the natives, on the approach of the English army, had quitted their habitations in the other two. The French cavalry lay in the eastern pettah. Their infantry were under sheds and tents in the covered way and on the esplanade to the south, and they kept guards on the ramparts of the south pettah; but none as they ought, in the ruined pettah to the west.

1759 September A thousand Europeans, including a company of 80 Coffrees, and six hundred Sepoys, were allotted to serve in the attack: they were divided into three divisions; the first led by Major Monson, was to assault the south face of the south pettah, and having entered, were to advance through the streets to the esplanade, where the main body of the French troops were lying; who at the same time were to be attacked on the right by the second division, advancing out of the pettah to the west: this division was commanded by Major Robert Gordon. The third Major Brereton commanded himself, as the reserve for occasions, and they took post under a ridge which runs parallel to the west face of the south pettah, but farther back on the plain than the pettah allotted to Gordon's division. The European and black horse were to halt a mile in the rear of Brereton's. The rest of the troops were left to guard the camp. Monson's division consisted of 360 Europeans, of whom 200 were grenadiers, all that were in the army, and they had one company of Sepoys as attendants: Gordon's were 200 Europeans, and 80 Coffrees; Brereton's 360 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. Each of the three divisions had two excellent brass six-pounders.

The pettah to the South has three principal streets, which intersect it intirely from north to south, and several others in the same direction, of shorter extent; nor are any of the cross streets from east to west regularly pervious from one wall to the other, and some of them are only short communications between the streets in the other direction: so that many dodging advantages might be taken by knowledge of their different bearings and intersections. At two in the morning, the head of Monson's division approached towards the gateway on the south face of the pettah, and were challenged and declared by two or three Sepoys advanced on the plain to look out; on which the guards on the ramparts began to fire. The gateway was in a return of the rampart from the left, and the road to it lay under the rest of the rampart to the right, so that the two field-pieces which were advancing at the head of the line could not batter the gate at less than 150 yards, without being immediately under the fire of this part of the rampart, which

with the uncertainty and delay of their effect in the dark, determined Colonel Monson to try the wall at once. It had neither ditch nor palisade before it, and the first grenadiers lighted upon a part, which, for want of repair, permitted them to scramble up, and being followed by more, they drove the enemy before them, opened the gate, and let in the main body of the division. The gate entered upon the principal street of the three which leads through the pettah to the esplanade: and the other two are about 50 yards on each hand. The troops, as they came in, first ranged along the ground between the wall and the habitations, which was broad; and then formed into three columns, one in each of the streets; but the two field-pieces moved at the head of the center column. All the three advanced very deliberately, keeping as nearly as possible on the same parallel, the two outer columns sending small parties into the cross streets on their outward flanks to dislodge the enemy from whatsoever posts their fire came, which, although not strong from any, was frequent and from several; but the greatest annoyance was from two field-pieces at the edge of the esplanade, firing down the center street. However, they were at length silenced by the two field-pieces, with the center column. Firing had been heard on the ground allotted to Gordon's division, but soon ceased. In an hour and a half the three columns arrived at the openings on the esplanade, where to their surprize they met no farther resistance; and disappointed of the assistance they expected from Gordon's division, it was resolved to wait for day-light, and in the mean time to throw up a barricade at the head of the center street, which for want of proper tools was very insufficiently performed. Their loss hitherto was not ten killed and wounded.

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A sky rocket was the signal for Gordon's division to advance from the western pettah, and it was fired as soon as Monson's had entered the southern. The troops of Gordon's had, for fear of discovery, kept on the side of the pettah farthest from the esplanade, but Preston and two or three more officers had examined the streets, which were very narrow, and beyond on the esplanade, where they found

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1759 September the ground rugged, and interrupted with sloughs and standing water. But Gordon not having acquired any distinct ideas from their report, boggled, and was confused in the orders he gave. At length it was understood, that the troops, as soon as they had passed through the pettah, were to form on the esplanade in divisions, which would be 15 in front. The select picquet of 40 picked men, commanded by Lieutenant Dela Douespe, who were to lead the attack, were soon through, and formed, and advancing. Gordon himself was to march at the head of the main body, but he was not to be found when it was ranging on the esplanade; and Preston, his second, not knowing the motives of his absence, would not venture to take his post; and thus the whole were stopped, waiting his return. The picquet marched with recovered arms, and without dropping a shot, until they came to the angle of the southern pettah, where the rampart had a shoulder, on which were mounted two pieces of cannon, which by the direction of the streets could not be turned to any service in the fight behind them; and it should seem that the enemy had discovered the situation and intention of Gordon's attack, for a considerable body of infantry were waiting at the angle, some on the rampart, and others at the edge of the houses below; who, as soon as the picquet were within a few yards, suddenly threw a number of blue lights, which discovered them intirely, and were instantly followed by a strong running fire of musketry, and the discharge of the two pieces of cannon; but the whole of the execution was from the musketry, for as the picquet was almost under the rampart, the cannon could not point low enough, and fired over their heads. Douespe returned the fire with disparity of situation, and greater of numbers, but would not retreat without orders, and was not without hopes of being immediately joined by the main body of the division, especially as the two pieces which accompanied it, began to answer the two guns on the rampart. But his expectations of farther support were vain. The shot of the two guns from the rampart fell near the main body whilst forming, and some musketry fired upon them from the covered way of the fort, on which the 80 Coffrees all ran

back

back into the pettah, and through it, quite away, and the Europeans not led on, and having nothing effectual to fire upon, soon broke and went off likewise, leaving the picquet, and the field-pieces still engaged. But Preston, for Gordon was not yet to be found, knowing the determination of the picquet to persevere, ran singly to them, and brought them back to the pettah, where they joined the officers deserted by all the rest of the troops: but the artillery-men, animated by the well-known resolution of their commandant Captain Robert Barker, still stood by him and their guns. The fugitives not equally frightened, made their way to the reserved division with Brereton, who on the first notice, ran unaccompanied to the pettah from whence they were coming, and in the strong impulse of indignation, ran the first man he met through the body: unfortunately he was one of the bravest in the army; so that this example carried little influence, and left none to exhortation, and very few obeyed his call; with whom he went as far as the two guns, which Barker was still firing, and by this countenance had deterred the enemy from making a push, which would easily have taken them; but Brereton, sensible of the risk to which they were exposed, ordered him to draw them off into the pettah, from whence they joined the reserve at the ridge. Thus all were gone before the firing ceased in the southern pettah, where Gordon with four or five of the fugitives soon after appeared, coming in at the gate to the south, where Monson's division had entered.

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The day broke, and the enemy's fire recommenced and increased with the light. The gunners, whom the Kellidar had admitted into the fort, plied the cannon on the towers opposite to the three streets, to the head of which Monson's division had advanced; and with the field-pieces on the esplanade, their fire was from 14 guns all within point blank, from the fort at 300, from the field-pieces at 100 yards. The return was from the two field-pieces at the head of the center street, and from platoons of musketry in the other two. The disparity was severe, and could not be long maintained. The officers ordered the men not employ-

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1759 September ed, to take shelter under the sheds projecting before the walls of the houses in the enfiladed streets; the sheds, as in the other towns of Coromandel, were separated from each other by partitions of brick or mud: some withdrew into the cross streets immediately behind. Nevertheless, all who appeared were so excessively galled, that it was necessary to retreat; but from the continual hope of support from the two divisions without, Major Monson wished not to quit the contest until the last extremity. In the middle of the pettah is a continuation of streets leading quite across it, although not in a straight line, from the east to the west side, were the last ends upon the area of a pagoda, in which a party had been posted, and the wounded were sheltered and served. The colums were ordered to retire into this line of the cross streets, where all, according to the breadth of the main streets, might fire down them, and immediately disappear, until loaded and ready to fire again. This movement staggered the enemy for they could do no more, if they continued on the esplanade at the other extremity of the streets; and if they advanced along them, would be exposed in deep columns. Nevertheless, confident in their numbers, and pressing to decide before the English troops should be reinforced from without, they began and maintained this fight with great spirit and activity, until they were convinced it could not succeed; on which they sent off their rears, which brought two of their field-pieces from the esplanade, and with them marched along a street adjoining to the western wall of the pettah, which led them to the pagoda towards this end of the cross streets; which the guard immediately abandoned, leaving some of the wounded in the pagoda; having secured this station, the party advanced the field-pieces along the line of the cross streets, firing and taking in flank the whole of Monson's division, against which the attack in front likewise continued, and with encreasing vivacity: and in a very little while the remaining field-piece of the division was disabled; on which the men began to lose courage, and Monson consulting his second, Major Calliaud, they resolved to retreat and take post against the southern wall of the pettah. The grenadiers of one of the Company's battalions were to halt near the gateway,

gateway, but seeing it open, marched out into the plain, quickening 1759
their pace at every step. Major Calliaud, who was near, instead of September
calling after them, followed, and running beyond, stopped suddenly before them, and cried, "Halt." The instinct of discipline prevailed. They obeyed, and forming as he ordered, faced, and, luckily for themselves, followed him into the pettah. Major Monson met him at the gate, and, in the midst of much vexation, thanked him with much cordiality; but said, that the whole body, still closely pressed by the enemy, were faultering too fast to be trusted any longer; and that it was better to lead them off in order, than risk their going off in confusion of their own accord. The exhortations of their commanders encouraged them to keep their ranks; the Sepoys marched in front, helping to carry off the wounded, and fifteen prisoners. The enemy, by unaccountable oversight, did not follow them into the plain; but were contented with firing from the wall; about half a mile from which, the line halted in a grove, and in a little while perceived Major Brereton's and Gordon's divisions with the European and black horse, the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, advancing round to join them; at the same time, they saw the whole body of the enemy's European cavalry, 300 riders, approaching from the eastern pettah, where they had remained in expectation of an opportunity of cutting off their retreat, which, from want of alertness, they lost, and could not venture to attack after Brereton appeared. The whole returned to the bank, where Brereton's division had taken post, and in the afternoon from thence to the camp, without molestation or alarm. The loss, on the immediate review, appeared to be 12 officers, and 195 rank and file, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The Lieutenants Minns and Latour were the only officers; but, it was supposed, that 70 rank and file were killed; and that of this number, 50 fell in the pettah. The eagerness of performing some distinguished service before Colonel Coote should arrive, and supersede him in the command of the army, urged Colonel Brereton to make this attack, which was much more hardy than judicious, even if the enemy had not been re-

1759 September inforced. However, the great gallantry and the inferior numbers of the body which sustained the greatest part of the loss, rather encreased than diminished the confidence of the army. The enemy suffered as much, having 200 killed and wounded. Mainville, who commanded against Lawrence at Tritchinopoly, just before the truce in 1754, and two Captains, were killed.

The two squadrons anchored on the 11th, the day after they had engaged each other; the English in the road of Negapatam, the French 4 leagues farther to the south, who being much less disabled, were ready to sail again on the 13th; and two days after, anchored in the road of Pondicherry. The ships immediately landed whatsoever supplies they had brought for the service of the colony; the treasure amounted only to 16000 pounds in dollars, and the diamonds taken in the Grantham, were worth 17000 pounds. The troops were only 180 men. Mr. D'Aché would not go ashore, and signified his intention of sailing immediately for the islands. The season, although advanced, was not yet dangerous, nor were his ships more hurt than the English; but this resolution rose from intelligence of the four men of war, which were coming with Rear-Admiral Cornish to join Mr. Pococke, and who might arrive every day. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 19th, Mr. D'Aché made the signal for weighing, and all the ships loosed their top-sails.

The supplies they had brought were so much less than the wants and hopes of the colony, that disappointment appeared in every face; but the sight of the ships getting under sail, in 24 hours after their arrival, spread universal consternation, and excited the utmost indignation. All the military officers, the principal inhabitants, and even the clergy, assembled at the governor's, and immediatly formed themselves into a national council; which unanimously decreed, that the precipitate departure of the squadron must produce the most detrimental consequences to the interests of the state, as holding out to all the powers of the country an opprobrious acknowledgement that they had been entirely defeated in the last engagement, and could not stand another; and that they utterly de-

spaired

spaired of every thing on shore. In consequence of this deliberation, a protest was immediately drawn, declaring Mr. D'Aché responsible for the loss of the colony, such were the words, and resolving to complain to the king and ministry, and demand public justice of his conduct. The ship Duc d'Orleans was by some accident detained in the road, after the others were under sail, and the commander was charged to deliver the protest to Mr. D'Aché, and a copy to every commander in the squadron, which were twelve leagues out at sea when the Duc d'Orleans joined them. Mr. D'Aché immediately held a general council of his captains, and on the 22d anchored again in the road of Pondicherry; and came ashore to consult with Mr. Lally and the government. On the 25th, in the morning, the English squadron, coming from Negapatam, appeared standing in the line of battle into the road, but driving by the current to the northward. All the French ships weighed, but hawled the wind close, which being at W. S. W. kept them at their first distance from the English, which they had it in their power to bear down upon, and engage. Mr. Pococke, unable to get up to them, kept his line of battle until the evening, when he continued his course, and anchored on the 27th at Madrass. Mr. D'Aché still insisted on returning as soon as possible to the islands; and the government of Pondicherry unwillingly compromised for his departure, on condition that he should leave all the Coffrees serving in the squadron, which were 400, and 500 Europeans, either sailors or marines; who were accordingly landed, and he sailed away on the 30th of September. Mr. Lally, with his usual spleen, called the Europeans the scum of the sea; and, indeed, most of them for a while could be fit for little more than to do duty in the town, whilst the regular troops kept the field.

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The animosity of Mr. Lally to Mr. Bussy had continued, without remission: he even employed his emissaries to persuade Mr. Bussy to make him a present of money, as a certain means of reconciliation; intending to use the proffer as a confession of Mr. Bussy's delinquency, of which he was every where seeking proofs. Meanness and

1759 October. and ambition were never more strictly united than in this design. Mr. Bussy, having remitted his fortune to Europe, offered his credit, if employed in community with the government of Pondicherry and Mr. Lally's, to raise money for the public service ; but treated the hints of the other proposal, as the desperate zeal of his adherents unwarranted by himself. They saw one another but seldom, but were obliged to correspond on public affairs. The letters of Mr. Lally were replete with suspicion, jealousy, insinuation, artifice, insolence, sarcasm, and wit ; Mr. Bussy's, with sagacity, caution, deference, argument, profound knowledge, the justest views of affairs, and the wisest means to promote their success : and Mr. Lally himself, whilst he pretended to ridicule, respected the extent of his talents. Their dissention was in this state, when the arrival of a frigate from France on the 20th of August brought orders from the king and ministry, recalling all the intermediate officers, who had been sent with commissions superior to Mr. Bussy's, and appointing him second in the command, and to succeed to it after Mr. Lally. This distinction produced a more civil intercourse, and Mr. Lally, with seeming complacence, asked the assistance of his counsels. The first he gave was the most obnoxious he could. Rajahsaheb, the unfortunate but insignificant son of Chundasaheb, had lately found means to persuade Mr. Lally to appoint him Nabob of the Carnatic ; and the ceremony had been performed with ostentation, in the month of July, both at Arcot and Pondicherry. This promotion, without the participation of Salabadjing, the Subah of the Decan, was a public renunciation of his alliance, and might be improved by Nizamally to confirm him in the interests of the English. The approach of Bassaulut Jung on the northern confines of the Carnatic appeared to Mr. Bussy a resource, not only to re-establish the former union with Salabadjing, but likewise to strengthen the immediate operations of the French army, by offering Bassaulut Jung the government of the Carnatic and its dependencies under the sanction of Salabadjing, on condition that he would join them with his troops. Mr. Lally at first revolted against the idea : and his aversion to it was

imputed

imputed not more to his jealousy of the importance which Mr. Bussy would regain, by his influence with a prince long accustomed to respect his character, than to his own obligations to Rajahsaheb, who it was said had purchased his appointment. However, Mr. Lally had consented, that Mr. Bussy should march with a detachment to join Bassaulut Jung, and conclude the negotiation, when the French squadron sailed away from Pondicherry, where news arrived the same day of the action at Vandiwash, on which Mr. Lally, as a complete victory, fired a hundred guns round the ramparts of Pondicherry, and wrote magnificent accounts of the success to every man of consequence within or near the province. 1759 October.

Mr. Bussy arrived at Vandiwash on the 5th of October. The English army had left their encampment in sight of this place the day before; they halted two days at Trivatore, during which heavy rains and the bad quality of the only water they had to drink brought sickness upon the camp, which caused Major Brereton to quit this post, and repair to Conjeveram, where they arrived on the 7th. On the same day, Mr. Bussy marched from Vandiwash with all the troops encamped there, reinforced from other parts to 1500 European foot and 300 horse, besides the black horse: he expected the English might wait, and give battle, but they were gone; and the garrison left in Trivatore, which was only ten Europeans, and a company of Sepoys, surrendered to him at discretion. Draughting 150 of the European horse, and 400 foot, to accompany him to Bassaulut Jung, he sent back the rest of the army to Vandiwash, and arrived at Arcot on the 10th; where he was detained several days, by the rains of the monsoon.

Bassaulut Jung advancing from Polore gave out that he would attack Nelore; but when he came near the Pennar quitted the southern road, and, turning to the west, encamped on the 10th of September on the plains of Sangam, a town with several pagodas on the bank of the river, 16 miles from Nelore. Here he summoned Nazeabulla and the three greater Polygars to come and pay their obeissance to him in person. Nazeabulla contrived to make him believe magnified

 reports

1759 October. reports of the force of his garrison, and of troops coming to reinforce it from Madrass, which brought on a civil intercourse of letters between them; but the Polygars he despised, and resolved not to spare. They, however, fearing to offend the English government, endeavoured to evade the visit by various excuses, on which he sent his horse over the river to forage on the arable lands for themselves, and to seize cattle and grain for the rest of the army. This detriment not prevailing, he passed the river with his whole force, and on the 1st of October encamped at Sydaporam, a considerable town, where the hills of Bangar Yatcham begin on this side, and situated within ten miles of Venkitagherri, the place of his residence, and 20 from Kalastri, which is the principal town of Damerla Venkitappah. Here he waited, not a little distressed for money, and expecting the arrival of Mr. Bussy, who, on the 18th, had made his first day's march from Arcot, when he was stopped short by extraordinary intelligence from Vandiwash.

More than a year's pay was due to the whole army: what money had been supplied to them lately was in lieu of their provisions, when not furnished regularly. The soldiers believed, that much more than came had been brought by the squadron, and, what was worse, that their general had amassed and secreted great wealth. Their intrepidity at the action of Vandiwash had increased the indignation of their distresses. They complained continually and openly, nor did the officers chuse to punish them on this score; because the plea of their discontent was true. On others they wished to preserve the usual discipline. On the 16th some soldiers of Lorrain were punished; some for neglect of duty, but others for slovenliness, which they could not avoid. In less than an hour after this chastisement, the drums of Lorrain, compelled by 40 or 50 of the soldiers, who had concerted, beat the general; and in an instant every man of the regiment was under arms; and in a few minutes all concurred in the same resolution: refusing to admit the commissioned officers, and every serjeant, excepting two, they marched in order out of the camp, towards the mountain where the English army had

lately encamped. The officers of Lally's and the battalion of India, 1759
hearing the drums of Lorrain, beat the general likewise, and turned October.
out the line, thinking the camp was going to be attacked by the English; and some of the officers who had persisted in accompanying the men of Lorrain, prevailed on them to stop; but could not, to return, before they knew the intentions of Lally's and India, of whom they had some doubt, whether not preparing to surround and attack them. For this purpose they detached a picket to confer with them, of whom the spokesman was the boldest of the mutiny, and, instead of proposing any conditions for Lorrain, exhorted all he harangued to follow their example, and redress their common wrongs, unless the whole army immediately received the full arrears of their pay. His words ran like fire : all, animated with the same spirit, cried out, march. The expostulations of their officers were vain, they were ordered to retire. Parties and detachments were commanded, which brought up the field-artillery, the tumbrils, oxen, tents, and baggage, and even obliged the buzar and market, which consisted of 2000 persons, and a multitude of animals, to move with them, and to which they appointed the usual guard. They sent likewise to demand the colours; but seeing the officers determined to die rather than deliver them, desisted. As soon as every thing was gathered, the whole line, with seventeen pieces of cannon, marched away. As soon as they arrived at the mountain, they with one voice elected La Joye, the serjeant-major of the grenadiers of Lorrain, their commander in chief; and he immediately nominated another serjeant his major-general, and appointed the best of the rank and file to command the different companies, with the usual titles of commissioned officers. Orders were then prepared, and read at the head of the men, exacting every article of the service. The camp was pitched, centries, pickets, advanced guards, rounds, calls, with every detail of duty and discipline, strictly observed. They did not like, but did not refuse, the visit of several of their officers; but forbade every interference that seemed authority. On hints whether they intended to go over to the English, they pointed to their

1759 October. their cannon, which were ranged in front of the camp, facing the north, from whence alone the appearance of the English army could be expected. The night passed without riot or confusion.

In the mean time, expresses were sent to Pondicherry, where the whole council immediately assembled at Mr. Lally's, who accused them all, as the instigators of the revolt; but produced 10,000 pagodas out of his chest, and sent them by the Viscount Fumel, with the promise of a general pardon to the troops. The council likewise gave assurances that the whole arrears should be discharged in a month, and sent their plate to the mint, as an earnest, which example was followed by many of the inhabitants. Fumel arrived early in the morning of the 20th at the camp of the troops, who had moved six miles farther on to the westward, towards Arni: He was permitted to confer with their chiefs, whom he harangued on the obvious topics of desertion, dishonour, and the destruction of all the French interests in India, and thought them sufficiently relented to appeal to the whole; who, according to his request, assembled round him on the plain, to the number of 2000 men. He gave hints of the money and pardon; and his representations had well-nigh converted them, when 70 or 80, who were the desperate mutineers, and had kept away from the assembly, rushed in with their bayonets fixed, and said, that nothing could be determined without their consent, which should never be given to a reconciliation before they had received every farthing of their arrears. Fumel, thinking neither their number or violence sufficient to revoke the impression he had made, broke up the assembly, signifying, that he should return to Vandiwash, and wait there three hours for their determination, before he returned to Pondicherry. Within the time the answer came; the serjeant La Joye was a sensible man, and disapproving, although he commanded the revolt, prevailed on them to be content with receiving six months pay immediately, the rest in a month, and a general amnesty, signed by Mr. Lally, and all the members of the council of Pondicherry. Accounts were immediately begun; and, whilst waiting for them and the return of messengers

sengers from Pondicherry, the troops continued abroad with the same regularity as before, under his command. The pardon arrived, and the money was paid on the 21st in the morning, and the whole body, excepting 30 who had deserted, marched back under the command of their former officers to Vandiwash, where before evening the whole camp was enlivened with dances and jollity, as if after some signal success. 1759 October.

Mr. Bussy, on the first intelligence of the revolt, resolved to proceed no farther, until he saw the event. The discontent caught the troops he had taken with him, and he was obliged to appease them by a month's pay, and then to wait, until the money to make up the six months, as to the rest of the army, was remitted from Vandiwash; and before he resumed his march, several incidents had happened, which necessitated him to change the state of his detachment, and the rout he intended to take.

As soon as the English army, returning from their unsuccessful attempt at Vandiwah, arrived at Conjeveram, 200 Europeans, with two field-pieces, 200 black horse, and 500 Sepoys, were detached under the command of Captain More, towards the encampment of Bassaulut Jung at Sidaporum; they were to be joined in the way by the six companies of Sepoys at Tripetti, by 1000 belonging to Nazeabullah at Nelore, and by the Europeans in both these places, who were about 70. This force was intended to follow and harrass Bassaulut Jung's army, if they should march round to meet and join Mr. Bussy; but it was the 15th of October before they reached Kalastri, where the troops from Tripetti arrived the same day, but those from Nelore had not yet advanced. The two Polygars, Bangar Yatcham and Damerla Venkatypettah, terrified by the cavalry of Bassaulut Jung at their borders, and doubtful of the distant protection of the English troops, temporized, and according to his summons went to his camp, accompanied by Sampetrow. This man, who has been formerly mentioned, came into the province with the Nabob Anwarodean Khan, and had served as his Duan, or prime-minister, until his death; after which, he was sometimes consulted and employed, but never trusted, by Mahomedally, and

had

1759 October. had a little before the siege of Madrass retired with his wealth, which was considerable, to Kalastri. His disgust to the present Nabob had attached him to Maphuze Khan, who still continued helpless and discontented, endeavouring to keep up the disturbances which he had created in the Tinivelly countries. An officer deputed by them both went to Bassaulut Jung, as soon as it was known that he had separated from his brothers, Salabadjing and Nizamally; and it is said, seconded the advice of the French in his service, to enter the Carnatic, but with very different views; for Sampetrow, who managed the intrigue, intended that Bassaulut Jung should proclaim himself Nabob, and appoint him his duan; foreseeing that the concerns of his countries nearer the Kristna would soon call him away; when he intended that Bassaulut Jung should nominate Maphuze Khan his deputy in the Carnatic, and Sampetrow continuing duan, would, by his ascendance over Maphuze Khan, gather the whole power of the government into his own hands. When it was objected what engagements were to be taken or kept with the French, Sampetrow said, None, if possible, with either them or the English; but, if necessitated to chuse, Maphuze Khan was at least equally free from predilection to either. As a specimen of his own abilities for the situation to which he aspired, he persuaded the two Polygars to make each of them a present of 40,000 rupees in ready money, and added the same sum of his own. This assistance was very much wanted, and gave recommendation to his counsel, of which he was expecting the effect, when an officer of the first distinction in Salabadjing's court, and the confident of Nizamally, arrived in the camp, with offers of friendship, reconciliation, and grants, to dissuade Bassaulut Jung from entering into any alliance with the French against the English. Nizamally foresaw that the standard of his brother, as the son of Nizamalmuluck, with the force he commanded, and his resources, if acting in conjunction with the French in the Carnatic, might turn the fortune of the war in their favour: and, in their success, he saw and dreaded, with abomination, the restoration of Mr. Bussy to the councils of Salabadjing, as the ruin of his own ambition. Bassaulut Jung inclined to the advice of Sampetrow,

petrow, and would probably have advanced into the plains of the Carnatic, with equal professions to the French and English, if the English troops had not arrived as they did at Kalastri. Their appearance disconcerted him the more because the commander of the French troops in his army, and the agent deputed to him from Pondicherry, had, with as much confidence as imprudence, assured him before he crossed the Pennar, that Mr. Bussy would join him at Sydaporum on the 1st of October. It was now the 19th, and Bassaulut Jung, so long disappointed, would not at length believe that Mr. Bussy had even left Pondicherry; when reports arrived of the revolt at Vandiwash; on which, he beat his great drum, recrossed the Pennar, and marched to the N. W. into the country of Cudapah, towards the capital of the same name. The French troops accompanied him, distressed for necessaries; but their officers prevailed on him to request of Mr. Bussy, that he would immediately advance and join him in Cudapah. Mr. Bussy received this intelligence on the 24th, and set out the same day; but, as more than half the way he had to pass was through the mountains, he took with him only three companies of Sepoys, 100 of the European horse, and 200 black under a good partizan, which he had enlisted at his own expence at Arcot, because those he had brought from Vandiwash were gone off for want of pay. They marched without artillery and with very little baggage.

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The monsoon, with signs of stormy weather, warned Admiral Pococke to quit the coast: the presidency endeavoured to persuade him to leave such of his ships as did not require the dock, in the bay of Trinconamalée; from whence they might return with the fair weather in January, ready to oppose any part of the French squadron, which might be sent back expeditiously from the islands, in order to command the coast during the absence of the English; but Mr. Pococke judiciously resolved not to diminish his strength, until he had rounded Ceylon, and was far enough up the Malabar coast to be sure the enemy were not waiting to meet him there, under this very disadvantage : but promised, as soon as secure from this event, to send round Mr. Cornish's ships, if they should join him in the

1759 October. way. On the 16th, the Revenge, which had been left cruizing to the southward, came in with intelligence that she had on the 8th fallen in with Mr. Cornish's division, and three Indiamen, having on board Colonel Coote, with 600 men, the remainder of his regiment, and that they were beating up to Madrass. Mr. Pococke sailed, with his squadron, at break of day on the 18th, and the same night met Mr. Cornish's off Pondicherry : he immediately put such of the troops as were on board the men of war into the Queensborough frigate, and sent her away, with the three Indiamen, to Madrass; were they did not arrive until the 27th, taking ten days against the monsoon to gain what with it might have been run in as many hours. As soon as the troops were landed, 200 from the camp were embarked, in five Indiamen, for Bengal, with Major Calliaud, whom Colonel Clive had requested might be sent to take the command of the army in that province, if Colonel Coote should be detained to serve on the coast. Sixty Europeans had been sent a few days before to Masulipatam; but these detachments were partly compensated by another exchange of prisoners with Pondicherry, from whence 170, all that remained there, were delivered, and arrived on the 17th at Madrass.

The last exchange before this in August had cleared Tritchinopoly of the remainder of the French prisoners in confinement there. The numbers which, on different successes, had been brought into the city, were 670, all taken during the campaigns of Colonel Lawrence, under the walls of the city; but only 400 were remaining to be released, in the late exchanges : of the rest most had died ; 30 had been sent on their offer of enlisting to serve with Mahomed Issoof in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly; and the others, who, although foreigners were not Frenchmen, had been admitted to serve in the garrison of Tritchinopoly, which, the final clearance of its dungeons released from the severest and most anxious part of their duty. The detachment of 90 men sent from Madrass, arrived at the city on the 26th of August. The Dutch at Negapatam would not let them land in their bounds, which obliged them to come on shore in the open town of Nagore, where they would have been exposed to risque, if

there had been a strong force in the French fort of Karical. With this reinforcement the garrison had 250 estimated Europeans, most of whom were invalids, deserters, or Topasses, and 3000 Sepoys; and the Nabob still maintained his 1000 horse, which had afforded parties sufficient to secure the revenues of the districts of Tritchinopoly south of the Coleroon, of Seringham on the other side, and even farther on to Volcondah, before the detachment with Fumel had extended the authority of the French government as far as Utatoor. The intermediate villages, of which the French had lately taken possession, had remained for many months before unmolested, and were flourishing; and, as soon as it was known that Fumel was returning from Volcondah to Pondicherry, Captain Joseph Smith detached Captain Richard Smith, with 180 Europeans, four guns, 800 Sepoys, and 500 of the Nabob's horse, to recover the country that had been lost. They marched on the 18th of September; but had only crossed the Coleroon, when news of the arrival of the French squadron at Pondicherry alarmed the Nabob so much, that to quiet his apprehensions, all the Europeans, with 600 of the Sepoys, were recalled into the city; but the horse, with the other 200 Sepoys, went on to Utatoor. Colonel Brereton, when determined to march against the French at Vandiwash, had enjoined Joseph Smith to undertake some enterprize which might draw off a part of their force from their stations towards the Paliar, and oblige them to detain to the southward, what might he at this time in those quarters; his letters arrived on the 6th of October. J. Smith had for some time meditated an attempt to retake Devi Cotah by surprize, to give the squadron a certain, station, from which they might be supplied with water and provisions, without begging leave, as it were, of the Danes and Dutch. The opportunity was at this time probable; for, confiding in the remoteness of its situation from any of the English stations, and wanting troops in other parts, Mr. Lally had reduced the garrison to 30 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; and the Coleroon, which disembogueth into the sea near Devi Cotah, was at this time full and rapid. On the night of the 9th, Captain Richard Smith, with 140 Europeans and Topasses, 300 Sepoys, two petards, and some scaling ladders,

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embarked

1759 October. embarked in two large boats, which served as ferries over the Coleroon, and thirteen of wicker, covered with leather, which are likewise used on the same river. Lieutenant Horne, with 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, marched two days before to Tanjore, and the Nabob's horse, with the 200 Sepoys, advanced from Outatoor to the districts of Verdachelum; all the three parties were to join, and attack Chilambarum, if the attempt on Devi Cotah succeeded. It was expected, that the current would carry the boats down in 60 hours, although the distance by the course of the river is 200 miles. Heavy rains commenced as soon as the troops were embarked, and continued this and the succeeding day. At the noon of the 11th they landed in an unfrequented part covered with wood to dress their meal and clean their arms; in the ensuing night, one of the large boats, in which was Ensign Hunterman, with half the Europeans and Topasses, the scaling ladders and petards, and seven of the smaller boats, lost the main channel of the river, and entered into that which leads from it on the left toward Chilambarum, and soon after ran aground on a bank of sand; where seeing nothing of the other boats, and uncertain whether they were before or behind, or whether they might not likewise have struck on some sand, Hunterman resolved to remain where he was until day-light; before which, Captain Smith, with the rest of the boats, was arrived at the rendezvous, five miles from Devi Cotah, and waiting for those with Hunterman, which did not come up until the evening. This delay discovered the detachment. Nevertheless Captain Smith marched across the land, and took post on the 14th, intending to escalade in the ensuing night. Two broad and deep channels of the Coleroon pass along the north and south sides of the fort; the ground to the west was at this time a morass; the eastern face standing on dry sand, was the only part accessible; but had a dry ditch and glacis; both, however, slight. The boats carrying the troops dropt down the north channel to the strand, where all landed. The Europeans were to escalade, the Sepoys to sustain them, and no fire was to be given by any on any cause, before the Europeans had gained footing on the rampart. The moon

moon was risen, and the Europeans with the ladders were nevertheless at the foot of the wall before they were discovered by the garrison, who immediately thronged and fired ; which the Sepoys at the crest of the glacis, who shared part of it, returned in much hurry and confusion, and then ran away ; on which Captain Smith seeing no farther probability of success, ordered the Europeans to retreat likewise. Thirty of them had continued in the boats, unable to move with swelled legs, acquired by sitting 60 hours up to their knees in water ; and nine, who were foreigners, had deserted. The next day he received intelligence of he repulse of the English troops at Vandiwash, signified with apprehensions of evil consequences from the ill success ; and this news, with the mischances of his party, and the preparation of the garrison rendered farther perseverance imprudent. In the morning the disabled men, were sent off to Atchaveram, and the rest followed in the afternoon. The swelling of the rivers had prevented Horne's detachment from advancing beyond Tanjore ; and if they had, the news of the repulse at Vandiwash, would equally have prevented the attempt on Chilambarum ; and they were ordered to return to Tritchinopoly. Captain Smith followed, with his own detachment, and all the stores, through the country along the south bank of the Coleroon, and arrived on the 24th. The small boats were burnt for want of hands to carry them back, but the two larger were left to be towed up, as soon as the freshes were passed.

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All the revenues collected by the French government, even when their possessions were most extended, had never sufficed for the expences of the field. Much ground had lately been recovered by the English ; whose reinforcements, and their late, although unsuccessful, attack on Vandiwash alarmed the country on the south of the Paliar ; in which many of the villagers were quitting their fields, which gave the renters specious pretexts to require abatements on their leases from the administration of Pondicherry. No money, and many debts remained in the treasury there : and the late revolt demonstrated that the troops could not be trusted for the time to come any longer than they should be strictly paid. The only part of the province

1759 October. vince, whether under the French, the English, or the Nabob's authority, which had lately remained exempt from ravage, contributions, or military operations, was the country from Outatoor to the southern districts of Tritchinopoly, including the rich and fertile island of Seringham; where the approaching harvest of December, which is by far the greatest of the year, promised in this, a more abundant crop than usual. The government's share was valued at 600,000 rupees, and would be received in February. From these considerations Mr. Lally resolved to take possession of these countries, with a force sufficient to keep the garrison of Tritchinopoly within their walls. But as this could not be effected, without exposing the stations and country near the Paliar to risque, by the substraction of such a number of troops as would be sent away to the southward, he meant to station 800 men near Arcot, who were to move to the relief of any place that might be attacked; and, with this assistance in prospect, he supposed that the garrisons he should leave in the forts, although very slender, would defend themselves to extremity, and protract the successes of the English force, until his object to the southward was accomplished. Mr. Deleyrit, and the Council of Pondicherry, objected to the separation of the army, as fraught with the most dangerous consequences. Mr. Lally imputed their repugnance to the intention he had declared of farming out the collections under his own inspection, by which they would be deprived, as he supposed, of their usual perquisites; and they attributed his propensity to the expedition to the same spirit of peculation.

To confirm the appearance of maintaining the Paliar, a detachment of 50 men of Lally's regiment attacked three companies of Sepoys, posted in a village called Checkrimalore, situated on the south bank of the river, in a line opposite to Conjeveram; but the Sepoys stood firm, killed five, and took three men, with an officer mortally wounded. Two companies were likewise posted at Salawauk, between Outramalore and Chinglapet, of which Lieutenant Fletcher drew off one to strengthen the escort proceeding with the last exchange of French prisoners to Sadrass; on which the French guard at Outramalore drove away the other company remaining at Salawauk; but a few

days

days after, Lieutenant Fletcher recovered this post. At the same time, parties and detachments were continually moving, to accomplish the dispositions Mr. Lally had arranged. The troops allotted for the southern expedition were 900 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 1000 Sepoys, 200 black horse, and ten pieces of cannon, under the command of Mr. Crillon; their rendezvous was at Thiagar, to which they resorted from different parts by various routes, and were all assembled there on the eleventh of November. Neither the Presidency of Madrass, nor Captain Smith at Tritchinopoly, obtained any certain account of their force or intentions. The Nabob's horse, with the 500 Sepoys, which had been sent to Verdachelum, and had done no little mischief during their excursion, had returned to Utatoor on the 12th, and were halting there on the 15th, when they discovered an advanced party of the enemy, which they supposed the whole, and immediately retreated to Pitchandah; a few hours after, the enemy came up to Samiaveram, and the next day, their horse advanced, and reconnoitered the banks of the Coleroon, and then fell back and took post with the rest in the village and pagoda of Munsurpet. The whole force was 35 Europeans, 100 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, two guns, and some black horse, commanded by a partizan and two subalterns; of which Joseph Smith obtained right intelligence; and early the next morning sent out 10 companies of Sepoys, 120 Europeans and Topasses, six field-pieces, and 400 of the Nabob's horse, under the command of his second Richard Smith, and from the intimacy between them he accompanied the detachments as a volunteer. They crossed the Caveri and Coleroon opposite to the city. The village of Munsurpet had rice-fields in front, through which the road onwards to the Coleroon was a causeway raised above them; so that the enemy had no attack to fear on this side, and their retreat was open to Samiaveram and Utatore. The banks of the Coleroon are steep and high, and the water at this time was so low as to run only in small channels, leaving large beds of sand, and a shore of it, under the banks. Three companies of Sepoys were sent up the bank with the colours of all the

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1759 November the companies, which they displayed at proper distances to resemble, whilst the main body of the detachment filed unseen under the bank, two miles on to the right, when quitting the river, they continued their march in the bed of a water-course then dry, which led to the north, and brought them on two miles, still undiscovered, until they were in a line with Munsurpet, when the water-course turning another way the troops came out of it; and as they were ascending a rising ground just before them, within a mile and a half of Munsurpet, were for the first time perceived by the enemy there; whose confusion was much less than might have been expected from the surprize. They got, although in hurry, their line into order, and began to retreat fast in order to gain Samiaveram. The Nabob's horse were detached to harass and impede their front, and by hard driving four of the field-pieces were brought near enough to fire upon their line of march, when they very imprudently unlimbered their guns to return this fire. Nevertheless the pursuit lasted four miles, when they halted in a village, to stand the brunt; but were soon beat from their guns, and the whole broke, and every man begged quarter. One officer, 15 Europeans, and 30 Coffrees, were made prisoners; most of the rest of these troops were killed during the pursuit and fight. Some of the Sepoys were cut down in the beginning of the rout by the Nabob's horse, who were immediately ordered to spare all who flung down their arms. The two guns, two tumbrils, a great quantity of ammunition, all the baggage, and an elephant, were taken. Captain Richard Smith conversing with one of the prisoners, obtained information from him of the force with Mr. Crillon, and, to his great surprize, that it would encamp this very evening at Utatore, and advance on the morrow. Fatiguing as the service of the day had been, no time was to be lost. The whole detachment, with their prisoners and spoils, returned that night to the bank of the Coleroon, and slept on their arms, and early the next morning began to cross the river, in which a sudden fresh was coming down, which obliged the latter part of the detachment to pass in boats, and the last boat in which was one of the guns, was driven on a sand, from whence it took four hours to release it, and four men were drowned in the attempt;

attemp ; and by this time the foremost of Crillon's troops appeared on 1759 the bank of the river. The flood kept them there until the 20th, when November they crossed into the island of Seringham, and encamped opposite to the west face of the pagoda, in which Captain J. Smith had stationed 300 Sepoys, 500 Colleries armed with their long lances, and two field-pieces, with European gunners. The outward wall of the pagoda, being 40 feet high, can neither be defended nor escaladed ; and, if battered down, which would be tedious, the ruins would be difficult to pass. The great gateway is within, 40 feet high, 30 broad, and 40 through to the inside of the pagoda. As it is impossible to weild gates of such a surface, a wall 20 feet high had been raised across the middle of the passage, and in the wall was left an opening, in which likewise no gate had been erected. A trench was therefore dug across the passage in front, and a parapet was raised behind the opening for the field-pieces. At day-break on the 21st, the French advanced their heaviest cannon, which soon beat down the partition-wall, and disabled the field-pieces on the parapet. They then ran to the assault, and stormed their way in ; not without much resistance from the Sepoys, but very little from the Colleries. Irritated by their loss, they refused quarter for some time after all resistance had ceased. They then turned out whom they had spared, when the musketry fired upon them as they were going away, and some of the European horse rode after and cut down others : but neither with the permission of their officers. The garrison of Tritchinopoly beheld this wanton cruelty from the walls ; but could give no relief. Few of the Sepoys regained the city, and one of the three companies was entirely lost. Joseph Smith reproached Crillon severely for this barbarity.

The Presidency, as soon as certified of the destination of this part of the French army, resolved that the whole of their own should immediately take the field. The choice of operations was left to Colonel Coote, who on the 21st of November came from Madrass to Conjeveram, where the largest division of the troops were in cantonment. Having taken the command, he immediately assembled a council of war, in which it was agreed, that the separated and distant situa-

1759 November tions of the enemy's troops, left a fair opportunity to reduce the fort of Vandiwash, which it was determined to try. The troops which had landed with Colonel Coote, joined the camp at Conjeveram on the 23d; from whence Captain Preston was sent off the same day with his own company of infantry and of the pioneers, to remain at Chinglapet, in readiness to advance with them when called for to Vandiwash, bringing likewise two eighteen-pounders and a howitz. The next evening Major Brereton proceeded with a strong detachment to attack Trivatore; and on the 25th Colonel Coote with the main body advanced toward Arcot, where all the enemy's troops in the field were encamped. These dispositions were meant to perplex their guess of what blow was intended; they had most reason to expect against Arcot, but nevertheless concluded Vandiwash.

A party sent forward by Major Brereton invested Trivatore at nine at night, but kept their guards so negligently, that the garrison, which were only a company of Sepoys, escaped through them before morning. Major Brereton, leaving two companies of Sepoys in Trivatore, marched on with his division, and arrived the next day, which was the 26th, at Vandiwash. Early the next morning they assaulted the pettah and carried it, after a slight resistance from some Sepoys, but without any loss.

Colonel Coote arrived the same morning with his division at Arcot, where he saw nothing of the enemy's troops on the ground of their encampment near the town. They had sent a detachment on the night of the 24th, preceding the morning that Colonel Coote began his march, which attacked the English post at Checkrimalore, where the three companies of Sepoys had just been reinforced, without the enemy's knowledge, with 50 Europeans from Conjeveram. Their detachment attacked before day-break of the 25th, and were repulsed with the loss of 20 Europeans, and their commanding officer, and retreated immediately to Chittapet; to which, as appointed the general rendezvous, the rest of the troops in the field at Arcot were on their march in the evening of the 26th, whilst Colonel Coote's division was approaching the ground they were quitting. In the evening of the 27th, some hours after his arrival at Arcot, Colonel Coote received an

an express from Major Brereton of his success on the pettah of Vandiwash; and immediately made a forced march towards him. The next day, he left Major Monson to bring on the line, and proceeding with the cavalry, arrived before noon at Vandiwash, where Brereton had almost completed a battery for the two eighteen-pounders which accompanied his division. It was erected in the western pettah, against the tower and cavalier in the S. W. angle of the fort. In the night, another battery was begun near the N. W. angle of the southern pettah, directly opposite to the same tower; and both were completed before the morning; but as the two eighteen-pounders expected from Chinglapet were not arrived, two twelve-pounders brought up from the line were mounted in their stead. Hitherto the enemy had fired day and night from the walls, and only slightly wounded one man. The fire of the batteries opened with the day, which was the 29th, and the tower attacked was silenced, and a practicable breach made in it, before noon: when Colonel Coote summoned the French officer, who answered, that he should obey the orders he had received, to defend the fort to extremity. The batteries then continued to dismantle other parts of the defences; and in the evening Major Monson came up, with the main body of the army. 1759 November

In the morning, the Kellidar sent some of his officers and servants, to stipulate for his own security in the event. Colonel Coote pledged himself to coutinue him in the fort, and in the rent of the districts, as a dependant of the Company, if he would, with his own troops, seize, and deliver up those he had admitted belonging to the French; but insisted on a positive answer by two in the afternoon; at which hour no answer came; but a little after, the French soldiers appeared on the walls, and called out that they would deliver up the fort. Colonel Coote chanced to be at the battery, and immediately ordered a company of Sepoys to advance, and take possession of the gateway; who when they came there, were told that the key was with the Kellidar. This baulk might have produced untoward consequences, if Colonel Coote, at the same time that he sent the Sepoys to the gate, had not advanced himself with another company to the

 breach,

1759 November breach, which they entered without opposition; and being immediately followed by some of the officers with the picquet, no resistance was attempted in any part of the fort. The troops belonging to the French were five subaltern officers, 63 private Europeans, and 100 Sepoys; the Kellidar's, 500 horsemen and foot. In this success, not a man of the English troops was killed, and only five were wounded. The English forces had thrice before been against this place, and in the last were repulsed, as we have lately seen, with as much loss as they had suffered in any action in these wars. The Kellidar had signed the treaty just as the troops entered; but his importance in the province, his relation to the family of Chundasaib, his long connexion with the French government, and his inveterate enmity to the Nabob Mahomedally, weighed unjustly more than the respect due to a contract of which he was fulfilling his part. He was brought to Madrass, behaved haughtily, and would give no account of his treasures, which he had sent away to Coilas Guddy, a fort on one of the highest hills near Velore, in which resided the widow of Subderally Cawn. The Nabob said, that the making him prisoner was of more importance than the reduction of the fort, but offered te release him for ten lacks of rupees.

The French troops in the field had made no motion from Chittapet to interrupt the attack; and, as their inaction rendered it unnecessary to march against them, Colonel Coote resolved to attack Carangoly, before they were reinforced sufficiently to risque an engagement. Carangoly is situated 35 miles W. S. W. from Vandiwash, 12 to the south a little westerly from Chinglapet, and 18 from Sadrass and the sea. The fort is large, having four not very unequal sides, of which the circumference is 1500 yards. It is built of stone, and has, before the main wall and the towers, a parapeted fausebray, and a wet ditch. The four sides nearly face to the cardinal points of the compass; a pettah, separated from the fort by an esplanade, and extending in a curve, entirely enveloped the north, and part of the west and east faces of the fort. As the weakest part, because nearst to the opposite pettah, the French had thrown up a glacis before the north front, but had not completed it before the tower in the N.°E. angle.

The

The army, by detachments, entered the pettah, on the 4th of December, and were exposed to some fire from the fort, which killed a grenadier. The attack was confined to the north front, which, besides the two round towers in the angles, had the usual voluminous defences of a gateway, and a square tower on each hand of it; in all five projections. On the 6th the army had finished, and began to fire from a battery of two eighteen-pounders, opposite the square tower next the round one in the angle on the left of this front. One of the guns fired to breach in the angle of the curtain on the left of the square tower, and the other to take off the flanking fire of the round: but the fire of the fort was much superior; for besides several old guns long belonging to the fort, the French had nine excellent pieces well mounted, which they brought to this face; and embrasures not only in the gateway, but in the two towers on the right of it, commanded the battery; to oppose which another battery for two guns was raised on the left of the first, which opened on the 7th in the morning, and the eight-inch howitz was planted in the N. W. part of the pettah, which firing dead shells in ricochet enfiladed in its whole length the rampart of the front attacked. At noon of this day the breach appeared practicable, and Colonel Coote summoned the commandant, Colonel O Kenelly, an Irishman, and an officer of reputation in Lally's regiment, signifying that if he persisted, the garrison would be exposed to the same treatment as had been inflicted on the troops taken by assault at Seringham. O Kenelley answered, that as the letter was not directed in French, he had not opened it; and as soon as the trumpet who brought it had reached the pettah, recommenced the fire. It continued hotly on the 8th and 9th; when Colonel Coote advanced a zig-zag from the breaching battery. On the 10th in the morning, there only remained shot for two hours; and more had been sent for from Chinglapet; but before the batteries ceased, a flag of truce, little expected, appeared on the walls. Time was at this time of more importance than any thing but the disgrace of a repulse, and Coote granted almost all that was asked. The garrison, which consisted of 100 Europeans, including officers, marched out with their arms, two rounds

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a man,

1759 November a man, six days provisions, colours flying, and drums beating: the Sepoys were disarmed, but likewise set free. Four of the nine guns belonging to the French had been dismounted, two Europeans were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The Sepoys had suffered more. The loss of the English troops was Lieutenant Campbell of the artillery; a grenadier, a Sepoy, and a Topass mortally wounded.

On the 12th, the army encamped again at Vandiwash; where they were joined the same day by Captain More, with his detachment from the northward. These troops had advanced, accompanied by those at Tripetti as far as Nelore, and were joined on the road by the party of Europeans stationed there with Lieutenant Elliot; but the troops of Nazeabullah although ready had not stirred a step from the walls; he nevertheless pretended that the dread of his preparations had been the principal cause of Bassaulut Jung's retreat out of the Carnatic. All alarms having ceased in this part of the country, Captain More sent back Elliot's party to Nelore, and those which had come from Tripetti, and returned with his own division by the way of Tripassore to Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, when marching against Vandiwash, had ordered Captain Wood, if to be done with safety, to advance from Covrepauk, and take post in the city of Arcot, in order to prevent the French garrison in the fort there from collecting provisions. Wood arrived in the town on the 28th, with 300 Sepoys, 50 Europeans, and 50 black horse, who, without the least opposition, took possession of the Nabob's palace and the adjacent streets, although not half a mile from the fort; where they obliged the French renter and the principal inhabitants to redeem the rest of their property, by furnishing at the market-price a large quantity of rice, of which the scarcity was increasing every day by a general failure of the harvest in this part of the country. Captain More's detachment was ordered to join Captain Wood's on their return, and both to make preparations for the attack of the fort of Arcot, against which Colonel Coote intended to march as soon as he had reduced Carangoly. They had collected fascines and other materials, and had even begun to construct one of the batteries, when they were obliged to desist,

desist, and retire, on the 9th, by the approach of Mr. Bussy returning from the northward with a much larger force than had accompanied him out of the province. 1759 December

After fifteen days march, and three of halt, Mr. Bussy, with his detachment, arrived on the 10th of November at Bassaulut Jung's camp, which was lying on a plain, six miles from the city of Cudapah. The distance from Arcot in the direct line is 110 miles nearly north; but 300 by the road, which winds more than two thirds of the way along the valleys of rocky mountains. The French detachment with Bassaulut Jung, the Europeans as well as the Sepoys, were, for want of money, in want even of food; and to maintain them, their officers had sold every thing of their own, but their clothes; from similar distresses, although not so severe, the troops of Bassaulut Jung were ready to revolt. His proposals to Mr. Bussy were, "that the French should regard him as the absolute "master of the province of Arcot, should surrender to his authority "all the countries of which they were in possession, whether in this "province or in the dependencies of Tritchinopoly, and he would "account with them for one-third of the produce; but whatsoever "might hereafter be conquered, should become entirely his own, free "of this deduction. All affairs and troubles were to be regulated by "the Duan he should appoint. The French were to swear they would "assist him against Nizamally, if he should enter the Carnatic; "with whom they should make no treaty without the participation "of Bassaulut Jung; and, after they had conquered or made peace "with the English, should furnish him with a body of troops, to "make war on Nizamally. After the peace, he was to be put in "full possession of the whole Carnatic, and its dependencies, ac-"cording to the ancient usages, when the French were no longer "to be entitled to any part of the revenues. He might return "into the Decan whensoever he pleased; and, during his absence "from his capital of Adoni, the French were to furnish a detach-"ment of 300 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with artillery, ammu-"nition, and stores, to garrison this place; and the expence of this "body of troops might be deducted out of his share of the revenues

"of

1759 December " of the Carnatic. As his troops were unpaid, and since the disaster " of Nazirjing were afraid of serving in the Carnatic, Mr. Bussy " should immediately lend him four lacks of rupees to be distributed " amongst them as the only means of engaging them to march. If " this agreement should not take effect after his arrival at Arcot, he " and his army should be reconducted out of the province with " friendship and good faith." The tenor of these terms bore the strongest marks of Sampetrow's advice : Mr. Bussy answered them by other proposals, which left the issue of every one made by Bassaulut Jung uncertain, and liable to future discussions and arrangements. The personal conferences only widened the difference, by discovering more clearly to each the views of the other ; but Bassaulut Jung took no personal disgust to Mr. Bussy, and at his solicitation issued patents subjecting, at least in words, the whole province of Arcot to the government of Mr. Lally, and enjoining all the chiefs and feudatories to pay him the usual tributes and obeisance. In the same plain where Bassaulut Jung and Bussy were encamped, were likewise lying two other considerable bodies of troops, the one a detachment of 3000 Morattoes appointed to guard that part of the territory of Cudapah, which had been ceded the year before the last to the Morattoe Jurisdiction ; the other was a body of 2500 Pitan horse, belonging to the Nabob of Cudapah. Mr. Bussy, by former intercourses, knew the officers of both. The Pitans lent him money, which enabled him to inlist 100 of their horse, the same number of Bassaulut Jung's, and 200 of the Morattoes ; and to supply the immediate wants of the French troops attending Bassaulut Jung, and his own detachment, which he now joined into one body under his own command. This whole force collected, consisted of 350 European infantry, 100 European horse, 2500 Sepoys, of which 500 were Arabs or Abyssinians, 800 black horse, and 10 pieces of cannon ; with which he marched away on the 16th of November, five days after his arrival, returning by the same way he had come. On the 10th of December, he arrived at Arcot, from whence his approach had obliged Captain Moore and Wood to return with their detachments to Covrepauk, and from hence

hence Captain Moore proceeded with his to the army at Carangoly, to which it added 180 Europeans, 1200 Sepoys, and 160 black horse. The Europeans replaced the number which were left in garrison at Vandiwash and Carangoly, and the Sepoys were more. 1759 December

The loss of these places was the severest reproach of the error which Mr. Lally had committed in detaching so great a part of his force to the southward: of which he himself was so sensible, that he justified it only by the distress to which he was reduced for money to supply the immediate pay and subsistence of the army. He now sent expresses to recall them all, excepting 300 Europeans, which were to be left in the pagoda of Seringham. The main body of the French troops remained waiting their arrival at Chittapet. Mr. Bussy left his force about the town of Arcot, and went himself to Pondicherry. The horse he brought spread themselves, and committed every kind of ravage and destruction as far as Conjeveram, between the Paliar and the mountains. A body of Morattoes belonging to Morarirow had been for some time at the pass of Cudapanatam, w. of Velore; they were commanded by Innis Khan, whom we have seen serving in the former wars of Tritchinopoly. Both Madrass and Pondicherry had agents in their camp, treating for their service. The English, Morarirow knew, had most money; and pretending, that he had incurred great charges in preparing a body of troops at their requisition, to march to their assistance before the siege of Madrass, for which he had not been paid, the terms he now demanded were peremptory, and the rates high. They endeavoured to bargain lower; and he, as the shortest means, in his own politics, to make them conclude immediately, accepted 20,000 rupees from the French agents, and sent a thousand of his horse through the hills, who did not join their camp, but in two days were on the English ground between Arcot and Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, with the army, marched from Vandiwash on the 13th, and encamped the next evening at Papantanguel, a town six miles forward in the road from Trivatore to Arcot; in which situation, half a day's march enabled him to intersect the enemy's troops moving to join each other, whether from Arcot,

1759 December or from Chittapet; but none appeared; for few of the returning troops from Seringham, and none they expected from Pondicherry, were as yet come up; and the division remaining at Arcot was too weak to venture, before the others were advanced near enough, to ensure the junction. On the 16th, the army marched, and encamped at Muleawady, six miles nearer Arcot, but still to the south of the Paliar. By this time, the horse brought by Mr. Bussy, and the Morattoes let loose by Morarirow, were committing every kind of ravage and desolation in the country to the north of this river, and as far as within 20 miles of Madrass. Thousands of cattle were swept off in as many days, which they sold to the first purchaser, at seven or eight for a rupee, and then made them again the booty of the next excursion. With this experience, the inhabitants would no longer redeem them; after which, no submissions exempted themselves form the sword, and all abandoned the villages and open country, to seek shelter in the woods, forts, and hills nearest their reach. Not a man ventured himself or his bullock with a bag of rice to the camp; which, for three days, were totally deprived of this staple food. Excessive rains fell during the 17th and all the next day, which the tents could not resist; and from the necessity of affording the troops some repose, Colonel Coote marched from Muleawady on the 19th, and put the whole army into cantonments in the fort of Covrepauk, and the villages adjacent. The next day, he went to Madrass, to confer with the Presidency on the measures necessary to be taken against the force which had been sent to recover the countries of Seringham and Tritchinopoly: for intelligence had not yet been acquired, that the greatest part of them were recalled.

The reduction of Vandiwash, notwithstanding the loss of Seringham, revived the reputation of the English arms in the southern countries. The king of Tanjore sent horse and foot, and Tondiman and the two Moravers their Colleries, to the Nabob at Tritchinopoly. Mr. Lally's orders, recalling the troops, where immediately obeyed. On the 9th, 600 European foot, and 100 horse, left the pagoda, and recrossed the Coleroon. As soon as they were gone, Capt. Joseph

Joseph Smith resolved to circumscribe the troops which remained, as much as the strength of his garrison allowed, and detached 500 Sepoys, and as many Colleries, to invest Cortalum, a mud fort on the southern bank of the Caveri, 15 miles w. of Tritchinopoly, which were followed the next day by 300 more Sepoys, two field-pieces, two cohorns, and 50 Europeans, under the command of Ensign Morgan. The fort, in which were some Sepoys, capitulated as soon as the cannon appeared. Ensign Morgan then sent half his detachment to attack Totcum, another fort like, and almost opposite to Cortalum, in which were 10 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, who defended themselves until Morgan came up with the rest of his force, when they surrendered. From Totcum, Morgan marched to Samiaveram, in order to join another detachment from the city, when both were to proceed against Utatoor. Early on the 16th, Joseph Smith received intelligence, that a convoy of ammunition, guarded by a few Sepoys, were on the road from Utatoor to Seringham; and at the same time, a party of 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys sent from Seringham to join and assure the arrival of this convoy, were perceived crossing the Coleroon; on which he detached 40 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 200 of the Nabob's horse, and some Colleries, across both rivers, under the command of Ensign Bridger, with orders to proceed to Samiaveram, where he was to be joined by Morgan's party from Totcum, and both united, were to take post at Samiaveram in order to intercept the return of the enemy's detachment. At the same time, Captain Richard Smith marched out of the city with 100 Europeans, 300 Sepoys, and three guns, and took post on the southern bank of the Caveri opposite to the Pagoda of Seringham; where he soon after knew, by a signal from the rock of Tritchinopoly, that 100 more Europeans had marched from the pagoda, and were passing the Coleroon; on which, as had been concerted, he crossed the Caveri, and kept up the hottest fire he could against the gate of the pagoda, which was returned from various scaffoldings within, and Captain Smith was wounded; but still persisting, the enemy, as had been foreseen, recalled their detachment. Soon after Ensign Bridger's signals gave token that 1759 December

he

1759 he was in possession of the pagodas at Samiaveram; but that Ensign Morgan's party was not yet come up. The next morning, the French detachment which first marched from Seringham, returned with the convoy from Utatoor, and advanced boldly to the upper pagoda of Samiaveram; near which, Ensign Bridger was prepared to oppose them. On the first firing, most of the coolies threw down their burthens of ammunition, and ran away; on which the troops, with the rest, took post in the lesser pagoda, and, shutting the gates, prepared for defence. But in less than an hour, Ensign Morgan, with the whole of his force from Totcum, appeared, and the enemy surrendered. They were a captain, a lieutenant, and 38 grenadiers. Of Bridger's detachment, several Sepoys, with a serjeant of one of the companies, and three Europeans, were killed. These operations were of consequence; for this being the season of harvest, and the corn ready to reap, the renters, as usual, yielded the government's share, which amounted to 100,000 rupees, to the stronger force. The intelligence of these successes had not reached Madrass, when Colonel Coote arrived there from the camp, but advices were received that the greatest part of the French force were returning from the southward; nevertheless, the presidency were much inclined to indulge the anxious and repeated requests of the Nabob, to reinforce Tritchinopoly with 200 Europeans, in order to retake Seringham and Utatoor, and to recover the countries which had lately been lost, with so much detriment to his revenues; but the arguments of Colonel Coote, confirmed by the recent example of the same error committed by Mr. Lally, and its consequences, evinced the impropriety of diminishing the army at this time, when it seemed that the French were collecting their whole force, in order to risque the fate of the Carnatic in a general battle. His reasons prevailed; and he returned on the 25th to Covrepauk, where, during his absence, nothing had happened, but a skirmish between the black horse of the army, which were increased to 700, and an equal body of Morattoes, whom they beat off. On the 24th, a detachment of 40 black horse, with some Sepoys of the garrison at

December

Vandiwash, surprized a party of the enemy's Sepoys, quartered in a village called Niconum 15 miles to the south, of whom they killed twelve, and dispersed the rest. 1759 December

The main body of the French army from Chittapet, increased by the returning troops from Seringham, and whatsoever more could be spared from the garrisons to the south of the Paliar, had advanced to Arcot, soon after the English filed off to Covrepauk. Thus their whole force, but stronger than before, was once again assembled; and they encamped along the south side of the river quite up to the suburbs of the city. On the 26th, Colonel Coote moved the English army to Chinesimundrum, a village six miles from Covrepauk, and five from Arcot, where the ground afforded a very advantageous encampment; for a large tank extended in front, a morass on each hand, and the only access in front and rear was by a cause-way. On the 29th, the Generals Lally and Bussy came with a party of horse to reconnoitre the camp, and a skirmish passed between them and the out-posts. The next day, the greatest part of their horse appeared again, and, after several motions, made an attack on a guard of Sepoys, posted in a village called Trimetcherry, about a mile in front of the camp, and cut down several of them in the street; but the rest kept their ground in the houses, and revenged the loss by killing several of the horse, who, seeing other troops advancing, retired. On the 31st, three companies of Sepoys crossed the river, and, at three in the morning, entered, and beat up the camp of the Morattoes, which lay on the right of the French encampment. All fled, as usual when surprized; but of the few shot which were returned, one chanced to wound Ensign Meredith, who commanded the party; after which, the Sepoys could not be prevailed upon to pursue their success by destroying the animals and baggage. Thus closed the year 1759, the third of this dubious war, with the two armies in sight of each other, but neither ready for immediate decision; for the English were afraid of the superiority of the enemy's cavalry, and were waiting in expectation, not only of drawing off the body of the Morattoes, which were with them, but likewise of being joined by 2000 more

who

1759 December who were still remaining with Innis Khan on the other side of the mountains. On the other hand, Mr. Lally was likewise negotiating for the same assistance, and still mistrusted the attachment of his European troops, although equal in number to the English; and waited for an addition, by the return of what remained of the detachment which had been sent in April, under the conduct of Mr. Moracin, to reinforce Masulipatam.

Not venturing to land the troops, as Masulipatam was taken, Mr. Moracin sailed away on the 18th of April, and in five days arrived at Ganjam, which is situated at the northern extremity of the Chicacole province on the sea. The French had long kept a trading-house here, and were connected with Narraindeu, the principal Rajah in this part of the province: the fort and wood of his residence is called Moherry, and is situated twelve miles from the sea-shore, and thirty miles w. s. w. from Ganjam. Besides Moherry, he had six or seven other forts, which lie more inland, and farther to the north. His constant force was 3000 men, besides which he occasionally hired from the other polygars. The Rajah Vizeramrauze, during his administration under Mr. Bussy in the province of Chicacole, had by some severities provoked the hatred of Narraindeu; which devolved, after the death of Vizeramrauze, on his successor, Anunderamrauze, who, as we have seen, had invited and joined the English, whom nevertheless Narraindeu had less reason to dislike than the French, under whose authority the vexations he resented from Vizeramrauze had originated. Nevertheless Moracin proposed, "that their forces united should march first against the "English settlement of Vizagapatam, and then against Vizianagaram, the principal residence of Anunderauze. If successful "thus far, they were to go on, until joined by the French army of "observation, which was with Salabadjing, when Masulipatam was "stormed: probably Salabadjing would assist in retaking this place, "and Narraindeu, in reward for his services, was to be placed in all "the advantages possessed by Anunderauze." Narraindeu accepted the terms, but with no intention of prosecuting the expedition, any farther than the continuance of his own advantages.

But

But the French troops, having expected to land at Masulipatam, 1759 were not provided with equipments for long marches, which it re- December quired much time to prepare at Ganjam. They were in the detachment 43 English soldiers, who had been taken prisoners, and had entered into the French service, on condition of being only employed on this expedition. Thirty of these men together made their escape soon after they landed, and, through many hardships, found their way to Cuttack in Orixa in the middle of May, where they were relieved by the English resident, Mr. Grey, who sent them to Balasore, from whence they were conveyed to Calcutta. Seven more arrived at Cuttack in June, and afterwards came in several other deserters of other nations. It was the beginning of July before Mr. Moracin was ready to march; by which time, he had expended all his ready money, and the subsistence of the detachment depended on the sale of some trumpery commodities, and the precarious faith of Narraindeu; who, however, accompanied them with his troops. After three or four marches, they were distressed to extremity for provisions, which neither the army of Narraindeu, nor the inhabitants of his towns, would supply without money. At Burrampoor, a town in the hills, six miles before you arrive at Mogherry, the French soldiers entered the houses to get victuals; a fray ensued, and blood was shed on both sides. Narraindeu, with all the troops, immediately left them; and summoned the assistance of the neighbouring chiefs. The French detachment, having no alternative, marched back towards Ganjam. Narraindeu, and his allies, met them in the way, and stood what they called a battle; but the European arms, as usual, easily dispersed them; and the detachment took post in Munsurcottah, a town situated eight miles from Ganjam, in a country abounding in flocks and grain, where they collected provisions, although surrounded by the enemy; with whom they commenced a negotiation, of which Narraindeu seemed to be as desirous as themselves. To conclude it, one of the French officers, named Darveu, went to Narrainder in his camp, but accompanied by 40 Europeans, and the same number of Sepoys. On their return, they were attacked by the whole force they had visited,

1759 December sited, and all the Europeans excepting three were killed: the Sepoys, not being so much the object of this treachery, suffered less. Mr. Moracin immediately returned to Ganjam, and encamped within and round the French factory, which is on the river-side; and threw up works sufficient to protect his detachment from attacks through the avenues of the town, which Narraindeu, and his allies, surrounded. Of the two ships which brought the detachment, the Harlem had been dispatched to Arracan for provisions, and the Bristol had been driven ashore in a hard gale of wind, before the troops marched to Burrampore. There was on the stocks on the river side a large snow; and in the river, several smaller vessels belonging to the factory, in which they intended to return to Pondicherry with the northern monsoon, after the English squadron should have quitted the coast. In the mean time, they continued for many days, skirmishing with the troops of Narraindeu, who at length offered to treat, which produced a cessation of hostilities, but no terms of reconciliation; for the demands of the French were in proportion to the injuries they had received; and Narraindeu only meant to save the expences of the field, with security that the French troops would not make incursions into his country, after his own should have returned to their quarters. This they promised, and remained quiet.

In the mean time letters from Narraindeu to Colonel Clive arrived in Bengal, requesting him to send a body of Europeans, which, joined by his own force, might easily take or destroy the whole of the French detachment with Moracin. The report of the deserters confirmed the feasibility of this project. But the dubious state of the English affairs, and the decrease of their military force in Bengal scarcely permitted any farther diminution of it: however, Colonel Clive, with his usual spirit of enterprize, determined to try the experiment. Sixty Europeans, half of them artillery men, were embarked on the Hardwicke, which had 100 Europeans as her crew. The ship sailed out of the river on the 30th of September, and on the 7th of October anchored in the road of Ganjam under Dutch colours. Two French officers immediately came on board to enquire news and were detained prisoners. Captain Sampson then went ashore under

der a passport to Moracin, magnified the force he had brought, said more was coming, and proposed that he should surrender his whole detachment to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. But Moracin had obtained juster intelligence. Samson then landed messengers which got to Narraindeu, who being by this time certified that the French detachment would soon go away of their own accord, had no farther motive or inclination to renew hostilities against them : but nevertheless promised Sampson that he would soon appear with his army, and again invest the town. A civil intercourse of messuages contitinued between them until the 20th, when Sampson being convinced that he intended to do nothing, sailed away for Bengal. 1759 December

In the beginning of November, Mr. Moracin embarked from Ganjam with 40 Europeans in a sloop, and on the 11th landed at Cocanara, which lies close to the sea, on the right-hand of a small river, about 20 miles N. E. of the eastern arm of the Godaveri. On this arm are situated the English and French factories of Ingeram and Yanam. Of the prisoners taken at Masulipatam, most of those who had been admitted to give their parole, had departed, and were residing at Yanam, waiting for embarkations to proceed to Pondicherry ; and, on this pretence, went to Moracin at Cocanara, and informed him fully of the state of affairs in this part of the country. The districts from the Godaveri to Cocanara, were under the government of Juggapettyrauze, a near relation of Anunderauze. They had long been at enmity, and when Anunderauze invited the English, Jaggapetty joined the French, and with his troops accompanied them at the battle of Peddipore. After the victory Colonel Forde granted away his countries to Anunderauze, who hitherto, for want of the assistance he expected from the English, had not ventured to employ his own force to get possession. Jaggapetty nevertheless expecting to be attacked by him, had kept the field on the western arm of the Godaveri, and from his camp corresponded with Mr. Andrews, the English chief at Masulipatam, to revoke the cession made to his rival. His fort of Samel Cotah is only ten miles inland from Cocanara. Moracin sent agents thither and to his camp, to propose an alliance, informing him of the force that was following from

 Ganjam,

1759 December Ganjam, and promising more from Pondicherry. Jaggapetty neither concluded, nor rejected the proposal ; but neither he nor his people at Samel Cotah gave even the common assistances of the country to the troops with Moracin ; who, for want of provisions, committed violences, were resisted, and most of them were either seized by the officers of the district, or took service with them ; which reduced Moracin to re-embark on the sloop with five or six, the remainder of his party ; they sailed on the 19th, and a few days after arrived at Pondicherry.

The troops remaining at Ganjam were 250 estimated Europeans, but of which half were Topasses, and 100 Sepoys. They embarked under the command of the Chevalier Poete, on the snow and two sloops, rigged and manned with the stores and crew of the Bristol : they arrived at Cocanara on the 19th of December ; and Poete sent ashore fifty Europeans, and the Sepoys, to try the inclinations of Jaggapettyrauze : immediately after they landed, a hard gale of wind drove the two sloops ashore.

The troops sent from Bengal with Colonel Forde had received repeated orders from this Presidency to return thither from Masulipatam ; but they were to march over land the whole way, in order to meet, and attack Moracin's detachment, who it was supposed would be, if not at Ganjam, somewhere on the coast. The rains would not permit the Bengal troops to take the field until the beginning of November ; before which, Colonel Forde had sailed in the middle of October from Masulipatam for Bengal, where he arrived just in time to render one more very important service to his country. The command then devolved on Captain Fischer, and varying resolutions detained the troops at Masulipatam until the 5th of December. They were reduced from 500 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys, to 300 of the one, and 800 of the other : the Europeans, by death and desertion, notwithstanding they had recruited 50 out of the prisoners ; but the Sepoys, chiefly by the dismission of 500, who had sailed with Clive on the expedition to Bengal, and were permitted to return from Masulipatam to their homes in the Carnatic.

natic. The waters of the Godaveri were not yet abated; near the sea are seven or eight channels between the two principal arms; and other smaller rivers coming from the Colair lake, intersect the land between the western arm of the Godaveri and Masulipatam; which render the march along the sea-shore, although shorter in distance, much more tedious than the inland road. The troops therefore returned this way, which was the same they had come, excepting, that they passed the bed of the Colair farther to the westward, where it becomes soonest dry. At Rajahmundrum they heard, that the French detachment with the Chevalier Poete had landed at Cocanara.

1759 December

Anunderauze, on the appearance of Moracin at Cocanara a month before, had no doubt that he would be immediately joined by Jaggapettyrauze, and sent off a body of troops from Vizianagarum to protect the districts of Rajahmundrum from their inroads. On the approach of this force, Jaggapettyrauze returned with his, from the Godaveri to his fort of Samelcotah, and both were near each other, when the French troops with Poete arrived on the coast, and the English with Fischer at Rajahmundrum. The officers of Anunderauze begged assistance from Fischer, who, advising them to keep the forces of Jaggapettyrauze at bay, proceeded with his command as fast as fatigue and impediments permitted, towards Cocanara. The district for some distance round this place is covered with cocoa-nut groves, for the shelter of the weavers; and the French troops were lying in a village at the skirt of the groves two miles from the Dutch fort, and the sea; and, for what reason is not found, Poete had not yet landed any more to reinforce the first detachment. Jaggapettyrauze was encamped five miles on their left, against whom the forces of Anunderauze were advancing, but in a different line of march, at the same time that the English troops were approaching Cocanara, who, before they came in sight of the French detachment, saw the armies of the two Rajahs skirmishing on their right; which Fischer deeming a proof that none of the French had joined Jaggapettyrauze, supposed them intent only on preserving their retreat to the sea, and sent forward Captain Yorke with the

 grenadiers

1759 December grenadiers and 500 Sepoys to prevent their embarkation. The French troops had gained no certain intelligence of the force with Fischer, and waited on their ground until they could distinguish the number of Yorke's division, who when near sent off the Sepoys to gain their flank, and hastened up in front with the grenadiers as fast as they could march. The French only remained to give one fire, and then ran as fast as they could through the grove, followed almost at the same pace, to gain the Dutch factory, into which they were admitted. Yorke immediately surrounded the factory, which had very slight defences, and Fischer coming up in the evening with the main body, invested it more closely, and peremptorily demanded the French troops, whom, after a very formal protest, the Dutch agents delivered the next day, which was the 28th of December. In the ensuing night Poete sailed with the rest of his detachment 200 men, Europeans and Topasses, all in the snow. From Cocanara the English troops marched on to Vizagapatam, where they arrived on the 16th of January; and a few days after, all the Europeans embarked in two English ships proceeding to Bengal; but the Sepoys were left to pursue their route on shore by Ganjam and through the province of Orixa. Thus nothing remained to fear in the company's possessions and acquisitions to the north of the Kristna. We shall now describe the progress of their officer Mahomed Issoof in the countries towards Cape Comorin.

May. He arrived at Madura on the 4th of May, and had been absent ten months. The force he left in the country, when called away, was 14 companies of Sepoys, six in the fort of Madura, five in Palamcotah, and three at Tinivelly. Nothing more could be expected from either of these bodies, than to defend the ground in sight of the walls they garrisoned. Accordingly all the districts of both provinces from the forest of Nattam to the gates of Travancore, lay subject to their contributions, or exposed to their ravages. The declension of the English affairs, which began with the surrender of Fort St. David, (on which Mahomed Issoof was recalled,) and continued until the French were obliged to raise the siege of Madrass, kept Maphuze Khan in continual hopes, that he should be joined by a body of French troops, and established

blished with their assistance in the government of those countries; 1759
and the administration of Pondicherry, by their letters and emissaries, December
encouraged him to think so. Waiting this fortune, he remained with the Pulitaver, styling himself, and styled a sovereign; but without any other means of subsistence than what the Pulitaver chose to supply, who, never regulating his money by words, scarcely furnished him with common necessaries. The return of Issoof Khan bettered his condition; as the Pulitaver was afraid he might at length listen to a reconciliation with the Nabob, and Maphuze Khan, always governed by the love of ease, felt no resentment at the humility to which he had been reduced. He presided, at least in appearance, in the councils of the eastern Polygars; who resolved to meet Issoof with their united force, and invited the western to the common defence; who having joined them against Palamcotah in the late distresses of the English affairs, expected no pardon, and took the field. The western league consisted of six polygars: Catabominaigue, their former leader, was lately dead, and had been succeeded by a relation, who took as usual the same name, and bore, instead of the indifference of his predecessor, an aversion to the English. Etiaporum was always the next to him in importance, and now in activity.

The force which accompanied Mahomed Issoof from Conjeveram, consisted only of six companies of Sepoys, and 60 horse, but he had on his march requested troops from Tondiman and the two Moravers, with whom he had always continued on good terms, and 3000 men, horse, colleries, and Sepoys, from the three polygars, joined him on his arrival at Madura, where he nevertheless immediately began to make farther levies, and by shifting and garbling out of all that were with him, composed a body of 300 horse, and 700 Sepoys, who had seen service, which he sent forward to ravage the districts of Etiaporum, where they were to be joined by three of the companies of Sepoys from the garrison of Palamcotah, which had restored its losses by new levies. This body of troops were to maintain their ground until the last extremity, in order to prevent the junction of the western with the troops of the eastern polygars, until Mahomed Issoof himself could follow with the main body

1759 body from Madura, where he was under the necessity of remaining
December a while longer.

The Colleries of Nattam extend 40 miles, from the districts of the lesser Moraver to the western mountains. Their forest skirts the Madura country to the north; and, where opposite, is within twelve miles of the city. It was they who attacked the troops with Colonel Heron in 1755. They are much wilder than the colleries to the North of them in the territory of Tritchinopoly, and differ still more from those of Madura and Tinivelly, having neither forts nor military array. They acknowledge no considerable chiefs, and live in small parcels, connected by choice or relation; so that their disputes rarely exceed the private revenge of individuals. They regard all other people as booty; but robbery amongst themselves as the greatest crime: and any one of them escorting a stranger is a sufficient protection against all the rest; but without this safeguard, which is always paid for, the traveller risques his life at every step. Contemptible in the open field, where they rarely trust themselves, they are much more dexterous than any of these races in the practices of ambuscade and theft. They had plundered the country up to the gates of Madura of all the cattle, robbed all the villages, and continued to way lay whatsoever parties were returning to the city with provisions from other quarters. As all of the troops with Mahomed Issoof were fit for hostilities against such an enemy, he resolved to employ them in attacking their haunts, whilst his levies were forming to better discipline. He, however, attended the service himself, which appeared more like one of the general huntings peculiar to Asia, than a military expedition. Avenues were cut into the forest, and the inhabitants shot as they fled; but
June. some were reserved to be released, or executed, on occasion. A month was, however, employed before he had completed this revenge, and reduced them to beg quarter, and pay cattle, their only money, mostly collected by theft; which, with others he procured, to the amount of 1000 beeves, and 2000 sheep, were sent to Tritchinopoly, from whence they were forwarded at different times by Captain Joseph Smith to the sea-coast, for the use of the squadron, and

and enabled them to keep the windward station, without consuming their own stock of provisions. 1759

December
July.

On the second of July he began his march from Madura, with 600 horse, 3000 Sepoys, and 2400 other foot belonging to Tondiman, and the Moravers, in all 6000 men. His artillery was one eighteen-pounder, and nine from six and lower. He was scant of powder, having none but what he made himself; for, since the destruction of the mill at Madrass by Mr. Lally, the presidency could not supply their troops and garrisons in the Carnatic from their own produce; but borrowed from the squadron, and received from Bombay. The muskets of his Sepoys were old, infirm, of various nations, and not sufficient in number, and were supplied by fowling-pieces, and any fuzees he could collect. He was likewise in want of flints, which are substituted in some parts of India by agate; of which there is none in these countries. All these wants he represented to the presidency, and especially requested two eighteen-pounders, and two field-pieces of six, with a full supply of shot.

His first march was to Calancandan. He had taken this fort in 1756; but after his departure for the Carnatic, the Pulitaver and Vadagherri had extended their acquisitions thus far, and placed their guard in Calancandan. It was a mud fort, without cannon, and, after a slight resistance, submitted to his. From hence he proceeded to take up the large detachment he had sent forward against Etiaporum; who, by continually ravaging the districts of this polygar, kept his troops on their own ground, and deterred both him and Catabominaigue from marching across the country to join the Pulitaver: having sufficiently constrained these chiefs, the detachment proceeded against Coilorepettah, which stands nearly midway in the straightest road between Madura and Tinivelly, about 50 miles from each. This fort had likewise been stormed in June 1756 by Mahomed Issoof, and carried with considerable loss. The polygar was then taken prisoner; whether restored or succeeded by another, we do not find; but the place was at this time in the hands of one who defended it as well; for 100 of the Sepoys were killed

1759 December July. killed and wounded in the attack, which lasted three days, and then the polygar made his escape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Issoof, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were scarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whose mind always wavered with every change of circumstances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Issoof, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic; provided he was allowed a suitable jaghire for his maintenance: He even asked a safeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Issoof, without authority, assured him that his requests should be complied with; and recommended them to the Presidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eastern and western Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal station from which the eastern made their inroads into these districts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, situated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by easy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed; and Mahomed Issoof soon after his arrival at Tinivelly marched against him with the greatest part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed some troops; and stationed a guard of 50 horse, and some peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate post. He was no sooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pulitaver and Vadgherri surprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horses, with their riders; on which Mahomed Issoof detached seven companies of Sepoys, who recovered the post, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confusion prevailed in the districts to the south of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incursions from their wall to seize the harvests at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of distractions,

tractions, which existed on every side, could not be all opposed at the same time, unless a greater army were embodied than all the revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the least inveterate enemy to the English; because the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his resentment, by continually employing his Colleries to make depredations in his country on the other side of the mountains, through the pass of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the south of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Issoof opened a negotiation with the king; who consented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of August, and the interview passed with much politeness and seeming cordiality. The king, at least publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to desist from his inroads into the districts of Tinivelly, and to act with a considerable force in conjunction with Mahomed Issoof against Vadagherri, and the Pulitaver. On the 3d of September, Mahomed Issoof still remaining at the gates of Travancore, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muskets made in his own country, and disciplined, although aukwardly, in the European manner; but they were well supplied with stores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly against Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the residence of the Pulitaver: when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, consisting of 10,000 more of the king's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the pass. This was perhaps the greatest force that had been assembled for some centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both sides; but in the night abandoned his fort, and escaped away to the Pulitaver at Nellitangaville.

1759 December

August.

September.

The arrival of such a guest, who, for the first time, had been reduced to such distress, frightened the Pulitaver; and set his cunning to work to divert the storm from himself. The repulse of the English troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwash on the 30th of September,

October.

1759 December October. September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had represented it, a signal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Bassaulet Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they should very soon overpower the English in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be substituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be deposed from the Nabobship. This correspondence, and these expectations, the Pulitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the English, and join Maphuze Caun against them, to give him whatsoever districts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately exposed these documents to Mahomed Issoof, and standing on his importance, demanded the cession of Calacad and the adjacent districts, for which he had so long contended against the Nabob's government. He said, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his assistance; that what might be refused by one, would be readily given to him by another; and that, if he should join the Polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be established in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Issoof, whilst perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muskets, which had been sent, according to his request, from Madrass, were lost at sea; and that the two six-pounders, although landed, were stopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacorin. This mischance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his assistance; for the force of Mahomed Issoof alone was not sufficient to reduce the Pulitaver, whom all the best colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore surrendered the districts which the king demanded; and the Presidency approved the cession; but the Nabob suspected that it had been promised by Issoof at his first interview with the king, in order to secure his future assistance to his own ambitious views.

As soon as this agreement was settled, the Travancores moved
November. again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November, they invested the wood and fort of Easaltaver, which was one of the

the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Colleries defended the wood three days, and then abandoned both; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this success, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Issoof to remain until he received supplies from Madura, Palamcotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent disgusts from disparity of customs, encamped separately, but in sight of Mahomed Issoof's; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Colleries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Issoof, on the first alarm, sent his horse, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot; but the Colleries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleness, with the ruggedness of the country, rendered the pursuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travencores, before they went off. A day or two after this skirmish, Mahomed Issoof received three howitzes, with some stores, and a supply of ammunition from Anjengo; and the two six-pounders with their shot likewise came up from Tutacorin; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December set down before Washinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much stronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is situated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the same direction from Outamaly.

1759 December November.

Washinelore stood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the west and south sides of the fort; but turned to a much greater distance on the north, and to the east the plain was open, and every where covered with profuse cultivation. A very extensive pettah, the residence of some thousand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls: a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, surrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards: it was of mud, but almost as hard as brick; it had four large square towers, one at each angle, and several smaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a separate redoubt, enclosed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort: the access to the tower was a steep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet; the curtain between the

1759 December towers had no parapet, and was only a rampart sloping on both sides from a base of 15 feet to 3 at top; but the slope from within was much less sharp than from without, so that, if assaulted, the defenders might easily run up to the top. The parapets of the towers have circular holes for the use of small arms, but no openings prepared for cannon, of which there was not a single piece in the fort. This description only suits Washinelore, for the other forts in the Madura and Tinivelly countries have parapets with loop-holes to their ramparts, as well as to their towers; but all are of earth, excepting Madura and Palamcotah. The Colleries on this side of the Tinivelly country, possess nothing of the ugliness or deformity which generally characterize the inhabitants of the hills and wilds of India. They are tall, well-made, and well-featured. Their arms are lances and pikes, bows and arrows, rockets, and match-locks, but whether with or without other weapons, every man constantly wears a sword and shield. In battle, the different arms move in distinct bodies; but the lancemen are rated the most eminent, and lead all attacks. This weapon is 18 feet long; they tie under the point a tuft of scarlet horse-hair, and when they attack horse, add a small bell. Without previous exercise, they assemble in a deep column, pressing close together, and advance at a long steady step, in some degree of time, their lances inclining forward, but aloft, of which the elasticity and vibration, with the jingle, dazzle and scare the cavalry; and their approach is scarcely less formidable to infantry not disciplined with fire-arms. The importance of Washinelore, and the great force which was come against it, brought some thousands of Colleries to its relief; but all, excepting 8 or 900 chosen men allotted to defend the walls, kept in the woods: from whence every day and night parties sallied, and alarmed or attacked one or other, and sometimes both the camps; and greater bodies on three different days made general attacks on the batteries, of which these continued interruptions retarded the construction, insomuch that they were not finished until the 26th, 20 days after the arrival of the armies; but the howitzes had commenced before. The only efficacious

efficacious gun was the 18-pounder, which Mahomed Issoof had brought from Madura, for the rest were only 6-pounders and lower; but from excessive firing, the 18-pounder burst the day after it was mounted; and by this time all the ammunition, as well of the batteries as troops, excepting the quantity which prudence required to be reserved for defence, was expended. However, part of the parapet of the tower fired upon, was beaten down, and Mahomed Issoof resolved to storm the next day. Many troops of both armies waited on the assault; and as soon as it began, the Pulitaver, with 3000 chosen Colleries, who had marched in the night from Nellitangaville, issued from the wood and fell upon the camp of Mahomed Issoof, drove away the troops that guarded it, and began to commit every kind of destruction. Mahomed Issoof instantly sent back a large body to repulse them, and continued the assault; but the garrison within received double animation from the Pulitaver's success, which was announced to them by the usual war-cry and the sounding of their conchs. All the other Colleries collected in the woods appeared likewise, as if on the same notice, and in different bands attacked the troops at the batteries, and at the foot of the breach; and although continually repulsed, continually rallied, and with the resolution of the garrison saved the fort until the evening, and then waited in the woods to interrupt the renewal of the assault in the night; but so much of the reserved ammunition had been expended in the day that Mahomed Issoof deemed it dangerous to remain any longer before the fort, and drew off his artillery. Two hundred of his troops and of the Travancores were killed, but more of the enemy. The next day he moved to a distance, and dismissed the Travancores, who proceeded through the pass of Shencotty to their own country, and Mahomed Issoof returned with his own troops, and those lent him by Tondiman and the Moravers, to the town of Tinivelly.

1759 December

END *of the* ELEVENTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK XII.

THE two armies in the Carnatic continued, during the first days of January, in their encampments near Arcot, equally cautious of risquing any attempt of consequence, because both were waiting the result of their negotiations to bring Innis Khan with his Morattoes to their assistance. Both offered 60,000 rupees; but, whilst the English were proposing conditional bills, the French sent ready money, which determined his preference. He arrived on the 8th in the French camp, with 3000 mounted, and a greater number of foot plunderers, who are called Pandarums, and always troop with the horse, as we have described when Bajinrow joined Clive in the fight near Arni. The next day, the French army filed off from their encampment which extended from the suburbs of Arcot along the south side of the Paliar, and took the road towards Trivatore; and, as they were going off, Mr. Lally, with a large body of Morattoes, some of the European horse, and two field-pieces, crossed the river, and advanced to Trimuddi, an out-post, three miles in front of the English camp at Chinasimundrum. A cannonade ensued, but more guns and troops coming up, Mr. Lally retired, and recrossed the river: during which, a body of 200 Morattoes, with whom Colonel Coote had treated, came over from the enemy's, and joined his camp. In the evening, Colonel Coote proceeded across the river, with an escort of horse, and reconnoitred the enemy's line of march, and suspecting, that they might intend against Vandiwash, took his measures accordingly. Orders were dispatched to Captain Sherlock, who commanded

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1760 January. manded in the fort, to defend it to extremity, and to the two companies of Sepoys at Trivatore, to repair thither immediately. The baggage of the army was sent off that night to Covrepauk; and in the morning the whole army moved from Chinasimundrum, where they had lain eighteen days, and in the evening pitched anew on the bank of the Paliar, five miles lower down than the ground which the French had occupied on the other side. A strong post of horse and foot was advanced at some distance towards Arcot, and another on the left, with orders to keep up continual patroles. The next day passed without any alarm from the enemy, or intelligence of consequence concerning them, who nevertheless were not idle.

Mr. Lally had formed another project besides that which Colonel Coote suspected; and, to accomplish it, had not suffered his army to advance with half the expedition they might. They were on the 11th, the third day after they quitted their encampment, no farther than Papantanguel, six miles on this side of Trivatore, and halted there the greatest part of the day. Towards the evening, all were under arms, and the stores and baggage loaded; but, instead of marching on he displayed them on the plain, facing to the Paliar, and then exercised them as if for practice, in large evolutions, which were calculated to fling the whole line to the eastward, with all the horse, Morattoes, as well as Europeans, on the right, of whom the outermost, when the exercise ended, were six miles from Papantanguel. Having thus whiled away the time until the close of the evening, he continued all on the ground they stood until it was dark; and then separated the army into two divisions. The horse, excepting some which rejoined the second, filed off, followed by 300 Sepoys, who had formed next to them, and marched on as fast as they could, keeping together; the rest of the army, which consisted of all the European infantry, with the baggage and artillery, were ordered to follow, but without strain. Mr. Lally led the first division himself. After a march of 15 miles, in which they had crossed the Paliar, they arrived at eight in the morning at Conjeveram; expecting to find in the town the magazines of rice which supplied the English army; but they had no such store,

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living on the purchase of the day; nor had the inhabitants more than the common provision of their houses; but in the pagoda was the hospital, and a stock of military stores, under the guard of two companies of Sepoys, commanded by Lieutenant Chilsholm, of which the capture would have been distressing; but Mr. Lally having brought no cannon made no attempt on the pagoda, and employed his troops in collecting plunder, and setting fire to the houses of the town; during which, the Sepoys, and all the sick in the pagoda, who could move, came out, and being well acquainted with the streets and covers, continually attacked their smaller parties and stragglers, and whenever likely to be overpowered, disappeared. In the evening the enemy retreated, driving off 2000 bullocks, the most valuable part of their booty, loaded with the trumpery they had collected. By this time the other division of the army had arrived at Jangolam, a village on the bank of the Paliar, three miles from Conjeveram, from whence both united, immediately proceeded, and the next day reached Trivatore.

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The nearest ground of the French line, whilst marching on this exploit, was eight miles from the advanced post of the English camp, whose black horse, awed by the number of the Morattoes, were afraid to venture, and could not be trusted so far abroad; and the European horse, being only one hundred, were not even sufficient for the necessary patroles of the camp; so that the first intelligence of the enemy's march was from Lieutenant Chisholm at Conjeveram, sent as soon as they appeared there. It arrived in the afternoon; Colonel Coote immediately set off with the cavalry, and ordered the whole army to follow, which was in march before the sun set, and before it rose at Conjeveram, where Colonel Coote, with the cavalry, had arrived at one in the morning. The way is twenty-one miles.

It was now a month, that Mr. Bussy had acted once more in the field in conjunction with Mr. Lally; and the intercourse had only encreased the aversion. The late errors of Mr. Lally's operations, which had lost Vandiwash and Carangoly, without gaining any thing equivalent by the expedition to Seringham, had lowered his military character throughout the army; and even his own regiment as well as Lorrain, although the King's troops, began to acknowledge the

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1760 January. superior talents of Mr. Bussy to conduct the war: the battalion of India always thought so. Mr. Lally imputed this rising predilection in the officers to the influence of Mr. Bussy's money, and amongst the soldiers to the intrigues of Father St. Estevan, a crazy, busy Jesuit, who officiated in the camp, and confessed the regiment of Lorrain: his antipathy no longer listened to any restraints. As soon as the army returned to Trivatore, Mr. Bussy asked his leave to retire to Pondicherry for the recovery of a painful disorder, which incapacitated him for fatigue: but Mr. Lally forbid him in the name of the king to quit the field. He obeyed, and gave his best opinion concerning the future operations of the campaign. "The English, he said, would not see "Vandiwash taken, without risquing a battle to save it, in which the "French army would be deprived of all the force employed in the "siege; and from the necessity of covering it, not master of the choice "of advantages in the action; whereas, if the whole of the regular "troops kept together on the banks of the Paliar, and detached "the whole body of Morattoes to lay waste the English districts, "their army would soon be reduced to the necessity, either of "giving battle at disadvantage, or of seeking its subsistence under "the walls of Madrass." No advice could be more judicious; for the first division of the Morattoes, although only 1000, had ventured to carry their ravages as far as Pondamalee and Vendalore, and by cutting off every kind of provision on every side had reduced the English camp to as great want, as they brought abundance to the French, where they sold the beeves they had plundered at seven for a rupee, and rice at half its value in any other part of the country; and at this very time the Presidency of Madrass, anxious for the loss of their surest revenues, repented that they had not bought the Morattoes on their own terms, and were advising Colonel Coote to fall back nearer to the adjacencies of the town. But Mr. Lally suspected Mr. Bussy's advice, as designed to prevent or disparage the activity of his own operations; and on the 14th marched away from Trivatore, with a detachment of 500 Europeans, half the European cavalry, 500 Morattoes, 1000 Sepoys, and four field-pieces, leaving Mr. Bussy with the main body at Trivatore, as the most central

central situation, at hand to join his own division, if the English army should march after it; or ready to oppose and interrupt them, if they should go against Arcot, in order to divert the siege of Vandivash. 1760 January.

On the 14th in the evening, Colonel Coote received intelligence of Mr. Lally's arrival at Vandivash, and the next day marched with his whole force from Conjeveram, crossing the Paliar to the S. E. instead of following the enemy by the longer, but better road of Trivatore. On the 17th, they arrived, and encamped near Outramalore. This situation, lying half-way in the road between Vandivash and Chinglapett, secured the communication with this place, and from hence with Madrass: it likewise had Carangoly in its rear to the left. The fort at Outramalore having long been neglected, was open in several parts from top to bottom of the wall; but was a much more defensible repository for the stores and baggage of the army, than any post in the open plain.

Captain Sherlocke kept 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys in the south pettah of Vandivash, which Mr. Lally attacked at three in the morning with all his infantry, in two divisions: the one, in which the Europeans were marines from the squadron, was allotted to the western rampart, and only intended to make a diversion during the real attack on the opposite; where the Europeans were of Lally's regiment, and led by himself. Both divisions were discovered and fired upon before they gained the foot of the wall; and the marines, unused to such services, broke, and ran round to Mr. Lally's division, who, supposing them enemies, fired upon them until the mistake was discovered. Nothing more was attempted until eight o'clock the next morning, when all the infantry in one column, with two field-pieces at their head, advanced against the south-side of the pettah; but the fire to which they were exposed, brought the front of the column to a halt without orders. Mr. Lally rode up, dismounted, and calling for volunteers, ran to the ditch, and mounted the wall, himself the first. The whole column immediately poured after him; and the troops in the pettah, having no orders to defend it to extremity, escaped along the streets, and regained the fort without any loss in the retreat; in the whole defence only four or five had been killed; but the enemy lost twelve Europeans, besides Sepoys,

1760 January. poys, and more wounded of both. They immediately entrenched the openings of the streets facing the fort, and began to raise a battery in the N. E. angle of the pettah, against the same tower which Colonel Coote had breached, and nearly on the same ground.

A thousand of the Morattoes had been ordered to observe the motions of the English army; but they followed nothing but plunder, and continued spreading themselves to the north of the Paliar; and as Mr. Lally never rewarded sufficiently to encourage daring spies, the first news he received of the approach of the English army, was on the 17th at sun-rise, by a letter from Mr. Bussy at Trivatore, by which time they were arrived at Outramalore. His aversion to the authority, made him unwilling to accept the information as authentic; and at first he only ordered part of the army to advance from Trivatore: but, on farther intelligence, left Mr. Bussy to act according to his discretion; who at five in the afternoon marched with the whole, and arrived at Vandivash before midnight.

The English army arrived at Outramalore without provisions, and too much fatigued to march on, and reach Vandivash, before Mr. Bussy's division had joined Mr. Lally's there, which, otherwise, on their appearance, must either have retreated, or would have stood their ground with great inferiority and disadvantage. The horse, as soon as the foot were encamped, went abroad to rummage the villages for provisions, and the next day the troop of hussars fell in with 50 Morattoes, of whom they killed one, and took twelve with their horses. Still the want of grain continued in the camp, and it was found that the renter, although he depended on Madrass, had sold his store to some agents, probably employed by the French, at Sadrass; on which he was seized, and confined without eating, until the army was supplied; and his people in a few hours brought enough for the immediate want, and promised more. The scarcity had, however, been no obstacle to the operations of the army; for Colonel Coote had resolved not to advance upon the enemy, until they were ready to assault Vandivash, when he should have his choice of attacking either the troops employed against the fort, or the army which covered them in the plain. This Mr. Bussy foresaw, and again advised

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Mr. Lally to desist from the siege until a better opportunity; and to keep his whole force together, until the English either fought or retired; but Mr. Lally as before could not brook instruction from the rival he detested, and persisted. 1760 January.

Their battery did not open until the 20th; having waited for the cannon, which were brought 70 miles from the ramparts of Valdore, on carriages sent from Pondicherry. They were two eighteen, and two of twenty-four. By the night of the 20th the wall of the faussebray was opened. Colonel Coote, on this intelligence, marched the next day with all the cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy's situation and the state of the siege, and receiving, when near, a message from Sherlocke, that they had breached the main rampart, went back, and halted at Tirimbourg, a village half way, to which he ordered the main body of the army to advance without delay from Outramalore, but to send their heavy baggage, for better security, to Carangoly. They arrived at Tirimbourg in the night; at sun-rise, Colonel Coote taking with him 1000 of the black horse, and the two troops of European, with two companies of Sepoys, advanced in front of the main body of the army, which he ordered to follow, but without pressing their march.

The distance from Tirimbourg to Vandivash is seven miles; the road leads from the N. E. to the S. W. The mountain of Vandivash lies in the same direction, extending more than a league in length. The fort stands two miles to the S. of the mountain, but nearer to the western than the eastern end. The French army was encamped directly opposite to the eastern end of the mountain, at the distance of three miles, and at two to the west of the fort. The camp was in two lines separated by paddy fields; a great tank covered the left flank of both lines. At 300 yards in front of this tank, but a little on its left, was another, and farther on, likewise on the left of this, another, neither more than 200 yards in circumference, and both dry; and the bank which surrounded the foremost tank had been converted into a retrenchment, in which were mounted some pieces of cannon, which commanded the plain in front, and flanked in its whole length the esplanade in front of the camp.

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1760 January. All the Morattoes were returned, and lying with their plunder under the foot of the mountain, extending along it towards the N. E. end. Their scouts brought intelligence of the approach of Colonel Coote's division, on which all mounted, as did the European cavalry in the French camp, and the whole spread in different bodies across the plain to tho east of the mountain. Colonel Coote, with 200 of the black cavalry, followed by the two companies of Sepoys, was advancing a mile in front of the rest of the cavalry, which composed the division he was leading; and the Morattoes sent forward 200 of their horse, on which he halted, called up the Sepoys, and interspersed them in platoons between the troops of horse.

The advanced body of the Morattoes nevertheless pushed on, but were stopped by the fire of the Sepoys, before they came to the use of the sword. Nevertheless, they recovered after their wheel, stood till within reach of the Sepoys again, then turned again, and in this manner fell back to their main body, which with the French cavalry had gathered, and were drawn up, extending in a line to the east, from the end of the mountain; the French on the right of the Morattoes.

Colonel Coote, whilst halting for the Sepoys, had sent off a messenger, ordering up the body of cavalry, which were a mile behind, and the first five companies of Sepoys with two of the field-pieces from the head of the line of infantry, to come on likewise as fast as they could march: the cavalry soon joined him, but more time was requisite for the Sepoys and guns, as the line was three miles off. During which, Colonol Coote, by continual halts, advanced very slowly; and the enemy's cavalry continued on the ground they had chosen. At eight o'clock the detachment of Sepoys, with the guns, came up, when the division with Coote were at an ascent, which intercepted them from the sight of the enemy, who, although they had perceived the cloud of march, had not distinguished the two guns which accompanied the Sepoys, who, joined by the other two companies, formed in a line in the rear of the cavalry, with the guns in the center; the two troops of European horse were in the center of the cavalry in the fist line. In this order the two lines advanced

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against the enemy, who were still waiting for them; but when at the distance of 200 yards, the cavalry opened from the centre, and brought themselves round, divided on each wing of the Sepoys, in the second line; and the instant the ground was clear, the two field-pieces began quick firing on the enemy's line of cavalry, which were setting off to take advantage of the evolution making by the English. The field-pieces were, one a twelve, the other a six-pounder, both of brass; and Captain Robert Barker, although he commanded the whole of the Company's artillery, had come up with, and now served them himself: the effect answered the good-will and dexterity; the fire was directed amongst the Morattoes; and every shot was seen to overset men and horses, which stopped their career, but not before they were within reach of the musketry of the Sepoys; and some of them on the wings had even rode in amongst the outward of the English cavalry during their evolution; but the encreasing havock which fell amongst them soon after, put the whole body to flight, and they galloped away to their camp, leaving the French cavalry alone, who were advancing in regular order on their right, against whom the field-pieces were then directed, which they stood for some time, seeming to expect the Morattoes would rally; but seeing them entirely gone off, turned and went off themselves, but still in order, and with much composure.

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Colonel Coote advanced with his division to the ground they had quitted, and seeing the plain clear, quite up to the French camp, sent orders to his line of infantry to halt, wheresoever the order should meet them, until he returned to them himself. There were some gardens and other enclosures half a mile to the right of the ground which the French cavalry had occupied, whilst drawn up in a line with the Morattoes extending from the end of the mountain. The enclosures were good shelter on necessity, and the ground beyond them excellent for the display and action of the whole army, which Colonel Coote having reconnoitred, ordered his division to file off to the left, and to form on this ground, in the same order as before; the cavalry in a line in front, the Sepoys in another behind them.

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1760 January. As soon as this disposition was executed, he rode back to the line of infantry, which were halting, drawn up in two lines according to the order of battle he had issued to the principal officers in the preceding night. He signified his intention of leading the army on to a general action, which was received with acclamations, that left no doubt of the ardour of the troops to engage the enemy they had so long been seeking. The plain dry, hard, and even, admitted of their marching on in the same order they were drawn up, without filing off in columns, so that they were soon upon the ground where the advanced division were halting, when the cavalry wheeled from the right and left, and formed the third line of the main battle, and the five companies of Sepoys took their place again on the right of the first line; but the two field-pieces, still attended by Captain Barker with the two detached companies of Sepoys, kept apart at some distance in front, but to the left of the first line.

In this array the army stood in full view of the French camp, in which no motions were perceived; but no firing was heard against the fort of Vandivash. Colonel Coote having waited half an hour to see the effect of his appearance, rode forward with some officers to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, who suffered them to approach near, without cannonading or sending out a party of cavalry to interrupt them.

The day began to wear, and Colonel Coote, as soon as he returned to the troops, ordered the whole to file off to the right; the infantry marched in two lines at the same parallels they had drawn up; the baggage formed a third column on the right, and the cavalry followed in the rear of all the three. They proceeded towards the south side of the mountain, but inclining a little towards the French camp. As soon as the first files of the infantry came to the stony ground which extends from the foot of the mountain, on which the enemy's cavalry could not act, the whole halted, and the two lines of infantry facing to the right, presented themselves again in order of battle, opposite to the French camp, at the distance of a mile and a half, but outstretching it on the right; the baggage falling back at the same time, gave place to the cavalry to resume their former station as the third line.

The Morattoes were spread under the mountain to protect their own camp, and none of them ventured within reach of the two guns, which during the march had kept on the left of the first line; but some of the French cavalry came out to reconnoitre, and were driven back by their fire. The army halted some time in this situation, in expectation that the defiance would bring the French out of their camp; but they still remained quiet; which obliged Colonel Coote to prosecute the rest of the operations he had meditated. 1760 January.

The ground for some distance from the mountain, is, as under all others in the Carnatic, encumbered with stones and fragments of rock. From this rugged ground up to the fort the plain was occupied by rice fields. The English army coasting the mountain until opposite to the fort, and then making a conversion of their lines to the right, would immediately be formed in the strongest of situations; their right protected by the fire of the fort; their left by the impassable ground under the mountain, and with the certainty of throwing any number of troops, without opposition, into the fort; who, sallying with the garrison to the other side, might easily drive the enemy from their batteries in the pettah; from whence the whole of the English army might likewise advance against the French camp, with the choice of attacking it either on the flank, or in the rear, where the main defences, which had been prepared in the front of their encampment, or arose from the usual dispositions on this side, would become entirely useless.

The English army had no sooner began their march along the foot of the mountain, than Mr. Lally perceived the intention, with all the consequences of this able operation. The camp immediately beat to arms, and soon after the troops were seen issuing to occupy the ground in front of its line, where the field of battle had been previously marked out.

The French cavalry, 300 riders, all Europeans, formed on the right; next to them were the regiment of Lorrain, 400 firelocks:

1760 January. in the centre, the battalion of India, 700; next to them Lally's, 400, whose left were under the retrenched tank, in which were posted the marines or troops from the squadron, with Poete's from Ganjam, in all 300, with four field-pieces. Between the retrenchment and Lally's were three, the same number between Lally's and India, India and Lorrain, Lorrain and the cavalry; in all 16 pieces. Four hundred of the Sepoys of Hyder Jung, whom Mr. Bussy had brought from Cudapah, were posted at the tank in the rear of the retrenched tank were the marines were, whom they were to support on occasion: 900 Sepoys were ranged behind a ridge which ran along the front of the camp; and at each extremity of this ridge was a retrenchment guarded by 50 Europeans, which covered the entrances into the camp. The whole force drawn out, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys: 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys continued at the batteries against Vandivash; but none of the Morattoes, although 3000, left the ground and protection of their own camp to assist their allies in this decisive hour.

The sight of the French army issuing into the open plain gave Colonel Coote all he intended by the preceding operations of the day. He instantly halted his lines, which had advanced some way along the foot of the mountain. Facing as soon as they halted, the two first lines were in order of battle, opposite, but obliquely, to the enemy. The baggage was sent back under the escort of two companies of Sepoys, to a village in the rear, and the cavalry as before, took their place in the third line.

The English army consisted of 1900 Europeans, of whom 80 were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horse, and 26 field-pieces. In the first line were Coote's regiment on the right, the Company's two battalions in the centre, Draper's on the left; but all without their grenadiers; and 1800 Sepoys were equally divided on the right and left of the Europeans in this line; in the intervals of which were 10 pieces of cannon, three on each side of the Company's battalions, and two between Coote's and Draper's and the Sepoys. In the second line were all the grenadiers of the army, 300, with a field-

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piece next, and beyond 200 Sepoys on each of their flanks: the cavalry formed the third line; the 80 Europeans, as before, in the centre of the black horse; the two field-pieces with the two companies of Sepoys of the morning still continued apart, advanced as before a little on the left of the first line. 1760 January.

As the English army were marching up, and before they were within cannon shot, Mr. Lally, putting himself at the head of the European cavalry on the right, set off with them, and taking a large sweep on the plain, came down, intending to fall upon the horse of the English army, which made their third line. The black horse, who were nine-tenths of this body, pretended to wheel, in order to meet the enemy's, but purposely confused themselves so much, that some went off immediately, which gave a pretext to the rest to follow them, and the 80 Europeans were left alone, who faced and drew up properly to receive the charge, relying on better assistance. As soon as the intention of Mr. Lally was understood, the division of Sepoys on the left of the first line were ordered to fall back in an angle from the front, ready to take the enemy's cavalry in flank as they were approaching, but performed the evolution with so little firmness, that little hope was entertained of any execution from their fire; but Captain Barker with the two guns of the separate detachment, had watched, and directing his own by the movement of the enemy, was within point blank of them just before they were opposite and riding in on the flank and rear of the horse, where only the European were ready to oppose them, for all the black were gone. In less than a minute the quick firing of the two guns brought down ten or fifteen men or horses, which, as usual, threw the next to them, and they the whole, into confusion; and the horses growing every moment wilder, all turned and went off on the full gallop, leaving Mr. Lally, as he asserts, singly alone. If so, he could not have staid long where he was, for the European horse, on seeing the enemy's check, were advancing; and many of the black, encouraged by the security, were returning, and the whole soon after set off after the enemy, whom they pursued in a long course quite to the rear of their camp.

1760 January. The English army halted ten minutes in attention to this attack, during which the French line cannonaded, but beyond the proper distance even for ball, and nevertheless often fired grape, and neither with any effect. The English did not begin to answer until nearer, and then perceiving their own fire much better directed, halted in order to preserve this advantage, as long as the enemy permitted it to continue, by not advancing from the front of their camp. Mr. Lally retiring from the English cavalry, and deserted by his own, rejoined his line of infantry, which he found suffering, and with much impatience, from the English cannonade: his own impetuosity concurred with their eagerness to be led to immediate decision, and he gave the order to advance. The English line was not directly opposite to the front of the French, but slanting outwards from their left, which required the French troops on this side to advance much less than those of their right, who had more ground to wheel, in order to bring the whole line parallel to that of the English.

Colonel Coote seeing the enemy coming on gave the final orders to his own. None but the Europeans of the first and second lines were to advance any farther. The Sepoys on the wings of both, and the cavalry in the third line, were to continue where they were left, and to take no share in the battle, until they should hereafter receive orders how to act.

The enemy began the fire of musketry at one o'clock, but Colonel Coote intended to refrain until nearer; nevertheless the company of Coffrees, which was inserted in one of the Company's battalions, gave their fire without the order of their officers, and it was with difficulty that the irregularity was prevented from extending. Colonel Coote was at this time passing from the right to the left to join his own regiment, and received two or three shot in his cloaths from the fire of the Coffrees. As soon as he arrived at his regiment they began, and the fire became general through the whole line.

Coote's had only fired twice, when Lorrain formed in a column twelve in front: the operation is simple and was expeditious. Colonel Coote made no change in the disposition of his regiment, but

but ordered the whole to preserve their next fire; which Lorrain coming on almost at a run, received at the distance of 50 yards in their front and on both their flanks; it fell heavy, and brought down many, but did not stop the column. In an instant the two regiments were mingled at the push of bayonet; those of Coote's opposite the front of the column were immediately borne down, but the rest, far the greatest part, fell on the flanks, when every man fought only for himself, and in a minute the ground was spread with dead and wounded, and Lorrain having just before suffered from the reserved fire of Coote's, broke, and ran in disorder to regain the camp. Colonel Coote ordered his regiment to be restored to order before they pursued, and rode himself to see the state of the rest of the line. 1760 January.

As he was passing on, a shot from one of the guns with Draper's regiment, struck a tumbril in the retrenched tank on the left of Lally's, where the marines were posted, and the explosion blew up 80 men, many of whom, with the chevalier Poete, were killed dead, and most of the others mortally hurt. All who were near, and had escaped the danger, fled in the first impulse of terror out of the retrenchment, and ran to gain the camp by the rear of Lally's, and were joined in the way by the 400 Sepoys at the tank behind, who, although they had suffered nothing, likewise abandoned their post. Colonel Coote on the explosion, sent orders by his aid de camp Captain Izer, to Major Brereton, to advance with the whole of Draper's regiment, and take possession of the retrenched tank before the enemy recovered the confusion which he judged the explosion must have caused; as in this situation they would command, under cover, the flank of Lally's regiment. The ground on which Draper's was standing opposite to Lally's when the order came, obliged them, in order to prevent Lally's from enfilading, or flanking them as coming down, to file off by the right. Mr. Bussy, who commanded on this wing, had before endeavoured to rally the fugitives, of whom he had recovered 50 or 60, and adding to them two platoons of Lally's, led and posted them in the tank, and then returned to support them with the regiment. But Brereton's files kept wheeling at a distance, and moving at the quickest pace, suffered little from their fire, and coming upon the

left

1760 left of the retrenchment, assaulted it impetuously, and carried it after receiving one fire of much execution from the troops within, under which Major Brereton fell mortally wounded, and when fallen refused the assistance of the men next him, but bid them follow their victory. The first of Draper's who got into the retrenchment fired down from the parapet upon the guns on the left of Lally's, and drove the gunners from them; whilst the rest, being many more than required to maintain the post, formed, and shouldered under it, extending on the plain to the left to prevent the regiment of Lally, if attempting to recover the post, from embracing it on this side. Mr. Bussy wheeled the regiment of Lally, and sent off platoons from its left, to regain the retrenchment, whilst the rest were opposed to the division of Draper's on the plain. But the platoons acted faintly, only skirmishing with their fire instead of coming to the close assault. The action likewise continued only with musketry, but warmly, between the two divisions on the plain, until the two field-pieces, attached to the right of Draper's, which they had left behind when marching to attack the retrenchment, were brought to bear on the flank of Lally's, who had none to oppose them; on which their line began to waver, and many were going off. Mr. Bussy, as the only chance of restoring this part of the battle, put himself at their head, intending to lead them to the push of bayonet, but had only advanced a little way when his horse was struck with a ball in the head, and floundering at every step afterwards, he dismounted; during which the fire from Draper's had continued, of which two or three balls passed through his cloaths, and when he alighted only 20 of Lally's had kept near him, the rest had shrunk. Two platoons set off on the full run from Draper's to surround them: the officer demanded and received Mr. Bussy's sword, and sent him with a guard into the rear; he was conducted to Major Monson, who had wheeled three companies of the grenadiers of the second line, and was halting with them and their field-pieces at some distance, ready if necessary to support the event of Draper's. Mr. Bussy asked who the troops he saw were; and was answered 200 grenadiers, the best men in the

January.

the army, who had not fired a shot; he clasped his hands in surprize and admiration, and said not a word. 1760 January.

During the conflict on this side, the two centers, which were composed of the troops of the two East India Company's, had kept up a hot, but distant fire; neither chusing to risque closer decision until they saw the event between Draper's and Lally's; but as soon as Lally's broke, the enemy's center went off likewise, but in better order, although in haste, to regain their camp. Many of Coote's, in the first fury of victory, had pursued their antagonists of Lorrain up to the retrenchment, by which the fugitives entered the camp: they might have suffered by this rashness, if the guard there, as well as the nearest Sepoys along the ridge, had not taken fright, and abandoned their posts on seeing the rout of Lorrain. It took some time to bring the pursuers back to their colours, when the officers, sending off the wounded, formed the rest into their ranks, and afterwards only made the appearance of advancing, whilst the rest of the battle remained in doubt, lest Lorrain with the Sepoys should rally; to prevent which the four field-pieces on the left kept up an incessant fire plunging into the camp.

As soon as the other wing and the center of the enemy's army gave way, their opponents, the Company's battalion and Draper's regiment got into order, and with Coote's, who were ready, advanced to the pursuit, leaving their artillery behind. They entered the enemy's camp without meeting the least opposition. India and Lally's had passed through it hastily to the other side, although not in rout as Lorrain's before. Mr. Lally, after the rout of Lorrain, rode away to join his own regiment on the left, but on the way saw the explosion of the tumbril at the retrenched tank, the dispersion of the marines in this post, and the flight of the Sepoys out of the tank behind. He was in this instant near, and intended to speak to Mr. Bussy, but turned suddenly, and ordered the Sepoys stationed along the ridge in front of the camp to advance. None obeyed; and most of them being those of Zulphacarjung who had served with Mr. Bussy in the Decan, he rashly suspected treachery, and, unable to controul the impulse of distraction, rode into the camp to stop the fugitives of Lorrain.

The

1760 January. The whole body of the French cavalry, near 300, who were all Europeans, appeared on the plain in the rear of the camp to which they had retreated, followed by the cavalry of the English army, whose encounter they had hitherto avoided by abler evolutions: so that neither of these two bodies had been within sight of the brunt between the two infantries. The French cavalry chanced to be near enough to see the flight of Lorrain through the camp, and, animated by a sense of national honour, resolved to protect them, if, as might be expected, they should endeavour to escape still farther by gaining the plain. In this purpose they united their squadrons, and drew up in the rear of the camp, and in face of the English cavalry, of whom the black horse, awed by their resolution, dared not, and the European were too few, to charge them. This unexpected succour probably prevented the utter dispersion of the French army. There were in the rear of the camp three field-pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition; at which the fugitives of Lorrain, encouraged by the appearance of the cavalry, stopped, and yoked them. These protections restored confidence to Lally's and the India battalion as they arrived, likewise beaten from the field. They set fire to the tents and undangerous stores near them, and the whole filed off into the plain in much better order than their officers expected. The three field-pieces kept in the rear of the line of infantry, and behind them moved the cavalry. They passed to the westward, and when opposite to the pettahs of Vandivash were joined by the troops, who had continued at the batteries there, which they abandoned, leaving all the stores and baggage, and received no interruption from the garrison as they were going off. The Morattoes, who were under the mountain when the cannonade began, intended not only to protect their own camp, but to fall upon the baggage of the English army; but when they saw the whole body of Sepoys remaining in the rear of the action, were deterred from advancing to the village, to which the baggage was sent; and having their own all ready loaded on their bullocks, sent off the whole train to the westward soon after the cannonade commenced; and with the first notice from their scouts of the rout of Lorrain, began to go off

themselves. Their rout led them across the way, along which the French were retreating ; whom 700 of them joined and accompanied. Colonel Coote sent repeated orders to his cavalry to harass and impede the retreat of the French line. They followed them five miles until five in the afternoon, but the black horse could not be brought up within reach of the carbines of the French cavalry, and much less of their field-pieces. The brunt of the day passed intirely between the Europeans of both armies, the black troops of neither had any part in it, after the cannonade commenced. The commandants of the English Sepoys complimenting Colonel Coote on the victory, thanked him for the sight of such a battle as they had never seen. 1760 January.

Twenty-four pieces of cannon were taken, 19 in the field and camp, and five in the battery against Vandiwash, 11 tumbrils of ammunition, all the tents, stores, and baggage, that were not burnt. Two hundred of the Europeans were counted dead in the field, and 160 were taken, of whom 30 died of their wounds before the next morning ; six of the killed, and 20 of the prisoners, were officers : wounded continually dropt on the road ; so that the immediate diminution of the enemy's force was computed 600 men. Of the English army, 63 Europeans were killed, and 124 wounded, in all 190 ; of this number, 36 of the killed, and 16 of the wounded, belonged to the Company's battalions, 17 and 66 to Draper's, 13 and 36 to Coote's regiment ; four of the European horse, and two of the artillery, were wounded, but none of either killed. Of the black troops, 17 of the horse were killed, and 32 wounded : in all, 22 and 47 : of the Sepoys only 6 and 15. The killed, as well in the European as the black troops, was, although not in the different bodies, one half of the number wounded, a proportion on the whole which rarely happens, excepting as in this action, by cannonade.

The first news of the victory was brought to Madrass at sun-rise the next morning by one of the black spies of the English camp. At noon came in another, with a note of two lines, written with a pencil, by Colonel Coote on the field of battle ; other accounts followed, and soon after eye-witnesses. The joy which this success diffused throughout the settlement, was almost equal to that of

1760 Calcutta on the victory at Plassey. Their congratulations to Colonel Coote and the army were abundant as their joy.

January.

The day after the battle scarcely sufficed for the variety of orders necessary to restore the army to its strength, and to make the dispositions, by which Colonel Coote, with his usual activity, resolved to prosecute his success. Captain Wood was ordered to advance with his garrison from Covrepauk, and invest the fort of Arcot; Lieutenant Chisholm to send to Covrepauk the sick and invalids left by the army at Conjeveram: Madrass was requested to send to Conjeveram the recovered men of the King's regiments left in their hospital, together with stores, battering cannon, and ammunition: this line was meant to sustain the siege of Arcot. Whatsoever other troops could be spared from Madrass were to be sent to Vandivash, with medicines and conveniences for the wounded there. The baggage at Outramalore was ordered to rejoin the army; a letter was written to Innis Khan, advising him to quit the province, with all his Morattoes, without delay, or that no quarter would be given to any of them wheresoever met. Orders were issued for 1000 of the black horse to march to the south; 200 set off immediately to plunder and lay waste the country between Allamparvah and Pondicherry: the next day, which was the 25th, 800 with 20 of the hussars, under the command of Vasserot, marched with the same intent against the districts between Pondicherry and Gingee, and were to act in correspondence with the other detachment.

The French army reached Chittapett the next day, where they only remained the day after; and then Mr. Lally, without reinforcing the garrison, fell back with all the European force, to Gingee, sending the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung, of whom he had still suspicious, although Mr. Bussy was taken, to act under the commandant at Arcot, and advised the Morattoes to renew their incursions to the north of the Paliar. Colonel Coote, on intelligence of Mr. Lally's retreat, and the little care he had taken of Chittapett, resolved to attack this place before he marched against Arcot. The baggage from Outramalore, waiting for some stores from Chinglapett, did not arrive until the 26th. In the same evening, a

 detachment

detachment marched from Vandivash, and the next morning invested Chittapett, when the commandant, De Tilly, refused to surrender. On the 28th, the whole army encamped within cannon-shot, and the commandant still persisting in his refusal, a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected in the night, against the N. E. angle, and a howitz was planted in the pettah, to enfilade the north line of the rampart. The fire opened at five the next morning, and the breach was nearly practicable by eleven, when a flag of truce appeared, and De Tilly surrendered without terms. The garrison consisted of four commissioned officers, and 52 private Europeans, with 300 Sepoys. In the hospitals were 73 Europeans, wounded in the late battle. The artillery were nine pieces of cannon; the store of ammunition was considerable, and amongst the arms were 300 excellent muskets, which were distributed amongst the English Sepoys. The garrison reported, that a party, with two field-pieces, were marching from Arcot and Gingee, having taken the round-about road by Arni and Trinomalee; on which Captain Stephen Smith was detached, with 200 black horse, and two companies of Sepoys, to intercept them. 1760 January.

In the mean time, the horse sent to the southward had performed their mission with great alacrity, having burnt 84 villages, and swept away 8000 head of cattle, many of which were of those the Morattoes had taken on the north of the Paliar, and sold to whomsoever would buy them, at four-pence a head. The whole collection was driven under different convoys to Vandivash, Carangoly, and Outramalore, and more than restored the number which these districts had lost. Besides what they had sold, they had driven away a great multitude of the best cattle into the vallies leading from Lalliput to Damalcherri, which they intended to send, with the rest of their booty, to their own country on the other side the hills; but the menaces and success of Colonel Coote raised apprehensions in Innis Khan, that he might risque the loss of this plunder, if he continued any longer in the province. He therefore quitted Arcot, with all his Morattoes, on the same day that Chittapett surrendered; and continued his march through the pass, from

1760 January. whence he wrote to Mr. Pigot, that he should at any time hereafter be ready to wait on him with his troops, if they could agree upon the terms.

On the 30th, intelligence was received from Captain Wood, that he had marched with his garrison of Covrepauk to Arcot, and found the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung strongly posted in the streets of the town; he nevertheless attacked them, and after much firing drove them from their stands, with considerable loss on their side, and little on his own. They retreated out of the town, as the garrison in the fort did not want their service. On the 31st, the army, which had moved by two successive divisions, encamped near Arni, where they were rejoined by the detachment sent with Captain Stephen Smith, who had taken the party they had been sent after, which was much less than had been represented, consisting only of 20 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, escorting two brass field-pieces, which Mr. Lally had ordered from Arcot. Captain Smith had likewise picked up three commissaries, who were travelling to Pondicherry in their pallankeens.

February. The next day, which was the first of February, Colonel Coote, with the first division of the army, joined Captain Wood in the town of Arcot, having left the second with Major Monson, to attack Timery, which lies in the road. This fort being very small, although well built, only shells were fired, which before the evening reduced the garrison to surrender: they were one serjeant commanding 20 soldiers, and 60 Sepoys, with five pieces of cannon. The next day Major Monson arrived at Arcot, and all immediately set to work in erecting batteries, for which Captain Wood had prepared the materials, and had nearly finished one on the north face of the fort.

The defences of the fort had been greatly improved since it was defended by Captain Clive, against Rajahsahib, in 1752. The English had contributed most; but the French finished what was intended, but left undone by them, when they abandoned the fort on Mr. Lally's approach to Madrass. The ditch was mostly in the solid rock, and had every where been dug to man height: the faussebray

 was

was clear, but open; being neither skirted with a parapet-wall, nor 1760
even with a palisade: a glacis, and a covered-way, had been carried February.
round the fort; and from the center of the north-side of the covered-way projected a strong ravelin, mounting six guns, round which the glacis was continued; a gate with a draw-bridge communicated with this ravelin: the narrow rampart of the old wall had in many places been widened, and ramps raised to it, for the ready running up of cannon; each of the towers, of which there were twenty-two, was rendered capable of a gun of any size, those at the four angles would admit three, and the platforms of the two gateways more. The extent of the fort from the western to the esatern side is nearly 800 yards; the eastern face 350; but the southern wall, receding as it stretches to the eastward, reduces the eastern face to 260 yards, of which 50 are occupied in the middle by a gate-way, and the main rampart on this face had only the two towers in the angles.

Two batteries were raised to the East; one, of three embrasures in the front of some houses, standing at the distance of 360 yards, nearly opposite to the rampart between the gateway and the tower in the angle on its right; and was intended to breach in the interval: the other battery was on the left of this, but 100 yards nearer; it mounted only two guns, of which, one was to dismantle the tower in the angle to the right of the gateway, and the other the angle on the right of the gateway itself. A battery of three guns was raised to the south, nearly opposite the S. W. angle of the fort, and bore upon the lower in this angle, and the two next to the eastward. This battery was at the distance of 200 yards, where a few houses gave shelter to the guards, and covered the workmen in the outset of the approaches. The fourth battery was that raised by Captain Wood on the north; it was to the left of the ravelin, at the distance of 200 yards, and mounted two guns, which were to plunge over the ravelin, in order to break the drawbridge behind, by which the ravelin communicated across the ditch with the body of the fort: but this battery was of little use because it enfiladed no part of the rampart, and the ravelin it fired upon bore only one gun against the two batteries

1760 February. batteries to the eastward, and, in case the bridge should be broke, the guard would be withdrawn into the fort, where their service, if the breach should be assaulted, would be of more detriment than their continuance in the ravelin; and the battery was employed only because it was ready.

On the 3d and 4th, whilst the batteries were constructing, the garrison threw many shells to interrupt the work, but no men were hurt by them. On the 5th, all the three batteries opened; and the garrison still continuing their shells, returned likewise on all sides with more cannon than fired upon them; and a soldier was killed on the N. E. attack, and four artillery-men to the south. On the 6th, the enemy dismounted two guns in the battery of three to the east, in which two Europeans were killed and two wounded, and two were likewise wounded at the south battery. This day, 200 cohorn-shells arrived from Madrass, instead of eight-inch shells for the howitz, which was the only piece of bombarding artillery with the army; no powder came with the shells; and from the defence, the stock in camp seemed likewise to be exhausted before the place could be opened to assault; and shot grew equally scarce. Four hundred bullocks were therefore sent off to bring a supply of both from Madrass, with two eighteen-pounders to replace the two which had been dismounted. In the night between the 6th and the 7th, the army began their approaches from both attacks. On the 7th, two eighteen-pounders arrived from Chinglapett; but from the want of serviceable bullocks they were accompanied by only 50 shot, and 50 barrels of powder expected with them were still lagging on the road. From the preceding to the present evening, only one man was killed, and two wounded. The approaches were pushed on all night; and the next day, which was the eighth of the month, arrived the powder from Chinglapett, and a quantity was discovered buried in one of the houses of the town; but all the shot were so nearly expended, that, at four in the afternoon, Colonel Coote beat a parley, in order to get time to pick up what the enemy had fired. The French officer, Captain Hussy, accepted the message, which was a summons to surrender, as he could expect no succours:

cours: he answered, that not a man had been killed in the fort; 1760
but that he was willing to surrender it, if not relieved before, February.
at the end of six days, on condition the garrison should be free, have the honours of war, and retire to Pondicherry. This to and fro lasted two hours, when the firing was renewed until dark. The loss this day was only one man killed, and two wounded. In the night, the trenches to the S. were pushed on with much diligence, and the garrison employed every means to interrupt their progress, cannon and shells from the body of the place, musketry, grenades, and fire-balls, which set on fire the blinds, gabions, and fascines of the advancing sap, dangerously wounded Ensign Macmahon, who conducted it, killed one, and wounded ten more of the men employed. Nevertheless, the sap before the morning was very near the foot of the glacis. With the day, which was the 9th, the batteries, having received some more shot from Chinglapett, continued, and by noon their fire had opened both breaches to six feet of the bottom of the rampart; and had dismantled the towers that flanked them: but still the ditch remained to be filled, and no lodgement way yet made in the covered-way. Great therefore was the surprize, to see a flag, followed by a voluntary offer of surrendering the next day, if allowed the honors of war; which as before, implied that the garrison were not to be made prisoners. Colonel Coote refused; and soon after came another letter, offering as the condition, that they might all retire to Pondicherry on their paroles not to serve again. Colonel Coote replied, that he should allow the officers and men whatsoever belonged to them, and good treatment; but reserved the right of disposing of their persons: at the same time, he invited the commandant to supper, who came. The fort was closely surrounded during the night, to prevent any of the garrison from escaping; and early the next morning, the grenadiers of the army took possession of the gates. The garrison consisted of 11 officers, three of whom were captains, and 236 soldiers and artillery-men, in all 247 Europeans, and nearly the same number of Sepoys. The artillery were 4 mortars, and 22 pieces of cannon, of which some were eighteen-pounders: there was likewise a plentiful stock of

ammunition,

1760 February. ammunition, and military stores of all kinds. The batteries must have ceased firing the next day, until convoys arrived; the garrison had not lost three men, and the fort might have held out ten days longer before the assault by storm could be risqued. They extenuated the early surrender by the certainty of not being relieved. It required the respite of some days to refit the wear and tear which the army had endured during the activity of the late operations; for all the carriages were shattered, all the men wanted clothing, and all the bullocks were sore.

Colonel Coote, in consideration of Mr. Bussy's generosity to the English factory when he took Vizagapatam, had permitted him to repair to Pondicherry from the field of battle, immediately after he was taken. He arrived there the next day, and represented the defeat as far from irretrievable. On the 25th in the evening, came in Mr. Lally, and the troops were following from Gingee to Valdore. His ill success, and the abandoning the field, rendered him still more odious than ever. No invective, howsoever unjust, was spared. Cowardice borrowing courage from drunkenness was imputed as the cause of wrong dispositions, redressed by worse, until the battle was lost, and the retreat to Pondicherry as a design to lose the city, in revenge for the universal detestation in which he was held.

Nevertheless, the best ability and will would have been perplexed what measure to pursue after the defeat. The necessity of refurnishing the army with the stores and artillery they had lost, would alone have required them to fall back near to Pondicherry; and the protection of the districts in the rear of Alamparwah and Gingee now became of great concernment; for since the loss of Masulipatam of the northern provinces, and of their settlements in Bengal, very little grain in proportion to the former importations had been brought to Pondicherry by sea; and the distresses for money to answer more immediate calls had hitherto prevented the government from laying in a store of provisions; so that their greatest resource at this time was from the harvests in these districts, which was ripe and gathering in.

The interruptions continually opposed by the garrison of Tritchinopoly to the French troops remaining in the island Seringham, had prevented

prevented the controllers, appointed to manage these districts, from 1760
collecting enough to defray the expences of the late expedition, February.
although the revenues, if unmolested, would have furnished more: Mr. Lally had ordered the whole to return, and expected they would join him before Vandivash. They were, besides the 300 Europeans in Seringham, two detachments lately sent from Pondicherry, with stores and ammunition, who were arrived, and halting at Utatore. The manager appointed to collect the revenues, who was a counsellor of Pondicherry, thought that matters would mend, when he should be reinforced by the detachments at Utatore, and ventured to disobey the orders. The Nabob and Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly resolved, as the best means of preventing the arrival of the detachments, to get possession of the fortified pagoda of Pitchandah, on the farther bank of the Coleroon, which terminates the only high road leading from Samiaveram and Utatore into the Island of Seringham. The pagoda was reported to be garrisoned only by a company of Sepoys, with a few Europeans. Accordingly Captain Richard Smith, who was recovered of his wound, crossed the river on the 28th of December, and took the command of the country troops, and those from the garrison, which had continued at Samiaveram since the defeat of the French party, which had advanced a few days before. Early the next morning, Captain Joseph Smith moved with a party from the city, and began to cannonade the pagoda of Seringham from across the Caveri, in order to divert the French troops from sending a reinforcement to Pitchandah; for the attack of which, his fire upon Seringham was to be the signal. The troops from Samiaveram were in time on their ground near Pritchandah. The two field-pieces which were to beat down the gate were in the road; the oxen were cast off from them, and they were to be dragged the rest of the way, which was 50 yards, to a choultry within six yards of the gate. The troops were not discovered until they had got under the wall, and were fixing the scaling-ladders: the garrison, more numerous than supposed, fire hotly from the walls, and especially on the field-pieces. Most of the Europeans in the detachment were foreigners, and none of those employed in bringing on the field-pieces liked the service; and to encourage them,

1760 February. Captain Smith and Lieutenant Horne pulled themselves at the guns; their example brought more assistance: but of ten, who were at the gun with Smith, two were shot dead, and three wounded, before they got them into the choultry, when a few rounds brought down the gateway; in this instant Captain Smith received a ball under his shoulder, which totally disabled him. Lieutenant Horne then took his place and endeavoured to lead the men to the assault, but the detachment had suffered so severely that none would follow him; he, however, prevailed on them to abide, and bring off the wounded, and the two guns. Soon after, a certain account was received of the strength of the French parties at Utatore, which appeared an overmatch for the dispirited troops at Samiaveram: nor could Tritchinopoly spare a reinforcement equal to what the French troops in the island might then safely send to act in conjunction with those coming from Utatore; the whole detachment at Samiaveram were therefore recalled, and arrived the second of February at Tritchinopoly. Their retreat relieved the French troops in the pagoda of Seringham from great distress; for they had little ammunition left, and straightened towards the Caveri by the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and on the other side of the Coleroon by parties from the encampment at Samiaveram, they could neither venture out to seek, nor the country people to bring them in provisions; so that all their subsistence, for several days, had been what they had plundered from the bramins in the pagoda, whose houses they pulled down for fire-wood to dress the victuals they found in them.

The French troops at Utatore having waited for some stores, which were lagging on the road, did not arrive at Seringham until the 8th: they were 140 Europeans, five pieces of cannon, and 600 Sepoys; and brought with them a competent stock of ammunition and spare arms. A day or two after their arrival, 200 of their Europeans, with 600 Sepoys, commanded by Hussan Ally, marched against Totcum, which had been taken for the Nabob on the 26th of December. The garrison left in it were four companies of Sepoys, under the command of two European serjeants; all of whom, although there were guns in the fort, behaved very ill, and surren-

surrendered the place before any impression had been made on the walls. 1760 February.

At the same time that Mr. Lally recalled the troops from Seringham, he likewise ordered the fort of Devicotah to be evacuated ; and the garrison, having made several breaches in the walls and towers, marched away in the beginning of February, but left a company of Sepoys in the pagoda of Atchaveram, which stands five miles inland of Devicotah.

Captain Joseph Smith, on this intelligence, detached two companies of Sepoys, under the command of serjeant Sommers, on whose approach the French Sepoys at Atchaveram were reinforced by another company from the pagoda of Chilambarum, with which they marched out, and met Sommers's detachment on the plain, who routed them completely, taking five stand of their colours, with four of their officers, and, beside the Sepoys who were killed, many were drowned in the hurry of crossing the Coleroon. Immediately after this encounter, Sommers proceeded, took possession of Devicotah, and began to repair the breaches.

The news of the victory at Vandivash reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th of January, and cleared at once the cloud of despondency which had overwhelmed the Nabob ever since he left Madrass to proceed thither. He pitched his tent, displayed his great standard, and declared his intention of returning into the Carnatic ; but waited until the French troops should be removed from Seringham ; and his wish was soon gratified ; for Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, despatched a second order, under the severest penalties of disobedience, for all the troops between Volcondah and Tritchinopoly to join his army without delay. They hoped to conceal their retreat from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and made the preparations with all secrecy ; but some of the Malabars employed by them were natives of this part of the country, who, solicitous to secure pardon, if not favour, with the change of government, gave immediate and constant intelligence to Captain Joseph Smith, who made ready to take such advantages as usually occur, when troops retreating are pursued. The

 whole

1760 February. whole body of the French troops were 450 Europeans and Coffrees, and 1200 Sepoys; of which 150, with the commissary, were in the pagoda of Jumbakissna. The retreat was appointed at nine at night, on the 6th of February; of which previous intelligence was brought to Captain Smith; and almost the whole garrison of Tritchinopoly were on the bank of the Caveri, opposite to the pagoda of Seringham, ready to move as soon as the enemy. The notice were punctual; and the first division of the English troops entered the south gate of the pagoda as the last of the French were going out of the opposite: the rest of the English troops marched round the pagoda to the west. When all were united on the north side, they advanced to the bank of the Coleroon, and, when nearly opposite to Pitchandah, heard the sound, and thought they saw the motion of a line of men marching across them to pass the river. Capt. R. Smith, who led the troops of the garrison, formed in order to receive or attack the strangers; but Captain Joseph coming up bid him not fire, because he had ordered the troops of the polygar Tondiman, which had for some time attended the garrison, to advance between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakissna, and what troops they now descried might as probably be them, as a part of the enemy; who they really were, being those moving from Jumbakissna to join their main body: they were soon after ascertained by a black servant of R. Smith's, who had straggled into their line, and talking, was answered in French. On which the English troops immediately proceeded, and began to enter the bed of the Coleroon, as the enemy were leaving the farther bank, who in their hurry flung away fifty barrels of gunpowder, which were recovered; and they destroyed a tumbril of gun-ammunition at Pitchandah. But their line never stopped until they got to Utatore. The Nabob's horse followed, hanging in their rear, and continually picked up a deserter or a prisoner, in all 30 Europeans, or something belonging to their equipages and stores; but the infantry, black and white, halted at Samiaveram until the horse returned, which was the next day; when a detachment of 1000 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, with two guns and a cohorn, and part of the Nabob's horse, marched under the command

mand of Lieutenant Horne, against Totcum and Cortalum: at the same time, all the other troops returned from Samiaveram to Tritchinopoly; and, besides what had been gathered in the road, brought in two excellent 18-pounders, which the enemy had left in the pagoda of Seringham. The Nabob, solicitous to make his new appearance in the Carnatic with as much figure as possible, requested Joseph Smith to go and ask 500 horse of the king of Tanjore. The king was ill, and with difficulty admitted the visit, but promised every thing, and referred the adjustment to his Dubbeer, or minister, which, amongst the Indians, is equivalent to the Duan of the Mahomedan princes. The Dubbeer, notwithstanding the late successes of the English arms, insisted, that the Nabob should furnish the pay and expences, which he knew would not be complied with; and Captain Smith returned, as he had expected, without obtaining a single horseman. In the mean time, Hassan Ally had abandoned Totcum, on the appearance of Lieutenant Horne's detachment, but went away with the garrison, which were 400 Sepoys, to reinforce Cortalum. Lieutenant Horne followed him; and here the enemy made a stand for three days, until a battery was raised, when they all went off in the night, leaving a gun and some ammunition in the fort. Some Sepoys were posted in both, and the rest of the detachment returned to the city; where the Nabob was making, with accustomed tediousness, the preperations for his departure.

1760 February.

The ravages which had been committed by the English cavalry, in the districts around Pondicherry, brought forth a part of the French troops from Valdoor; but not before the cavalry were gone off with their plunder. The French detachment seeing nothing to oppose them, advanced within 20 miles of Carangoly; which, on intelligence of their approach, the Presidency reinforced with 40 Europeans. Captain Preston had already been sent to command there; and on the 6th of February Colonel Coote had detached 500 black horse, and 20 hussars, from the siege of Arcot, with orders, if Preston should think proper, to lead them against the enemy's detachment, who, gaining intelligence of their march before they had reached Carangoly, retreated fast; and on the 8th, 27 hussars with their horses deserted and came to Vandivash, where they

1760 February. they were enlisted in the English service. Mr. Lally, on hearing that his detachment was retreating, and that Arcot was pressed, took a sudden resolution of marching with all the rest of the cavalry, in order, as he gave out, either to throw reinforcements into Arcot, or to retake Chittapett by surprize, and release the wounded prisoners there; but the cavalry, when drawn out, mutinied, refused to proceed with him, and all went out of the bounds, as if they intended to go over to the English garrisons; their officers however brought them back; but such was the general discontent for want of pay, that several of the common soldiers were overheard, in the night of the 11th, proposing among themselves to turn the guns in the ramparts against the government house, as the only means of bringing Mr. Lally to reason. He immediately represented the depositions of the witnesses to Mr. De Leyrit and the Council, who, having no money in the public treasury, proposed expedients, which Mr. Lally did not approve. All the country in the rear of Vandivash and Chittapett, quite up to Pondicherry, had been let for five years to two of the European inhabitants of the colony, at the rent of 1,450,000 rupees a year: they were applied to in this exigency, and answered, that they had no money, having been disappointed of much they expected by the loss of Vandivash and Chittapett; on which the Malabar, to whom Mr. Lally had rented the districts round Arcot, whilst they remained under his authority, offered to advance 50,000 rupees in ten days, and 80,000 in twenty more, if what remained of the districts let to the two Europeans were leased out to him, with the addition of all the country to the south of Pondicherry, as far as Chillambarum and the banks of the Coleroon. His proposal was accepted; but the present assistance he supplied could not serve long, and the future depended on the protection of the countries: they were farmed to him at 1,750,000 rupees a year.

This arrangement was not approved by the council, because they doubted of the credit and integrity of the Malabars; and, perhaps, because it was a supercession of their own authority in the administration of the revenues. Immediately after, arrived intelligence of the

the loss of Arcot, which with that of Chittapett gave new scope to 1760
the imputations against Mr. Lally. It was said, that he himself had February.
declared, the one incapable of holding out four days, the other not more than five. Why then leave in them 400 Europeans, so much wanted in his own army, to fall a certain prey to the English? But this conduct, as his retreat to Pondicherry, was not void of justification; for, had he withdrawn these garrisons, the English army, having nothing to apprehend in their rear, might have immediately followed him to Gingee, and from thence to the adjacencies of Pondicherry, when the produce of the country, so necessary to store Pondicherry, would have fallen under the power of the enemy, whom the necessity of reducing Chittapett and Arcot had turned another way; and, besides the time they must employ against these forts, other delays might concur to keep them still longer at a distance.

The English army, after the reduction of Arcot, encamped without the town, towards Velore. The Kellidar Mortizally trembled for his fort; and having been very complacent to the English, since the French had been repulsed from before Madrass, he now intreated the Presidency to spare the attack, and sent a present of 30,000 rupees to Colonel Coote; who refused it, signifying, that he was not empowered, either by the Nabob or the Presidency of Madrass, to levy tributes. The Kellidar replied, that it was intended as a homage to himself, a great commander, according to the custom of the country; on which the money was accepted, and appropriated to the general stock of prize-money for the army.

The army had not restored its equipments sufficiently to move from the neighbourhood of Arcot until the 20th of February, and even then left behind two eighteen-pounders and a ten-inch howitz, which were not repaired. They halted this day at Timery, and 500 Sepoys, with 100 black horse, were dispatched with Captain Stephen Smith against Trinomaly. The next day the army encamped under Arni. The Kellidar of this fort, which is considerable, and a fief belonging to the king of Tanjore, had conducted himself with so much hospitality to both sides, that neither the French nor the Nabob considered him as an enemy. On the 23d

1760 February. they arrived at Chittapett, when intelligence was received from Stephen Smith, that he had got possession of the pettah of Trinomaly; but that the troops in the fort seemed resolved to hold out. The pettah could not be maintained without the fort; and the possession of the fort was at this juncture of much consequence, as its detachments might harass and interrupt convoys of provisions coming from the country in the rear of the army, when advanced to the southward. Colonel Coote therefore reinforced Stephen Smith with two twelve-pounders, and 50 Europeans, who were French deserters lately incorporated into a company under the command of one of their own serjeants; they were called the French Volunteers, and were intended to be employed on hazardous services; but this did not prove one; for, although the guns could not breach, the garrison offered on the 29th to give up the fort, if they were permitted to march out free whither they pleased, with their arms and baggage; their terms were accepted: they were 250 Sepoys, and left six pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, in the fort. Of the English detachment, one of the volunteers and a Lascar were killed, and a Sepoy wounded, during the attack.

On the 23d, Rear-Admiral Cornish arrived at Madrass, with six ships of the line. They were the squadron which had sailed under his command from England, and met Mr. Pococke, with his ships, off Pondicherry in October, whom they accompanied to Tellicherry: from whence they sailed again for the coast of Coromandel on the 15th of December, whilst Mr. Pococke, with his own, was proceeding to Bombay. Contrary winds and currents had retarded their passages from one coast to the other. The crews had received very little refreshment from land ever since they left England about this time in the preceding year, and many were down with the scurvy.

The army marched from Chittapett on the 26th, striking across the country to the S. E. On the 29th in the forenoon they arrived and halted at Tondivanum, a town of much resort, at which meet the high roads leading from Chittapett, Vandivash, Outramalore, and Carangoly, towards Pondicherry, from which place it is 30

ss. miles

miles distant to the N. E. In the other direction of the country, it stands nearly midway between Gingee and Alamparvah on the sea-shore ; and on its left, five miles towards Alamparvah, is a fortified rock, called Permacoil. The wars between the two nations having never before brought any decision before this place, it had hitherto remained neglected by both : But as soon as the French army fell back towards Pondicherry, Permacoil became of importance to the protection of the intermediate districts ; and Mr. Lally, immediately after the defeat of Vandivash, had prevailed on the Kelladar to admit a party, with some cannon, into his fort ; but the easy reduction of Chittapett and Arcot made the Kelladar repent of his hasty compliance ; and, as soon as the English army were returning from Arcot to the southward, he wrote to Colonel Coote, pretending, that the French party had got into his fort by surprize, advised him to attack it, and promised all the assistance in his power ; and Colonel Coote resolved to try the sincerity of his professions.

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In this intention, he set off before the army in the last march to Tondivanum, with most of the cavalry and two companies of Sepoys, and arriving there before day-break went on to reconnoitre Permacoil. Besides the fortified rock, lie others of less height before and behind it ; the direction in length of the whole plot is 1200 yards, and extends from the N. E. to the S. W. : end of the rocks lay nearest to Tondivanum ; but Colonel Coote, having no guide, followed the best ground, which brought him to the north-east end, opposite to the northern face of the pettah, which lies under the western side of the rock of Permacoil, and extends beyond it under part of the other rocks to the north. When near, the troops were fired upon by cannon from the nearest tower on the rock, and by field-pieces and musketry from the walls of the pettah below. Soon after came a man, commissioned by the Kellidar, who informed Colonel Coote, that the French in the fort were 50 Europeans, 30 Coffrees, and 50 Sepoys ; that they had got some guns up the rock ; but that four large pieces of cannon, which arrived the day before, were still remaining in the pettah below ; and offered to conduct them to the gate ; for, although the pettah was under the main rocks, the

1760 February. plain on all side round the walls was encumbered with large fragments, which might afford shelter to the approach. Colonel Coote immediately followed the guide with the Sepoys, ordering the horse to form, and keep on the left, under cover of the main rocks to the N. E.

The rock on which the fort of Permacoil stands does not extend, even at its base, more than 500 yards in length. In breadth, it is at the northern end about 400 yards, at the southern not more than 200 : its height is likewise various, being at the narrow end 300 perpendicular feet, and diminishing by slopes and declivities to 200 at the other. Of these differences in the height, there is one more particularly marked, which crosses in a natural zig-zag of two re-entering angles, about the middle of the mountain, and all the ground to the eastward behind this ridge is 30 feet higher than the other part before it to the westward. This eastern part is the upper, and the only real fort ; being inclosed and fortified with high stone walls and towers strongly built. The other inclosure, although called the lower fort, is only surrounded with a wall of loose stones, and was principally intended for the immediate refuge of the cattle and inhabitants on sudden alarm. The rock falls every where so steep, that the area of the fortified surface above is equal to half the base below. The adjacent rocks before and behind are not high enough to carry any detriment to its fortifications.

Colonel Coote with the Sepoys, led by the guide, took post behind some rocks opposite to the gateway in the north face of the pettah, which stands nearly in the middle of the rampart. Two large pieces of cannon, mounted on field-carriages, were standing at the entrance of the gateway, which was in the left side of its projection ; and some Coffrees and Europeans, with two field-pieces, were on the tower just behind to protect them. This guard, knowing that the cavalry in the rear could not act on the ground where the Sepoys were, ventured to sally. Colonel Coote ordered Ensign Carty to meet them, with one of the companies of Sepoys ; which turned out with great alacrity, gave their fire, and advanced to the bayonet. The French party, startled by their resolution, ran back, and were followed so close

close by Carty's company, and they by Colonel Coote with the other, that the fugitives made no stand at the gateway, but continued their flight, still pursued, through the pettah, to the foot of the rock at the farther end, where steps were cut winding up to the upper fort, by which they escaped into it ; but Colonel O'Kennedy, the commander, who was at the steps, and lame with old wounds, had very nearly been taken. Here were lying two twenty-four pounders, of which the garrison had burnt the carriages, because there was no path to draw, and no means to raise them, into the fort. As soon as the pettah was cleared of the enemy's guards, Colonel Coote posted the Sepoys in the best shelter the houses afforded against the fire of the cannon in the upper fort, and the musketry from the lower, which recommenced immediately, and continued through the day. The horse were distributed, some under the walls of the pettah, ready to dismount and assist, if any descent should be made ; and the rest in different guards round the hills. In the evening came up six companies of Sepoys, with the French Volunteers, and an eight-inch howitz, from Tondivanum : the enemy continued their fire through the night, and small parties came down the side of the rocks, who threw grenades, and fired musketry, by which a Sepoy was killed, and nine, with three Europeans, wounded before the morning ; no loss had been sustained in the day. All the return was from the howitz, which did no damage in either of the forts.

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Before morning pioneers and tools arrived, and sufficient cover for the whole was formed with earth thrown up and houses broken down ; during which some were employed in raising and fixing the two pieces of cannon, one after the other, to transporting carriages, in order to carry them off, which was not executed without difficulty and time ; during which, the enemy fired down grenades and musketry, but did no mischief.

In the afternoon Colonel Coote summoned O'Kennedy, who sent down one of his men to receive the letter, and answered it with a temperate negative ; on which Colonel Coote resolved to surprize the lower fort. Two guides belonging to the Kellidar offered to

1760 March. shew the path leading up the north side of the hill, which being extremely rugged and difficult, was not likely to be suspected; they proceeded with two compaies of Sepoys at eight at night; at the same time a platoon of Coote's grenadiers, with another company of Sepoys, went up the steps leading from the pettah to the back of the upper fort, which made a false attack to divert the enemy from the real, which were forty minutes in gaining the summit, when the foremost got over the wall before they were discovered. The enemy's guards consisted chiefly of Sepoys, and all of them astonished by the first fire ran away from their different stations, and regained the upper fort, where Colonel O'Kennedy, ignorant of the numbers which had got into the lower, and perplexed by the false attack, would not risque a sally which might have recovered the loss; but kept up a hot fire upon them by guess from the defences along the ridge which seperates the upper from the lower fort; but with no effect, for the choultries and rocks rising every where afforded shelter. The guides, as soon as the party was established, came down with information of their success to Colonel Coote, who was waiting at the foot of the path, with the pioneer company, and the Volunteers of France, provided with ladders, gabions, and fascines, and immediately proceeded with them up the hill; where as soon as they had joined the party above, the whole proceeded across the lower fort, to escalade the fortifications along the ridge, notwithstanding the garrison was prepared to receive them. The ridge might be ascended without clambering. The grenadiers carried the ladders; the rest followed, ready to mount, and in the mean time fired up against the parapet; from which the fire instantly became excessively hot. The ladders that were first applied proved too short; it was supposed they would answer better in other parts, to which they were removed, and tried with as little success. Nevertheless the contest continued half an hour; and the Sepoys behaved with as much eagerness as the Europeans, but many dropping or disabled, Colonel Coote oredered the assault to cease. He received a wound in the knee; his aid-de-camp, Captain Admas, was shot through the hip; a serjeant of the pioneers, one of the French Volunteers,

lunteers, and seven Sepoys, were killed; 16 Europeans and 25 Sepoys were wounded: in the false attack on the upper fort, two Sepoys were wounded, and Ensign Blakeney was killed. The next day, which was the 3d of the month, the fire of the fort diminished considerably, as it was supposed, and rightly, from scarcity of ammunition. At noon, a letter came from Colonel O'Kennedy requesting a cessation of 24 hours, to obtain Mr. Lally's orders concerning the surrender: this was refused, and soon after he sent another letter requesting the honours of war, which were likewise denied. Several Europeans and Sepoys were killed and wounded through the day and night. Before noon of the next day, which was the fifth of the attack, a brass six-pounder was got up the hill with much difficulty by Captain Barker. There were two choultries in the lower fort, standing 100 yards from the ridge and rampart, which divide it from the upper: one of these choultries was near the wall which runs along the edge of the rock on the side over the pettah; and in this choultry the field-piece was planted; the other was a few yards on the left, which sheltered those whom it was not necessary to expose. The defences in the upper fort immediately opposite to the choultries lay in a large re-entering angle, at the two extremities of which was a round tower, one on the edge of the rock overlooking the pettah, the other about the middle of the ridge, which from hence falls back in another zigzag out of sight of the choultries. The gate leading into the upper fort was on the left of the tower in the middle of the ridge. The field-piece managed by Captain Barker battered, firing upwards out of the choultry, against the gate and the parapet of the tower, both which were ruined before night; but the garrison had heaped earth at the back of the gate, which continued to stop the entrance. Many of those exposed in this service suffered. New scaling-ladders had been provided; and the next morning, as the troops were preparing to advance with them, the garrison beat the chamade, and surrendered at discretion. They were fifteen European gunners, chosen men, 32 Coffrees, and 100 Sepoys: only one of each had been killed. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, but not ammunition either

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1760 March. either for them or the musketry sufficient to have stood the assault, nor had the garrison two days provision left. The total loss and casualties of the Fnglish, through the attack, were four Europeans killed and 15 wounded, of the Sepoys 40 and 70; these troops had never behaved so well; of their killed, one was the Subadhar, equivalent to the Captain of a company, and two were Jemidars, the next rank of officers. The gallantry of Bulwansing, who was the senior of the whole body in camp, was rewarded with a gold medal. The Kellidar, for his services, was continued in the fort, in which were left a company of Sepoys, with 12 Europeans and a lieutenant. A large detachment of the French army had advanced as far as Manour, within seven miles of Permacoil, and were in motion to throw in a considerable reinforcement of men and stores, at the very hour they heard of the arrival of the English army at Tondivanum, on which they retreated towards Pondicherry.

On the 7th, Colonel Coote went from the camp at Tondivanum, with the cavalry, black as well as Europeans, and six companies of Sepoys, to discover near the bounds of Pondicherry. The distance to the bound-hedge was 20 miles; and the Sepoys, after marching 10, wanted rest, and were left in the village of Trichimungalum.

The French troops which had been detached to the relief of Permacoil, had, on their retreat, encamped four miles to the west of the town, and three from the bound-hedge. A large collection of sand-hills, of which the whole together is called the red-hills, rises about half a mile from the sea-shore, and a mile and half to the north of the town: they extend four miles to the west ward, and the last hill, where they cease on this side, is called Perimbé: across from north to south they extend two miles, and have passable dales between; directly opposite to the side of Perimbé, stands the Fort of Villenore, a strong out-post, situated near the north bank of the river of Araincopang, which falls into the sea about 500 yards from the wall of Pondicherry, and in its course from Villenore forms a curve to the south. The Red-hill, on the other side the plain, recedes to the N. E. from Perimbé to its end towards the sea. So that the interval between Villenore and Perimbé is the narrowest part of the plain btween the

the river and the Red-hill, being here scarcely more than a mile, 1760
whereas farther back it is three. The plain as far as the bound- March.
hedge was occupied by country houses, enclosures, avenues, and arable ground. The market of the French troops was in the village under Villenore. Temporary barracks for the European cavalry had been raised on the hill of Perimbé. Their foot and artillery were dispersed in the houses and enclosures which occupied the space between.

Colonel Coote proceeded with the cavalry from Trichimungalum, not in the high road which passeth by Valdore, but across the country to the left, and came in about the middle of the Red-hill, and passing through its dales appeared on the outward ridge between Perimbé and the bound-hedge. The enemy had gained notice of his approach, but not of the force which accompanied him; and, imagining that it consisted of foot as well as horse, suspected likewise that the main body of both might be marching to get between them and the bound-hedge, and impede their retreat into the limits. In this persuasion, all their infantry got into march with much hurry and confusion, to gain the avenue nearest the Red-hill, which, as well as another on its right, leads to the bound-hedge: they moved with all their field-pieces in front, to oppose the supposed danger, which if real would have been the greatest: but the European horse, which were 250 in three squadrons, remained on the hill of Perimbé to observe and protect their rear. Colonel Coote suspected the error which occasioned the disorder he observed in the infantry, and as fast as his troops came up ordered the European horse, which were only 80, with three squadrons of the blacks, to advance, and keep the enemy's cavalry in check, whilst he himself, with the main body, crossed over to the avenue, in which the last of their infantry were entering; in whose rear he hung, having thus separated them from their cavalry, who, seeing their danger, retreated before the division advancing against them, to gain the other side of the avenue on the right of their infantry, whose flanks were already protected from the cavalry with Colonel Coote by the ditch on each side. Colonel Coote following the infantry, often advanced within 40 yards,

1760 March. 40 yards, to draw their fire; but the grenadiers of Lorrain, who formed the rear-guard, reserved it with much discipline. At length, however, the foremost troop of horse, led by Assaf beg, a Jemidar of great spirit, broke in upon a platoon, and cut down seven of them; but the next troop drew up their bridles, and were afraid to follow the impression, which otherwise promised to break the whole column, which recovered, and continued its way as before, until they had passed the bound-hedge, under the redoubt of Valdore, which terminates the avenue along which they were marching, when the fire of the redoubt was left free, and Colonel Coote stopped the pursuit. In the mean while, the other division under the command of Captain De Buke, had crossed over to the village of Villenore, and routed the market-people there without resistance, and the black horse with him, joined by more from the main body, collected all worth the while they could carry of, and drove before them all the cattle. The whole assembled again on the hill of Perimbé, where they set fire to the barracks, and the carriage of an eighteen-pounder, for want of proper bullocks to draw it off. In the afternoon, the whole returned to Tritchimungalum, intending to rest the night there; but a corporal of the dragoons deserting, they removed five miles farther back to Manoor; from hence Colonel Coote sent orders to Major Monson, to march the army from Tondivanum against Alamparvah.

The next day he moved himself to Taliaveram, which is five miles from Manoor to the N. E. on the road towards Permacoil; but few of the black horse accompanied him; they were all dispersed to secure or sell the plunder they had got the day before. They, however, came back on the 9th, and he proceeded with them from Taliaveram again to the bound-hedge of Pondicherry, and observed very nearly, without annoyance. On his return, he went to Conymere, where he met Mr. Bussy by appointment, who had been recalled on his parole to Madrass, in order to be sent to Europe, in compliance with the earnest importunity of the Nabob, who regarded him as fraught with more dangerous resources than all his other enemies, and said that if he became free, and commanded, he would protract

protract the war ten years. On the 10th Colonel Coote came to Alamparvah, which the army had invested the day before; but the wound he had received at Permacoil was so much exasperated by his late fatigue, that he could not any longer stir without danger, he therefore ordered Colonel Monson to carry on the siege of Alamparvah, but still continued in the camp. 1760 March.

The fort of Alamparvah stands on the sea-shore, about 20 miles E. N. E. of Tondivanum, 15 E. of Permacoil, and 24 to the N. of Pondicherry. It formerly belonged to the Nabobs of the province; and was given to Mr. Dupleix by Murzafajing in 1750. It has many wells of good water, which is not to be found in all parts of the coast so near the sea. The fort was of stone, square, of moderate extent, with four round towers at the angles, a parapeted faussebray, and a wet ditch, but without a glacis. A pettah extends along the strand to the north, and fronts within 250 yards of the fort. An eight-inch howitz bombarded; and a ricochet battery of two guns, to enfilade the north front from the west, was begun in the night, and finished before morning; during which, a serjeant of pioneers and a Sepoy were killed. In the ensuing night, another battery of three eighteen-pounders was finished in the pettah, to batter the tower in the west angle of the north face; and the loss during these 24 hours, was Lieutenant Angus, of Coote's regiment, and a grenadier killed. Both batteries opened together at day-light on the 12th, and in three hours dismounted most of the guns, and ruined the whole line of defence; and in the afternoon the Chevalier Viart, who commanded, surrendered at discretion. The garrison, besides himself, a Lieutenant, and a surgeon, were 50 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. During the attack, three of their Europeans had been killed, and twelve wounded. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, a howitz, and abundance of ammunition.

The season was now advancing, when the French squadron might be expected from the islands. The loss of Alamparvah deprived them of the only station under their command to the northward, and Karical remained the only one they had to the southward of Pondicherry;

1760 March. cherry; but the importance of Karical rose with the season, and the encreasing distresses of the capital; for becoming, with the change of the monsoon, the windward station, all their vessels arriving on the coast might get their first intelligence here, and, if the road were not occupied by a superior force, were always sure of water, and fresh provisions from the fort, which the foreign settlements of Negapatam and Tranquebar might or might not supply. The grain of the districts, which was considerable, was gathered, and, with what might be purchased in the plentiful country of Tanjore, would become a great resource to Pondicherry, continually losing its own districts by the successes of the army; for it might be conveyed from Karical in the boats of the country, which, favoured by the wind and current, would almost make the passage in a night, and with little risque, even if discovered and pursued, as they can keep close to the surf, in shallow soundings, and along the shore swell of the sea, where vessels of European construction seldom chuse to venture. The French government already repented of the loss of such another possession in Devicotah, although not commanding equal advantages; and had made a strong attempt to recover it. On the 24th of February, a detachment from Chilambrum of 30 troopers, 40 European infantry, and 400 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, invested the fort. On the 27th, they were joined by 80 Europeans and Coffrees from Pondicherry, when the whole intrenched themselves within 200 yards of the walls. The breaches which their garrison had made when they abandoned it, were not completely repaired; and on the 29th in the morning, the enemy made an assault on that which was most practicable; the fire lasted an hour, when they were repulsed, with the loss, as the serjeant supposed, of two officers, and 20 of their Europeans and Coffrees, and more of their Sepoys killed and wounded. They, however, during their stay, and on their retreat, sent and carried away a considerable quantity of grain, which had just been got up from the harvest of the districts.

The Presidency of Madrass now became anxious to get possession of Karical, before the French squadron should arrive on the coast; but, as it was intended that the army should as soon as possible

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ble encamp near Pondicherry, in order to intercept all convoys of provisions from the adjacent country, a body of troops sufficient for the attack of Karical could not be spared from the camp, without frustrating the other intention. Admiral Cornish contributed to alleviate part of the difficulty, by offering to proceed with all the men of war which had arrived with him, and to land their marines, which were about 300; the Presidency provided for the rest. All the artillery and stores for the siege, with the Chief Engineer, Mr. Call, and a few gunners, were to be sent in the ships from Madrass. Colonel Monson, who was to command, was to embark from Alamparvah, with the company of pioneers, which consisted of 50 choice Europeans, and with Captain Barker to direct the artillery. Captain Joseph Smith, who was escorting the Nabob from Tritchinopoly, was ordered to reinforce his detachment from this garrison to the strength of 1000 Sepoys, 100 European firelocks, 40 artillery-men, and six field-pieces; with this force, he was to march away from wherever he might be, with all expedition; and either invest or lay before Karical, as circumstances permitted, until the arrival of the ships. Captain Richard Smith, appointed to command in Tritchinopoly after the departure of Joseph, was to send from thence, through the country of Tanjore, Lascars for the service of the artillery, 500 Coolies to pull and carry burthens, tents, doolies for the sick and wounded, and cattle for provisions to the squadron as well as the troops on shore. The king of Tanjore was requested to send his troops, and every kind of assistance.

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The Nabob, notwithstanding his eagerness to appear at the head of an army in the Carnatic immediately after the victory of Vandivash, was not ready to move from Tritchinopoly until the 18th of March, 40 days after he had received intelligence of that success, and a month after the French had abandoned the pagodas of Seringham. Besides the detachment from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, he was accompanied by 1000 horse, 1000 Sepoys, and a greater number of various sorts of good-for-nothing infantry, entertained by himself. They arrived at Volcondah on the 20th, from whence he was solicitous to proceed towards Arcot; but Captain Joseph Smith,

 in

1760 March. in conformity to the orders of the Presidency, wished to lead him towards Pondicherry. This difference of opinion kept them some days at Volcondah, and as a reconciliation, by which some service might be obtained from the Nabob's troops, Captain Smith consented to march against Thiagar, which would bring them nearer Arcot, without being removed farther from Pondicherry. But the Presidency, at the same time that they sent orders to Captain Smith to march away with his detachment to Karical, enjoined the Nabob to keep with his own troops in the country to the s. of Gingee, between Volcondah and Chillambarum, and to employ them in reducing these districts, and especially in preventing any supplies of provisions from being conveyed out of them to Pondicherry, from whence he would have nothing to fear, as the English army would be advanced and lying between.

The number of manned Massoolas at Madrass, which are the only boats that can ply the surf, were not sufficient to carry off the ammunition and stores intended for the siege as fast as the men of war could have taken them in; and during this delay, the Falmouth of 60 guns was sent forward to take in Major Monson's party at Alamparvah, whilst the other ships were lading at Madrass: and on the 15th Colonel Coote, continuing much disordered with his wound, came in from the camp to adjust with the Presidency the prize-money accruing to the army from their late successes.

The Falmouth, standing into the road of Alamparvah on the 16th in the morning, discovered a ship at anchor close in shore, about two leagues to the northward of Pondicherry, and bore down to her with an easy sail, under French colours; but the stranger cut her cable, and ran ashore into the surf, which being boisterous, she immediately bilged, and all but three of the crew got ashore. The boats of the Falmouth, finding it impossible to get the ship off, set fire to her. She was the Harlem, which had been dispatched by Mr. Moracin from Ganjam to Mergui in the month of June, and was returning with rice and other provisions for Pondicherry, and had likewise tutenague and other merchandize on board, none of which

which could be recovered; but the loss of the provisions was by far the greatest detriment to the enemy. 1760 March.

Major Monson, with the pioneers and their equipments, embarked in the Falmouth from Alamparvah on the 25th; they anchored in the road of Karical at day-break on the 28th, when the Captain to the Falmouth, Mathison, went in his boat with Major Monson to reconnoitre the shore. They discovered no signs, either of the people expected from Richard Smith at Tritchinopoly, or the detachment with Captain Joseph; whose instructions had not reached them in time to be as yet fulfilled. At eight o'clock, the squadron, which had likewise sailed from Madrass on the 25th, appeared. Major Monson went on board Mr. Cornish's ship, and it was agreed, notwithstanding they were entirely ignorant of the place, and disappointed of the troops they expected to meet, to make the landing immediately. Fifteen massoolas accompanied the ships; they took in 170 of the troops, besides the Macoas, who are the black fellows that row them; these formed the first division, and were towed to the surf by the yawls and pinnaces of the ships, which, besides their rowers, took as many soldiers as they could carry, who formed the second division: all these steered for the shore, five miles to the north of the fort. The third division of the troops embarked in the long-boats, which were rigged with sails, and proceeded close to the surf, opposite to the fort, and the mouth of a river which leads to it, where they were to appear as if intending to land by pushing over the bar of the river, which was not impracticable.

A small snow and a sloop, which drew little water, and mounted guns, anchored as close as they could opposite to a village half-way between the real landing and the long-boats. As soon as the yawls and pinnaces reached the surf, they dropped their graplings, and cast off the massoolas, which immediately rowed ashore, and landed the troops in them; then returned, and landed the second division out of the other boats, when a signal was flung out, on which the long-boats came down, sailing fast with the wind and current, and the troops in them were likewise landed all together by the massolas; the

1760 March. the whole without the appearance of any opposition intended by the garrison. As soon as all were on shore, they advanced to the village opposite to which the two small vessels were at anchor, and received by catamarans two four-pounders, which belonged to the sloop, and were mounted on ship-carriages; for the reliance on the field-pieces expected with Joseph Smith had prevented any from being embarked at Madrass. They passed the night in the village without alarm; and early in the morning moved on to take possession of the pettah of Karical, which lay on the north side of the fort. It was a spacious town, separated from the fort by an esplanade of 100 yards; regular works had been traced round the other three sides, which on the west had been raised to four feet above the ground, but the bastion in the north-west angle was completed, and converted into a closed redoubt, which mounted nine guns, and had a good ditch all round, and a draw-bridge; it was called Fort Dauphin: the rest of the north line was open, as was the side to the east. The troops advancing from the north, without a guide or intelligence, fell under fire of Fort Dauphin, by which two men were killed, and two wounded, before the whole line got under shelter of the buildings in the pettah; which they entered without meeting any interruption in the streets. They took post in the church-yard, which lay about 200 yards from the east side of the pettah, and about the same distance from the line of houses fronting the fort. They found about them plenty of provisions, as well in the houses of the natives, as of the French inhabitants.

The fort of Karical stands 300 yards from the sea-shore: a river coming from the west strikes when opposite to the west side of the fort in a curve to the south, which continues until opposite to the east side at the distance of 500 yards, when the channel turning again directly to the east, in 100 yards more disembogues into the sea. The fort was an oblong square, completely fortified, but had the greatest of defects, the want of space: for its internal area, exclusive of the four bastions, was no more than 100 yards from W. to E. and only 50 from N. to S. The bastions admitted only three

3 guns,

guns in their faces, but each of the four curtains was covered by a ravelin much more spacious than the bastions, and mounting six. A wet ditch ran between the three curtains to the N. W. and S. and their ravelins; but on the east face the ditch surrounded the ravelin likewise, and dry ground occupied the space between the rear of this ravelin and the east curtain, continuing round the two bastions in an excellent faussebray, from the interior angles of which the ravelin projected. A covered way well palisaded, and a complete glacis, surrounded the whole, nevertheless the exterior extent, measuring across from the foot of the glacis, was in the longest direction, that from E. to W. not more than 200 yards; and the pettah outstretched this face 200 yards on either hand. The garrison had lately destroyed the line of buildings in the pettah, which skirted the esplanade, and had been suffered to rise within 60 yards of the foot of the glacis; but this demolition added only a space of 40 yards to the esplanade, and that not clear; for the rubbish not being yet removed still afforded some shelter.

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As soon as the English troops had taken possession of the pettah, Mr. Call, with the pioneers, marched, and took possession of a saluting-battery, which lay near the mouth of the river, where was likewise the flag-staff for the road. The fort fired fiercely as they were passing, but did no harm; and in the night the pioneers began to construct a battery near the river on the esplanade, which was clear quite up to where the river changes from the curve it has made, and strikes straight to the sea: they were not interrupted in their work; neither did the troops in the pettah receive any alarm from the garrison. The next evening a ten-inch mortar was landed, and at ten at night began to bombard Fort Dauphin. The range was exactly gained at the first shell, and only thirteen were fired before the guard, consisting of 50 men, abandoned it; and, knowing ways of which the English troops were not apprized, gained the fort without interruption. About the same time twelve gunners sent from Pondicherry, who had landed at Tranquebar, got into the fort, notwithstanding a company of marines were looking out for them, who kept too far from the sea-shore, whilst the gunners travelled

1760 March. velled along the beach until they came to the river, when they continued under the bank unperceived by the pioneers employed in constructing the battery.

The cover afforded by the pettah determined the attack to be carried on against the north face of the fort; and the greater extent of the esplanade to the east, which is 500 yards (whereas to the west it is interrupted by the curve of the river at 300) gave the preference of the enfilade from the east, which of consequence determined the breach to be in the north-east bastion, and on its north face. Accordingly, three batteries were marked out in the pettah, one to breach, and one on each hand to take off the defences; in the battery to the east, two of the guns enfiladed the north line in its whole length, and the other two plunged into the opposite ravelin, and across into the ravelin on the south: so that every part of the fort would be laid under fire. Sailors were landed with the heavy artillery from the ships, and assisted in drawing them, and in the other services usually allotted to bullocks and coolies; for all the neighbouring villages were deserted, and supplied neither man nor beast; and no tidings arrived of the Captain Joseph Smith's detachment, nor of the assistance expected from the garrison of Tritchinopoly; and the king of Tanjore avoided all correspondence with the armament.

Captain Joseph Smith received the orders of the presidency on the 25th, the day he was setting out with the Nabob from Volcondah, against Thiagar; he immediately turned his march to Karical; and the Nabob, unwilling to remain with only his own troops in the middle of the Carnatic, determined to march with the detachment. The nearest road leading from Volcondah towards Karical falls upon the Coleroon, 30 miles N. N. W. of the city of Tanjore. Having crossed the river, which is there spacious, you continue to Combaconum, which stands five miles farther, on the bank of the first arm of the Caveri; and beyond this is another arm to cross, before you join the road leading east to the sea-shore: much of the ground between the rivers is sunk in marshes, and the better ground is overflowed in rice-fields, without any continued road, which greatly retard

tard the passage of carriages; and the way between Volcondah and Karical being 120 miles, the march can scarcely be performed in less than ten days; but Captain Smith had received his orders to advance only four days before the armament anchored at Karical, whose ignorance of the impossibility of his apperance aggravated their anxiety concerning the arrival of the French squadron, which intelligence, artfully inculcated from Pondicherry, led them to expect from day to day when all the marines and sailors must have been reimbarked, and Major Monson would have been left with only 60 Europeans, and without a field-piece. 1760 March.

However, these apprehensions only encreased their activity in pushing the attack. The ten-inch mortar, which had been employed against Fort Dauphin, was removed on the 31st, and threw shells all night. The garrison returned round and grape from their cannon, and even used their musketry, although all they fired at was under cover, or out of reach: this early profusion of ammunition is rarely followed by vigorous defence at extremity. In the morning of the 1st of April the two embrasures on the right of the enfilading battery to the east were opened. The passage into the covered way lay opposite to this battery, leading through the glacis on the left face of its angle projecting to the east, and the garrison had laid a row of wood and palmiras in front of the barrier gate, which closed this passage at the foot of the glacis, in order to construct a battery there with these materials. The ten-inch mortar sometimes threw carcasses of fire-balls to set them afire, but without effect; and two royals, of which the shells are 5 inches and 5 twelfths diameter, continually bombarded the fort. In the morning of the 2d, the other two embrasures were opened in the enfilading battery. At ten o'clock, arrived Captain Richard Smith from Tritchinopoly with Lascars, oxen, coolies, and stores; and the Nabob came up likewise with 1000 horse and six companies of Sepoys, whom Captain Joseph Smith had sent forward, as the rains and the badness of the roads retarded the carriages and baggage of his detachment, with which he remained to bring them on. This reinforcement afforded troops sufficient to April.

1760 April. invest the fort all round. In this day the enemy's fire was excessive, and dismounted one of the guns at the enfilading battery, and endamaged all its embrasures; but all were restored during the night, and the same number of guns began to fire again the next morning, which was the 3d of the month. At eight o'clock of this day, Captain Joseph Smith came up with the rest of his detachment, which were 130 European musketry, thirty artillery-men, two field-pieces, and five companies of Sepoys. The enemy during the night finished two embrasures in one face of their battery at the barrier, which pointed against the enfilading battery; and traces appeared of another face to the north, which seemed intended to scour the opposite street of the pettah, across which the attack had thrown up a slight retrenchment.

Early the next morning, the breaching battery in the centre street opened with three twenty-four pounders against the N. face of the N. E. bastion, at the distance of 150 yards, and was so well served by Captain Barker, who attended it, that in three rounds the enemy quitted the three guns in the face attacked, and in less than an hour all the merlons were beat down; the other face had before been much shattered by the enfilading battery, which had likewise nearly ruined the north face of the east ravelin: so that neither of the batteries had occasion to fire more than a shot now and then through the rest of the day. Sepoys were posted in the ruins of the houses, who kept up a constant fire through the night on the bastion and ravelin, to prevent the enemy from placing sand-bags to repair them. By the next morning, which was the 5th of the month, and the 10th since the landing, a battery, intended to destroy the east face of the north ravelin, was almost completed, and the other against the N. W. bastion quite finished; but the guns for neither were yet landed from the ships. Intelligence was received, that a detachment of 450 infantry and 150 European horse, were arrived at Chillambarum from Pondicherry, intending to advance and interrupt the siege. The breach, though broad, could not be mounted without clambering, and the immediate access to it was still defended by the ditch, to which the besiegers had not yet approached,

 and

and by the parapet of the fausse-bray, which remained undamaged: 1760 April.
but the gate of the barrier leading through the glacis to the east ravelin, had been beaten down by ricochet shot flying over the battery, which the enemy had raised before it. The bascul, or carpentry, which raised and let down the draw-bridge before the N. E. face of the east ravelin, had likewise been shot away, and the bridge fallen into its place, and the garrison had not yet destroyed it to interrupt the passage, which thus remained clear to the ravelin. The gateway leading through the curtain into the fort was at the back of this ravelin: and the same fire had destroyed the gates which closed it, nor had any thing been substituted to stop the passage; so that, if the storm had been immediately and desperately attempted this way, the enemy had nothing to oppose it, but the arms in their hands. All these circumstances Major Monson did not know; but the commandant of the fort feared, and answered the summons by requesting to march away with the honours of war: to which Monson replied, that the whole garrison must become prisoners of war; but that the inhabitants should be left in possession of their houses in the pettah, the officers have their baggage, and the Sepoys might go where they pleased. The terms were accepted; and the English troops marched in at two in the afternoon. The garrison consisted of 115 Europeans, of whom 101 were military, 72 Topasses, and 250 Sepoys. Besides smaller arms and stores, there were in the place 155 pieces of cannon of all sorts, and nine mortars, with a large stock of ammunition for both. Only five men were killed in the defence, and in the attack only three Europeans, one of whom was a sailor, and five wounded. Never perhaps was so great an armament prepared, to succeed with so little loss, excepting when Delabourdonnais took Madrass in 1746.

Nevertheless, the capture was well worth the exertion: as besides the advantages of its situation with respect to the sea, it afforded the French a constant and certain inlet to the territories of Tanjore, and by various purchases and cessions from the government they had acquired districts round the fort, containing 113 villages, of which the farms, with the customs of the port and town, never

 produced

1760 April. produced less than 30,000 pagodas a year, sufficient for the expence of the garrison. As the fort was too small, all the European inhabitants had their houses in the pettah, which were well built, as were many of those belonging to the natives, and room was left and marked for more to both. The Nabob derived no advantage by this success, beyond the detriment it occasioned to his enemies; for a member of the council of Madrass had been sent in the squadron, to negotiate with Tanjore for the redemption of the districts.

The absence of Colonel Coote and Major Monson had left the main army to the command of Major Robert Gordon, who moved with it from Alamparvah on the 28th of March, and on the 1st of April encamped at Killenore, from whence he sent forward a detachment of observation, to take post at Manoor, within five miles of Valdore. The sweep of country to the westward of Killenore as far as Villaporum, which lies 20 miles due west of Pondicherry, abounds in cattle, and is as fertile as any part of the Carnatic, and remained at this time, as the French territory became every day more circumscribed, their last resource for provisions. All the countries, which had been reduced to the south of Chittapett and Vandivash as far as Permacoil, had been let by the Presidency of Madrass to a Malabar, named Ramalinga, who accompanied the army ready to rent more, and kept several companies of irregular Sepoys with him, to place as guards in new districts, as reduced. By his advice, Major Gordon resolved to send a detachment against Villaporum. The distance was 35 miles, and the way lay between the garrison of Gingee on one hand, and of Valdore on the other. The detachment consisted of 200 black horse, and five companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Wood, and the renter accompanied with his people. They marched from Killenore on the 3d of April, a little after sun-set, and passing through Vicravandi, Captain Wood, with the horse, arrived before Villaporum at ten the next morning, but the Sepoys did not come up until two in the afternoon. The best intelligence that could be obtained, reported, that there were 300 Sepoys and 400 horse in the place; and at six, as soon as the Sepoys were refreshed, Wood led them to the attack, which could only

only be made by scrambling up the wall, as they had no ladders. 1760 April.
Eight or ten got up to the parapet, but three or four mounting at the same time were killed, which deterred those who were next from following, and flung the whole into confusion, on which the enemy sallied, but the horse rode in between, and drove them back. The Sepoys rallied again in the pettah, and were preparing ladders to escalade before day-break; but at eighht o'clock at night the garrison abandoned the fort. Captain Wood placed three of the regular companies of Sepoys, and 200 of the renters, to garrison it, under the command of an Ensign; and at ten at night set out on his return with the cavalry and the other company of Sepoys. They arrived at one in the morning at Vicrivandi, where he left this company, and, proceeding, rejoined the camp a little after sun-rise with the cavalry, which accomplished this march of 60 miles in 36 hours.

Since the retreat of the French army, their countries to the westward of Villaporum and Gingee, and the forts intended to protect them, had, like this, been left to the defence of such troops as the renters chose to levy and maintain; and in the end of March, Captain Airey, who commanded in Chittapett, and from thence over Trinomaly, sent a detachment of Sepoys to enable the garrison there to take the field, which in a few days drove the guards out of Soolabgur, Tricalour, and Trivaneloor: these three forts had been taken possession of by Mahomed Issoof and Kistnarow of Thiagar, whilst they were ravaging the countries adjacent to them during the siege of Madrass. Soolabgur is situated on a hill 15 miles S. S. W. and Tricolour on the plain 20 miles S. of Trinomaly: Trivelanoor stands 10 miles S. E. of Tricaloor, and 20 S. W. of Villaporum. The French garrison of Gingee on the one side, and of Thiagar on the other, were the nearest to protect these lesser forts; but both were too much alarmed for their own safety, to risk any detachments abroad: the one by the Nabob's camp then at Volcondah, the other by the English army at Killenore. Kistnarow, after the loss of Thiagar in the preceding month of June, had remained with the Nabob at Tritchinopoly, and, after the victory of Vandivash, obtained his permission to act as a free-booter in the French districts, and, having

1760 April. having plunder to offer, easily enlisted a number of horse, with which he accompanied the Nabob to Volcondah, and from thence trooped away to the country about Chilambarum, where they were carrying on all kind of ravage, at the time that Captain Wood marched and took Villaparum.

Colonel Coote recovered of his wound, rejoined the army at Killenore on the 7th; and the next day, after reconnoitring Valdore, sent off 350 of the black horse, to join Kistnarow in the country about Chilambarum; so that the chain of troops, or posts, was now established, which encircled Pondicherry in a sweep of 70 miles, from that place to Allamparvah. On the 10th, a large number of Sepoys were seen marching into Valdore from the Gingee road: they were what remained of the body commanded by Zulphacarjung, who, when driven out of the pettah of Arcot by Captain Wood, continued, until this fort was taken, at the back of Velore, encouraged for fear of accidents by Mortizally. From Velore he marched to Gingee; and Mr. Lally, yielding to the representation of Mr. Deleyrit, and the general discouragement, repressed his prejudices against these troops, and recalled them to act again with the European force. Zulpharcarjung left a part of his Sepoys to reinforce Valdore, and marched on with the rest into Pondicherry.

The next day Colonel Coote advanced the army to Manoor, and sent forward Major Robert Gordon, with a large detachment, to take possession of the pettah under the fort of Valdore; the day after, which was the 12th, he brought up the rest of the army, and encamped at Cartaricopum, a village about a mile to the east, nearer Pondicherry. In the night, two batteries were commenced, and shells thrown, which the garrison answered by shot, and both were employed without mischief. The next day all the cavalry, not on duty, were detached, under the command of a Lieutenant, to reconnoitre: and proceeded to the hither end of the Red-hill. The French cavalry with some platoons of infantry advanced towards them, and made some evolutions as intending to fall on their flanks, which the English cavalry prevented by contrary motions, and returned

turned to camp. They had perceived at a distance a large cloud of dust, as of troops with cannon, advancing from Pondicherry. 1760 April.

The fort of Valdore stands nine miles N. N. W. of Pondicherry. Its form is an exact parallelogram, squaring with the compass; and extending 300 yards from E. to W. and 210 from N. to S. It is situated in a plain, and its original fortifications, like the generality of the forts in the country, were a rampart with towers, a fausse-bray, and a ditch. Mr. Dupleix, had raised a glacis on the north-side, and had converted the center tower on this side, and that in the S. W. angle, into bastions with faces and flanks; but the pettah, which is to the west, remained within 150 yards of the wall: so that the vicinity of Pondicherry was its best defence. In the morning of the 14th, one of the batteries opened; it fronted and battered the tower in the north-west angle with one gun, and with the other took off the defences of the next tower in the west wall.

The dust seen the day before was from a body of troops marching to encamp under Villenore. The intelligence of the present day said they were the whole army, and that Mr. Lally intended to attack the English camp by surprize in the ensuing night, which determined Colonel Coote to reconnoitre them himself when the sun abated in the afternoon. All the cavalry in two divisions, each accompanied by five companies of Sepoys, marched with him. When arrived at the Red-hill, opposite to Villenore, he proceeded along the foot of it with one of the divisions, and sent the other across the plain, to examine the enemy's out-posts on that side, whilst his own division came opposite to a body of Europeans, with two field-pieces drawn up in the high road nearest the hill, leading to the bound-hedge. They cannonaded, but at too great a distance; and Colonel Coote continued under the side of the hill until dark, in order to persuade the enemy that he intended to patrole the field all night; but returned soon after to the camp. Five or six Sepoys and a horse were killed in this service. In the siege, one of the guns in the battery was ruined by the fire of the fort. Shells continued through the night, and the next morning, which was the 15th, the other

1760 April. other battery was completed and opened. It faced the tower in the S. W. angle, and the fire from both continued through the day as hot as it could be safely kept up. The whole of the French troops had assembled at Villenore during the night, and pushed on advanced posts, which, in the morning, began to skirmish with those of the camp; where all, excepting the men at the batteries, were kept in readiness to turn out the line, but the enemy's main body did not advance. Intelligence was repeated of their intentions to attack the camp this night, as the night before: on which Colonel Coote struck the tents at sunset, as if he meant to change his ground, but pitched them again in the same place after dark; but half the troops lay on their arms until day-light. The howitz continued through the night; and in the morning the batteries which had been much impaired renewed their fire. The skirmishes likewise recommenced between the outguards of both armies. At two in the afternoon, both breaches appeared practicable; and a deserter from the fort reported, that the garrison had nearly expended their ammunition, and were inclined, if not immediately relieved, to surrender; on which Colonel Coote ordered Major Gordon, who commanded the attack, to summons the commandant at four o'clock, at which hour he should proceed himself with the main body from the camp, and offer battle to the enemy's; which if they refused, and the garrison to surrender, Major Gordon was to storm the breaches, and Colonel Coote would send assistance; but, if the enemy's army came to an engagement, Gordon was to march from the batteries with his division, and form the third line in the order of battle. Accordingly the main body advanced a mile and a half from the camp, and halted in sight of the enemy, who only sent forward their European cavalry and some Sepoys, which were met by parties of the English cavalry, European and black, supported likewise by Sepoys, and some were wounded on both sides by fire-arms, but no charges made hand to hand. At six o'clock, Colonel Coote received word, that the garrison of Valdore had consented to surrender without terms the next morning, and had given up the outer gate, on which he

he returned with the line to the camp. The garrison consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, 80 other Europeans, and 280 Sepoys: they had lost only two men killed, and three wounded; and the English not more. There were in the fort 25 pieces of cannon, and some paddy. Colonel Coote, as soon as he had taken possession, detached 200 of the black horse, with 300 Sepoys, under the command of Assaf beg, to take Trivadi, in which were some Sepoys that protected the district, and gathered the produce for the French government.

1760 April.

Of the French prisoners which had been taken in the late successes, the Presidency of Madrass had inlisted 60 of those confined there, and sent them to the camp. These men, as soon as they came before Valdore, so near their own army and their capital, deserted daily, and 40 of them were gone before the place was reduced; some of the company of French Volunteers likewise went off, although they had hitherto behaved with as much spirit as if fighting under, instead of against, their own colours. But as soon as Valdore fell, new deserters began to come over from the enemy, three, four, and five in a day: nevertheless all that remained of those sent from Madrass were returned thither to be confined again, for the perfidy of their comrades.

On the 19th, Colonel Coote went out again in the afternoon, with the cavalry, and six companies of Sepoys, to reconnoitre on the Red-hill; the French cavalry, supported likewise by some Sepoys, came out, and advanced along the nearest avenue, but only the Sepoys on either side engaged, and that with distant firing, until four field-pieces came up from Villenore, on which Colonel Coote returned to the camp. Two of his black horsemen were killed, and the horse of a trooper, with five Sepoys, wounded.

During these operations of the main army, Colonel Monson was advancing with his division from Karical. The French prisoners taken there were sent to Tritchinopoly, under the escort of two companies of Sepoys, and of 60 of the Europeans, who had been drawn from that garrison on this service; two other of these companies, and two lent by the Nabob, with 12 Europeans, were left

1760 April. in Karical. Captain Joseph Smith, with the rest of his command from Tritchinopoly, of which 30 were artillery-men, remained, as did half the marines from the squadron ; the other half, with all the battering artillery, were re-embarked. The Nabob with his troops, likewise accompanied Major Monson. They moved on the 10th of April, and continued by the road along the sea-shore, until they came to the mouths of the Coleroon near Devicotah, when they struck to the west, and passed the river in its single channel opposite to the pagoda of Chilambarum. At the passage, they were joined by Kistnarow, with his party of horse, who a few days before had intercepted two companies of Sepoys, escorting three tumbrils of ammunition to Chilambarum, which he took, having killed and dispersed all the Sepoys, and gathered up their arms. Major Monson summoned this place on the 19th ; and on refusal, two eighteen-pounders were disembarked from the squadron, which was at anchor off the bar of Devicotah. There were brought on catamarans up the Coleroon, and joined the camp the next day. The slender walls of the pagoda would not have resisted a single shot, and, although the French had projected redoubts at the four angles, and one in the middle of the north, and another of the south wall ; these works had only been carried up a little way in earth, and could only serve for cannon fired in barbette : scaffoldings had been erected for musketry, and there was a gun in each of the towers at the angles. In the twilight of the evening, the garrison perceived the artillery-men of the camp bringing fascines to the spot where the battery was intended, and mistook the fascines for scaling-ladders ; on which the officers held a consultation, which did not resolve until midnight ; when the camp, to their great surprize, saw a number of torches held out together upon the wall, and discovered amongst them a white flag, which the torches were illuminating. The signal of surrender was accepted ; some troops advanced to the gate, and were admitted on the promise of good treatment to the garrison ; which consisted of eight officers, and 40 other Europeans. The next day, the marines were sent to Devicotah, to be re-embarked on the squadron ; and Kistnarow, with his horse, was detached to destroy

destroy the French districts about Cuddalore. This way lay the nearest road to Valdore; but Major Monson, imagining that Mr. Lally might post a force at Cuddalore to interrupt the march of his own, which was not strong in Europeans, if they should take this route; and, being unwilling to expose the person of the Nabob to any danger, resolved to turn inland, and attack Verdachelum; from whence he might proceed to Valdore, keeping the main body of the army between his own division and Pondicherry. 1760 April.

The enemy kept only Sepoys in their station at Trivadi, who abandoned it on the approach of Assaf beg's detachment, although they came without cannon. Encouraged by this easy success, Assaf-beg proceeded towards Cuddalore, where the same panic had prevailed, and no troops remained to oppose his entrance; but the town was not entirely deserted by the inhabitants. This station was of much utility, as the road was in sight, and at this season to windward of Pondicherry: two companies of Sepoys were posted in the town; the houses of the factory were prepared to serve as an hospital to the squadron; bullocks were sent off to supply the ships with fresh provisions; and the few boatmen remaining in the town received encouragement to collect more of their own craft from different parts of the coast. On the 25th Rear-admiral Cornish anchored in the road, with the six men of war from Karical, and on the 29th was joined by Admiral Stevens, with four more from Bombay: they were part of the nine, which composed Mr. Pococke's squadron in the preceding year, two of which were arrived before with Mr. Cornish. Of the three others, the Salisbury was not completely repaired, and the Cumberland had not entered the dock when Mr. Stevens sailed; the Yarmouth remained, in consequence of orders from the admiralty, to convey Mr. Pococke to England, from whence he had been absent five years. All the presidencies followed him with the most grateful acknowledgements of the eminent services he had rendered the nation during his continuance and command in the seas of India, which he completed, by escorting safely from St. Helena, in the heat of the war, 13 sail of the company's ships returning from their settlements, which arrived in

1760 England in the October following, and were the richest fleet that had ever entered the Thames at one time.

April.

The two armies had continued in their respective encampments, their advanced guards in full sight, and continually alarming one another; and on the 27th at day-break, the French cavalry, with 50 of their infantry, attacked a post of Sepoys and black horse, killed six or seven of each, and wounded more; and lost themselves two hussars killed, and their officer, with several wounded.

Nothing of consequence passed for several days after, and in the night between the first and second of May, the whole French army decamped from Perimbé, and retreated close to the bound-hedge, leaving only an advanced post with two guns about half a mile in front of the main body. Colonel Coote went in the afternoon, with his usual escorte of horse and Sepoys, to reconnoitre their position, and, advancing too near, several of his Sepoys were killed by the fire of the cannon from the advanced post.

Major Monson with his division, and the Nabob with his troops, arrived before Verdachelum on the 26th. This place stands 60 miles N. N. W. of Chillambrum, and 60 S. W. from Valdore. It is extensive, and was originally a pagoda, and although converted into a fort by the addition of towers at the angles, and projected masses of masonry in each of the sides as gateways, still continued of very feeble defence against cannon. It seemed therefore only to acquit his military honour, that the commanding officer refused to surrender on the first summons; for the next day, on the appearance of the two eighteen-pounders in battery, he of his own accord threw out the white flag, and surrendered at discretion. His garrison were, besides himself and another officer, 13 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. This place as well as Chillambrum was delivered over to the Nabob, who gave them in charge of his own Sepoys, and put both garrisons under the command of Kistnarow. He was here joined by his brother, Maphuze Khan, who when least expected, had left the Pulitaver in the beginning of January, and joined Mahomed Issoof at Tinivelly; from whence he was sent, with an escorte, to Puducotah, the principal town of the polygar Tondiman

 where

where he remained, still full of supicions of the evil intentions of the Nabob, until encouraged to trust him by repeated assurances from the Presidency, that no harm should befall him. He arrived with very few attendants, and had not money to entertain more. From Verdachelum, the troops continued their route by Villaporum and Vicravandi, and arrived at Valdore on the 3d of May. The Nabob remained in the camp until the 10th, much delighted with the army and commanders, who had restored him to so great a part of his dominions. He then proceeded to Madrass, in order to regulate with the Presidency the modes of administration in the countries which had been recovered. 1760 May.

The French, when they abandoned Cuddalore, demolished the parapets of the bastions, took down the three gates, and made several breaches in the rampart, and the whole face of the town fronting the sea never had a wall. Several informations had been lately received, that Mr. Lally intended to retake Cuddalore, of which Colonel Coote advised the officers there, and warned them to keep special guard. On the 10th at night, 100 Europeans with 60 hussars and three companies of Sepoys, entered the town, suprized and dispersed the Sepoys, and advanced to the hospital, where they took five surgeons, six petty officers, and 58 sailors and marines belonging to the squadron, mostly sick, whom they carried away, and left none of their own men to maintain the place. The next day, a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys, with 20 of the European horse, and a field-piece, under the command of Lieutenant Fitzgerald, were sent into the town from the camp, and 60 marines were landed from the squadron. At four in the ensuing morning, whilst it was yet dark, a stronger party than the night before entered the town again, and took the field-piece; but, finding more resistance than they expected, retreated over the rivers towards Fort St. David, of which the fortifications had been so completely demolished, that a single redoubt was not left to give post to a company of infantry. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, with the hussars and some Sepoys, for all would not move, and none of the marines, followed, and hung in their rear, until they had recrossed the Panar beyond

1760 May. beyond Fort St. David; where the enemy abandoned the field-piece they had taken. It was said, that the commander was killed, three other officers wounded, and 32 of the common soldiers killed and wounded. Of the English troops a Jemidar with 20 Sepoys were wounded, and a Subadhar was killed. From this earnestness, other attempts were expected, and diligence was used to render the place more desensible, and the Sepoys were augmented to 700. On the 20th, information was received, that the enemy intended another attack, with a much greater force than the last; on which, Colonel Coote detached an officer, with 30 Europeans, and 300 black horse, to interrupt their parties, or succour the place. The officer went with the Europeans into the town, and stationed the horse at a distance without; between one and two in the morning, the expected attack was made by 700 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 150 of the French horse, which were half this body: and they had four field-pieces. They divided into five different assaults; all entered the town, but were stopped at the traverses which had been thrown up in the streets leading to the hospital, which resisted the direct fire of their field-pieces, and commanded their musketry. They however persisted, until two of their officers were killed, and 60 private men killed and wounded. The English officer followed them, with the black horse and some Sepoys, to the Panar: but their cavalry and field-pieces keeping in order in the rear, deterred any effectual attempt to interrupt their retreat.

On the 23d, the Salisbury joined the squadron from Bombay, and brought from thence to the assistance of the army three companies of the royal artillery, which the King had sent for the defence of that island; and the government there, very judiciously to the coast, where they were more immediately wanted. They were 178 men, exclusive of officers, all sound, and joined the army a few days after from Cuddalore, where they landed. After the retreat of the French troops to the bound-hedge, the two camps were at too great a distance to afford such continual occasions of skirmish as before.

The

The successes of the English army, had not a little conduced to encrease the dissentions which had long rent the government of Pondicherry, where calamity, instead of reconciling, only exasperated the animosities of those who were sharing the same distresses. The loss of Permacoil was imputed to the retreat of the army, which was on march to relieve it; but they were only faulty in not having advanced with more expedition; and in either case Mr. Lally, not being present, was exempt from blame: which nevertheless was urged, because the officer who commanded in his absence was of his own regiment, and supposed to be much in his favour. The fall of Alamparvah was ascribed to the loss of Permacoil, and Valdore to malignant treachery, that Pondicherry might be deprived of the last post which remained to protect any convoys which might attempt to get into the town. Mr. Lally was informed of what every one thought and said concerning himself; and retaliated with sarcasms on their soreness for the loss of their own peculations out of the districts which he had been obliged to abandon. In this state of virulence were minds, when the squadron with Mr. Cornish was working up the coast to Karical. There were in the town of Pondicherry, 600 Europeans, invalids, fit only for garrison duty: and the inhabitants were 500 more Europeans. These, added to the regular troops, would contribute to make a formidable display, which Mr. Lally intended to exhibit on the strand to the view of the squadron, as they were passing through the road: orders were given in consequence. The covenanted servants of the French company were to be a part of the parade; but a little before, at the hour appointed, they came into the court of the government-house, and sent up word to Mr. Lally, that they would not march unless led by the Governor and Council, whom Mr. Lally had exempted from this duty. Mr. Deleyrit, the governor, immediately offered to put himself at their head; but the counsellors coming in, said, that none of the Company's servants were obliged to bear arms out of the walls of the town. On this declaration, Mr. Lally arrested the two spokesmen of the Council, and two of the forwardest of the repugnants, disarmed and dismissed the rest, and went on with the review without

1760 May.

1760 May. without them. The offence and punishment left no bounds to the mutual aversion between him and the company's servants. Whilst the English army were attacking Valdore, two ships arrived from the islands: they brought neither troops nor money, but unfavourable advices, which were with much caution suppressed, and published as good news with salute of cannon, fireworks, and rejoicings, "That "Mr. D'Aché's squadron, reinforced from France to 25 sail of the "line, might be soon expected on the coast, with a large body of "land forces on board." After the fall of Valdore, a few enclosures under the guns at Villanore and Ariancopang, with the ground within the bound-hedge, and the town of Pondicherry itself, contained all the live provisions, on which the colony was to rely for their future sustenance, and all further means were precluded of bringing in grain or other articles of store from the country without; for although Gingee and Thiagar remained in the hands of the French, their situation was distant, and their garrisons not strong enough to furnish sufficient escorts, and no parties equal to the same purpose could be detached from the main body, without incurring the risque of interception. When the farm of the districts adjacent to Pondicherry was taken from the European renters, and let to the Malabar, after the defeat at Vandivash, there was a sufficient quantity of grain on the ground in reach of Pondicherry, to have stocked the place, as some say, for years; but money was then more scarce than victuals, and the new farmer was permitted to sell his grain, that he might be enabled to pay his rent in coin into the treasury, instead of delivering grain, as acquittal, into the magazines. As soon as Permacoil and Alamparvah fell, and the English army advanced between Gingee and Pondicherry, Mr. Lally saw this error, and that it was not retrievable, but by means which he had hitherto, with too much presumption, despised.

Hyder Ally, the general of the Mysoreans, had at this time acquired the whole power of the government. He had lately taken the King out of the hands of his uncle, the Dalaway, whom we have seen commanding the Mysore troops before Tritchinopoly.

The

The Dalaway had agreed to retire to the fort of Mysore with a 1760
jaghire allowed for his maintenance and security, and Hyder Ally May.
was left without controul ; for the King was young, weak, and timid. Not unmindful, however, of a reverse of fortune, Hyder Ally cast about to get some place of refuge immediately for his treasures, and contingently for his own person ; and judiciously preferred Thiagar in the Carnatic, as well for the difficulty of access to it from Mysore, as the inexpugnable nature of its fortifications. A Portuguese monk, named Norognha, who assumed, and perhaps had obtained, the title of Bishop of Halicarnassus, had, by residence under the pretext of religious mission, acquired much knowledge of the adjacent countries, as well as of the Carnatic itself, and Mr. Lally, immediately on his arrival at Pondicherry, gave him his confidence, and employed him in all his transactions with the chiefs of the country. The bishop performed his commissions with zeal ; for he was greedy of money, and it is a common custom in India to give some to the negotiator of a treaty. It was he who bargained for the Morattoes who joined the French army at Arcot ; after which he continued in Velore, watching over opportunities, and either suggested to Hyder Ally, or discovered his inclinations, to obtain Thiagar. Mr. Lally seeing no other means of procuring relief to the necessities which began to threaten Pondicherry, repressed the contempt with which he had hitherto regarded the military faculties of the princes in India, and sent two of his officers to conclude the treaty with Hyder Ally. It was agreed, " that Hyder should immediately send a body of 2000 horse, and " 3000 Sepoys, with artillery, who, on their arrival at Thiagar, " were to be put in possession of that fort, and of Elvanasore, with " the dependencies of both, which were to remain the property of " the Mysoreans in perpetuity as long as the flag of France existed " in India. This army was to be paid at the rate of 100,000 rupees " a month, from the day of their arrival at Thiagar. Ten eighteen-" pounders were to be given as a present to Hyder, exclusive of the " artillery in the two forts, which, as well as all the military stores, " was to be delivered with them. His troops were to be furnished

1760 May. "with ammunition, whilst serving for the French; who, after the "Carnatic should be cleared, were to assist him in conquering the "southern countries of Madura and Tinivelly. Besides the number "already stipulated, Hyder Ally engaged to supply 1000 horse and "2000 Sepoys more: in consideration of which, half the countries "which should be recovered in the Carnatic, were to be assigned to "his government, excepting the French company's domains of "Villenore, Valdore, Bahoor, and Alamparvah: the territory of "Vellore, as belonging to Mortizally, their ally, and the districts de-"pendant on Trinomalee, having been granted in appanage to Ra-"jahsaheb, the son of Chundasaheb, were likewise exempted; and "whatsoever portion of the Carnatic should fall to the Mysoreans, "was to be delivered back to the French, in proportion to the pro-"gress of the acquisitions in the southern countries."

The negotiation was conducted with so much secrecy, that no surmises of it were obtained by the English until the 24th of May, just as their late successes seemed to have left nothing on the land, which could interrupt the prosecution of their intention to blockade Pondicherry; for which, preparations were making at Madrass, when Colonel Coote received intelligence of this unexpected alliance by a letter from one of his correspondents in Pondicherry, signifying, that Mr. Lally was preparing a considerable detachment, to march and join Hyder Ally at Thiagar. Hyder it was known was not there, nor was there any probability that his other interest would permit him to leave Seringapatam: nor were any dispositions observed in the enemy's encampment, which signified such a detachment as was said to be going. On the 30th, Colonel Coote went out to reconnoitre them himself, accompanied as usual by the black horse and Sepoys. The enemy cannonaded hotly, and killed some of the horsemen; but Assaf beg, with two or three squadrons, broke in upon their Sepoys, and killed 14 of them. Nothing appeared for several days after to confirm the intelligence; and Colonel Coote began to regard it as a rumour thrown out by Mr. Lally himself, to conceal some other design, when, on the 7th of June, he received a confirmation of it from

Kist-

Kistnarow, who had been ordered to look out, and had advanced 1760 June.
with his party to Volcondah.

The first division of the Mysore troops, consisting of 1000 horse, and 2000 Sepoys, arrived at Thiagar on the 4th of June, and the next day some of their parties, roaming to collect cattle, skirmished with Kistnarow's near the pettah of Volcondah. The rest of the division still remaining at Thiagar were 30 miles nearer Pondicherry; and Kistnarow believing the exaggerated accounts of their numbers, and being in want of ammunition, hurried back to protect the districts of Verdachelum, which had been entrusted, not without profit, to his care; from hence he sent his report and his fears to Colonel Coote, with earnest request of reinforcements; and then, he said, he would march, and beat the Mysoreans.

A month before the rumours of these troops, the forces which the Mysore government maintained in Dindigul had commenced hostilities against the adjacent Polygars depending on Tritchinopoly; and it was reported that they intended to get possession of the pass of Nattam, which would preclude the immediate communication between Tritchinopoly and Madura. But as the Mysoreans in these quarters had several times before attacked the possessions of the Nabob, their present hostilities had not led to any suspicions of the greater effort which Hyder Ally was preparing against the Carnatic; nor were they deemed of danger to require immediate resistance from this province: but Mahomed Issoof sent a detachment from Tinivelly to Madura, from whence they were to take the field and enter the districts of Dindigul; and the troops maintained by the Nabob for the protection of the districts of Tritchinopoly, assembled at the pass of Nattam, under the command of Hussain Cawn, who had served with the French at Terriore and Seringham until they retreated out of these countries, when he offered his service to the Nabob, and was accepted.

The heats of the season, since the land-winds had set in in April, had this year been much more intense than usual; and had struck sickness through the camp. Sixty Europeans had died, and 300 were in the hospital, and to preserve the rest from the sun, the day-duty of the line was done by the Sepoys. From the same attention

1760 June. fifty of the late deserters had been incorporated, and called the Free Company, under the command of two French officers, brothers, of the name of Martin: like the French volunteers, they were intended for the services of most fatigue and danger, and were now employed, for the first time. They marched on the 10th, accompanied by 25 Coffrees, two companies of Sepoys, 1000 black horse, and an iron gun with five European gunners, to join Kistnarow at Villaporum; as it was supposed the Mysoreans would attempt to pass either by this place or Trivadi.

Although no regular detachments had marched from Pondicherry, small parties to the amount of 200 Europeans had passed at different times undiscovered to Gingee, and from thence proceeded to Thiagar, before the first division of Mysoreans arrived there; but remained in order to accompany the main body to Pondicherry. Preparing for this important convoy and reinforcement, the garrisons both of Thiagar and Gingee had collected all the cattle, which the inhabitants had not driven out of their reach: but the Mysore horse in three days swept a much greater number; but refused to proceed with them, until fully apprized what interruption they were likely to meet in the way; and the French officers were afraid to tell them that they only ran the risque of more by this delay.

The Martins arrived at Villaporum on the 11th, and heard nothing of Kistnarow; and the commandant of Gingee, thinking he could cope with their detachment, marched from his forts with 100 Europeans, some Sepoys, and black horse. The Martins, as well as the deserters they commanded, behaved with much spirit in their new cause, and repulsed their countrymen, who acted but faintly. Some of the French Sepoys were killed, and two Europeans, a Topaze, and a Coffree, were made prisoners.

Notwithstanding this success and repeated injunctions Kistnarow still kept aloof; and, as it was supposed that the Mysoreans already arrived were the whole body, and would advance, accompanied by the Europeans from Thiagar, to which force that with the Martins, although strong, would in no wise have been equal, another detach-

detachment still stronger was sent from the camp: both when joined would amount to 190 European infantry, 30 European horse, 25 Coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1600 black horse; and were to be commanded by Major More, the same who marched in January to Tripetty, and had lately been promoted from the rank of captain. 1760 June.

More Mysoreans arriving, they called in their parties, and being joined by 40 or 50 of the French troops from Thiagar, appeared before Tricalore on the 10th; but, the Frenchmen having brought only two or three small field-pieces, and the fort being of stone, the Sepoys within, who were three good companies left there by Captain Airey, refused to surrender; and by the fire of their musketry from the walls obliged the enemy to retire; who then went against Trichimungalum, a fort five miles to the east, where the garrison, which was likewise of Sepoys, took fright, and evacuated it on their approach. From this place all the Mysore cavalry, now 1500, set off for Pondicherry, driving a multitude of cattle, but unaccompanied by any troops on foot, even their own, that, if interrupted, the horse might be free to force their way, or retire. The rule of these countries had so often been shifted to and fro by the fortune of war, and they had suffered so much, as well from the ravages of hostility, as the concussions of unsettled government, that they regarded both the English and French at least as tyrants, when not enemies; and, at this time, the renters and heads of villages, not knowing how soon they might have new masters, gave no assistance to Major More's detachment, who, distressed for provisions, and misled by false intelligence, advanced from Villaporum towards Tricalore, where they expected supplies, and hoped to intercept the Mysoreans in their route; who had passed before to the south, by Trivanelore, and arrived at Trivadi on the 23d, where they halted the day. Mr. Lally, apprized of their approach, had moved his whole army from the bound hedge to his former encampment at Perimbé in full sight of Valdore, and then detached 50 of his European cavalry to join the Mysoreans on the road. Colonel Coote received quick intelligence of their arrival at Trivadi, with an account of their num-

 bers,

1760 June. bers, and immediately sent out all the cavalry remaining in the camp, which were 1000 black, and 80 European horse: they were led by Vasserot, but whilst proceeding straight towards Trivadi, the Mysoreans filed off from thence along the Panar, until they reached the bounds of Fort St. David, and then crossing the plain, and keeping about a mile from the sea, came in towards the evening at Ariancopang, three miles in the rear of the French camp at Perimbé. They set out from Trivadi, with 2000 head of cattle, which retarding their march, they left in different herds in various places, intending to return and bring them in by detachments; so that only 300 bullocks arrived with them at the French camp.

The day after, Mr. Lally, in order to make proof of their service, advanced with them all, and the French European horse, towards the grand guard of the English cavalry, which was posted a mile and a half in front of the camp. All, when at a proper distance, set off on the gallop, and surrounded the guard on every side. Colonel Coote immediately pushed to relieve them with the main body of the cavalry, from the camp; but before they came up, as these kind of onsets are generally decided in a very few minutes, the whole guard was dispersed, and hurrying back to take shelter with the main body. The Mysoreans carried off 30 horses belonging to the black cavalry, and seven to the hussars.

Ensign Turner, who commanded at Cuddalore, receiving intelligence of the cattle which had been left on the way, went out with the Sepoys of his garrison, and in two or three days collected and drove in 900 of them; and none of the rest got into Pondicherry.

The detachment of Mysoreans escorted the officers appointed by Hyder Alley to settle the treaty and the plan of operations with the French government. A little before their arrival a report had been spread, that orders were on the way recalling Mr. Lally to France; which the Mysoreans hearing insisted that Mr. Deleyrit, and all the members of the Council, should sign the treaty; had they refused, no further assistance was to be expected; they therefore signed it, but at the same time composed a protest, which they kept en-

tirely

tirely secret amongst themselves, objecting more especially to the monthly sum which the Mysoreans were to receive as pay, to discharge which no money existed; and that the territories ceded to them were of much more value than the indefinite services they were likely to perform. Nevertheless this clandestine disapprobation was unworthy their office, being calculated to exempt themselves from blame, and to exaggerate it on Mr. Lally, if affairs should better with the assistance of the Mysoreans; at the same time the apparent sanction evinced that the council saw no immediate means so likely to stop the progress of the English successes, which had taken every thing abroad but Thiagar and Gingee, and were at this instant menacing the capital, Pondicherry: so that had the council meant sincerely, they only promised the half of what they had lost, or never possessed, to obtain the only chance of gaining the other half, perhaps of preserving what remained. The treaty was signed on the 27th, and on the 28th at night all the Mysoreans went away, promising to return very soon with their whole force, and abundance of provisions. The next day the French army retreated from Perimbé to the bound-hedge. 1760 June.

In this interval, the squadron had bren joined by two ships of the line from England, the Norfolk of 74, and the Panther of 64 guns, which anchored at Cuddalore on the 15th; and a few days after one of the Company's ships arrived from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, with a detachment of 100 Europeans, and 122 Topasses, sent from that settlement by order from Bombay. This, with the detachment of artillery which arrived a little before, would have been a great reinforcement at any time, but was at this juncture more especially seasonable; and these exertions did honour to the councils of that Presidency, which had hitherto been very cautious of parting with any part of its force.

On the 30th, the day after the French army returned to their bounnds, Colonel Coote detached the remainder of the hussars, who were 20, 500 black horse, 50 European infantry, and four companies of Sepoys, to Major More, that he might be strong enough to encounter the whole body of the Mysoreans in their approach to Pondicherry. This officer had been joined at Tricalore on the 24th, by Kistnarow,

1760 July. row, with 500 horse, and as many Sepoys. They proceeded against Trichimungalum, which surrendered after a short resistance on the 26th. The garrison were a serjeant, another European, and 180 Sepoys, with a much greater store of ammunition than their number required. They had collected 900 head of cattle in the fort, and a large quantity of grain in the town. Major Moore was again misled by his intelligence, and the party of Mysoreans returning from Pondicherry to Thiagar passed again out of his reach.

Mr. Lally determined to risque nothing before the main body of the Mysoreans arrived; and his troops were too strongly posted in front of, and within the bound-hedge, to be attacked by a force, which exceeded them so little as the English army, since the detachments it had lately sent abroad. So that both armies concurring in the same caution, in expectation of the same event, nothing of any moment passed between them for twenty days. Colonel Coote, in this interval, went to Madrass. He left the camp on the 6th of July, and returned on the 14th. The next day he received intelligence from Major Moore, that the Mysoreans were set out from Thiagar, with a very large convoy of provisions. This intelligence was confirmed the next day, with their route; and at three the next morning, which was the 17th, the van division of the army under Colonel Monson moved, and took possession of Perimbé, which is the ground under the point of the red-hill directly opposite to Villenore. The rest of the army came up before daylight; a party was immediately detached to take possession of the pettah of Villenore, and make preparations for batteries; another destroyed a redoubt on the hill over Perimbé, which the enemy had lately erected, in the spot where they before had raised the barracks for their cavalry, which Colonel Coote had burnt on his first excursion to reconnoitre this ground from Permacoil. The distance across, from the Red-hill, to the fort of Villenore and the river of Ariancopang, is little more than a mile, and the army possessed the whole space in posts and enclosures, which could not be attacked in front towards Pondicherry without great disadvantage; and nothing was apprehended in the rear, although the Mysoreans were coming; for they,

they, it was not doubted, would, as before, endeavour to join the French army, by avoiding the English. 1760 July.

On this day, the 17th, the troops with Major Moore, and the whole body of the Mysoreans, advancing by different routes, arrived nearly at the same hour in sight of Trivadi. With Moore were 180 European infantry, 30 Coffrees, and 50 hussars, and together with Kistnarow's the black horse were 1600, and the Sepoys 1100. The Mysoreans were 4000 horse well mounted, 1000 Sepoys, and 200 Europeans, or Topasses of the French army, of whom a part managed eight pieces of cannon. At this time, when the English troops had been so long accustomed to success, it was supposed, that the force with Major Moore, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, might have stood at least an obstinate brunt; but it happened otherwise; for by some mischance or misconduct, of which no certain account has ever been given, they were totally routed. The black horse and Sepoys, who it is said first gave way, dispersed on every side; five and twenty of the hussars were cut to pieces, and most of the rest were wounded; they were the only part which behaved with firmness, fighting after they were deserted by the European infantry, who retreated in great hurry and disorder to the fort of Trivadi, which they gained with the loss of 15 killed and 40 wounded.

The news of this misfortune reached Colonel Coote the next day, and encreased his anxiety to get possession of Villenore; for it was not doubted that Mr. Lally, as soon as joined by the Mysoreans, would make every effort to save this place.

The left of the English encampment was at the foot of the hill of Perimbé, and it extended 1500 yards to the right, across the plain towards Villenore. Through the center of the camp passed a road (raised as all the others on the plain above the common level of the ground, and) with a row of trees on each side. This avenue comes almost in a straight line from a redoubt in the bound-hedge, called the Villenore; but receives its name from the village of Oulgarry, through which it passeth about half-way between the bound-hedge and the hill of Perimbé. At a thousand yards in front of

1760 July. of the English encampment, and 2000 from the bound-hedge, another avenue called the Villenore, strikes off from the avenue of Oulgarry, on the left as you come from the bound-hedge, on the right, if looking from the camp. The Villenore, after continuing 400 yadrs at a right angle from the Oulgarry, turns nearly at another right angle, and leads straight west, and parallel to the other avenue; but ceases midway in the plain between Perimbé, and the fort of Villenore, which Colonel Coote was preparing to attack, and which must always be distinguished, in considering our narrative, from the redoubt of the same name in the bound-hedge: the Villenore avenue, towards its termination, covered the right flank of the English camp. From a redoubt in the bound-hedge, at 1000 yards to the right of the avenue of Oulgarry, commenceth another avenue, called, as well as the redoubt itself, the Valdore: this avenue continues only 1000 yards straight to the west, when, stopped by the opposition of the Red-hill, it inclines in another straight line to the left, until it has verged within 300 yards of the avenue of Oulgarry, which it then joins in another straight line, and at a right angle on the right, exactly facing the junction of the Villenore avenue on the other side the road, so that both together intersected the avenue of Oulgarry at right angles in the same point. It was along the Valdore avenue that Colonel Coote, with his cavalry, followed the French troops, when they retreated before him on the 7th of March, the first time he went to reconnoitre the ground about Pondicherry. Exactly opposite to the second angle of the Valdore avenue, as you come from the bound-hedge, and the first if you are going to it from the avenue of Oulgarry, stands a hillock, the highest, and the only conspicuous one on the plain, detached from the Red-hill; from the outward ridge of which this hillock is about 300 yards distant: thus situated, it commanded in flank the third or last, and in slant the middle or second turning of the Valdore avenue. Colonel Coote, having considered all the ground we have described, fortified the hillock with a closed redoubt of three guns, threw up a retrenchment of three guns across the avenue of Oulgarry, 150 yards in front of the spot

spot where it is joined by the two others, and raised another across the Villenore avenue. Both retrenchments, and the redoubt on the hillock, lay nearly in the same line in front of the camp, which the hill of Perimbé defended on the left; on the right, the plain on the other side of the Villenore avenue was open and passable to cannon and cavalry, even to the rear of the camp. But this approach would now be protected, by the troops stationed in the villages under Villenore, and employed in the attack of this fort. All the three works were finished between the night of the 17th and the morning of the 19th. This disposition was devised with much science; for every thing was obviated which might produce a general disaster, if the troops should be compelled to quit the attack of Villenore, of which the success was scarcely probable, if the enemy, as might be expected, risqued boldly for its safety. 1760 July.

A thirteen-inch mortar, sent from Madrass, and landed at Cuddalore, arrived in camp on the 19th, and was immediately planted to bombard the fort; but the shells sent with it were too small, and would not take any certain range, and heavy rains prevented any work at the batteries during the night.

The next morning the French army, not yet joined by the whole body of Mysoreans, appeared advancing along the river of Ariancopong, as if they intended to attack the detachments stationed to guard the batteries; on which Colonel Coote marched from the right of the camp with the two battalions of the company's troops, and half the horse and Sepoys to meet the enemy, who halted, and began to cannonade; during which Draper's and Coote's regiments with the rest of the black troops, by previous disposition, marched from the left of the camp along the foot of the Red-hill, as if they intended to storm the redoubts of the bound-hedge, and get into the rear of the enemy's army. Mr. Lally believed this feigned intention to be real, and immediately retreated to his former stations; a few of the English cavalry and Sepoys were wounded. In the evening the Mysoreans arrived from Trivadi with 3000 bullocks, carrying their baggage, and drawing their artillery, and 3000 more laden with rice, and other provisions; the

1760 July. French detachments from Thiagar and Gingee accompanied them: they came in unmolested, as before, by Ariancopang, and their arrival was complimented with a long salute of cannon. In the evening the guards before Villenore were reinforced, and double diligence employed through the night at the batteries.

The fort of Villenore was a circle 50 yards in diameter within the wall; it was surrounded by a ditch, a covered-way, and a glacis cut in angles, as a star. The rampart was a construction of masonry, divided into ten lodgements, or chambers, which were arched, the vaults bomb-proof, and the interstices at top were filled up to an equal level, which formed the terrace on which the cannon were mounted. Each of the chambers, was likewise opened through the outside of the wall in casements intended for cannon, but none were mounted in them. The breadth of the rampart, which was the length of the chambers, was 30 feet, and reduced the area within to a small pentagon, which in no direction was more than 45 feet over; so that if the chambers had not been bomb-proof, the place could not have stood an hour against this kind of artillery. Two villages lay near the fort, one directly north, the other to the north-east. They were about 200 yards from each other, and both were occupied by the English troops. The passage through the glacis to the fort was straight, and nothing obstructed the view quite up to the foot of the wall but the barrier gate, and the drawbridge, when up; neither of which could resist a shot; nevertheless, the French had neglected to cover this opening by a traverse, either in front or behind the passage. The advantage was taken, and a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected between the two villages, to breach through the opening: another of the same force was erected in the village to the north, to destroy the parapet, and take in reverse the part intended to be breached.

Both batteries opened with the day on the 16th. At nine o'clock the French army, with all the Mysoreans, horse and foot, approached along the bank of the river of Ariancopang. Some of the black horse and Sepoys, with three field-pieces, were sent from the English camp to stop their advanced parties, whilst the line got under

under arms ; and as soon as they were in motion, a detachment of Europeans, with four field-pieces, filed off from the right to reinforce the villages of Villenore. By this time the batteries there had beat down the parapet, and silenced the enemy's fire from the fort, when two companies of Sepoys set off on the full run, and posted themselves under the brick facing of the covered-way, in a hollow, where the earth had not been filled up, as in other parts, to the crest of the glacis ; some, more adventurous, jumped over the wall. Still the garrison had nothing to fear ; for the Sepoys had a ditch to pass, and a very imperfect breach to mount : but the commanding officer held out a flag of truce, and opened the gates to a detachment of Europeans, who hastened up on the first sight of the flag. They immediately raised the English colours on the rampart, and turned the guns against the French and Mysoreans, who were advanced along the river-side within the random reach of cannon-shot. The change was received with the curses of every man in the French army. All the lines stopped involuntarily, and at once, stricken by horror ; and Mr. Lally, more confounded than any, immediately ordered the whole to retreat under the guns of Ariancopang. There were in the fort 30 Europeans, 12 Coffrees, and eight pieces of cannon on the ramparts, which might have held out two days longer, before the English would have ventured to storm ; and ten minutes more in the present hour would have brought on a general engagement to decide its fate. Of all his successes, Colonel Coote deemed this the most fortunate, because least expected. Nevertheless he had exerted much ability to place the army in a situation to make the attack in sight of the enemy's, and, if it failed, have nothing unequal to apprehend.

1760 July.

The first arrival of the Mysoreans in the province had alarmed the Presidency of Madrass, as much as it surprized the army ; for, besides the interruption they might give to the success of the war, the Nabob's revenues were lost wherever their parties appeared ; and, as horse, they might in the back country extend their ravages from Tritchinopoly to Arcot : and this detriment was the more dreaded, because the company in England, relying on the treasures of Bengal, had

1760 July. had determined to send no bullion to any of their settlements in India, and the Presidency of Bengal had consumed all their incomes, and were borrowing money. It was therefore proposed to the Nabob, who was at Madrass, to march with what troops had accompanied him thither, supported by a detachment of Europeans from the garrison, in order to protect the countries between Gingee and Trinomaly, and all behind them to Arcot. Captain Richard Smith, at Tritchinopoly, as soon as he had acquired intelligence of the strength and intentions of the Mysoreans which were come into the Carnatic, proposed the expediency of a diversion, by marching with a force from his garrison, and attacking the districts of Mysore, which confine on the westward to those of Tritchinopoly, whilst the troops ordered by Mahomed Issoof from Madura, should keep the Mysoreans of Dindigul at bay. The idea was approved as the most probable resource; he was ordered to carry it into execution, and Tanjore and Tondiman were requested to give him what assistance he might require.

The Nabob marched from Madrass on the 3d of July, and on the 7th he arrived at Vandivash; after loitering there some days, he suddenly changed his mind from keeping the field against the Mysoreans, and went away to make his entrance into his captial of Arcot; but left 700 of his horse, and 500 of his Sepoys, with his brother Maphuze Khan, who on the 22d came with them to the army at Perimbé. The day after Colonel Coote, with all the cavalry of the army, a great part of the Sepoys, several field-pieces, an eighteen-pounder on a field-carriage, but without any European infantry, advanced towards the bound-hedge. This defiance as it were of meeting the Mysoreans with equal arms could not provoke them to come out and try their strength; but the French infantry advanced and cannonaded from seven pieces of cannon, which only wounded two European gunners.

The next morning, the 24th, on intelligence that a large body of the Mysoreans intended to march that night to the westward to escort provisions, Major Monson was detached, with all the black cavalry, six companies of Sepoys, and two field-pieces, to take post at

at Valdore, near which, it was supposed, the Mysoreans would return; but only a few were gone out, who halted at Rangapillah's choultry on the sea shore, six miles to the north of the bound-hedge, where they were joined on the 26th by the large body from Pondicherry, of which intelligence had been given on the 24th. All went on to Permacoil; Major Monson followed them on the 27th, and arrived on the 28th, when none were remaining there. In the mean time, Lieutenant Eiser had been detached from the camp on the 26th, with 400 Sepoys, 30 Europeans, and a hundred black horse, the best in the army, to proceed from Rangapillah's choultry along the sea-shore, whilst Major Monson was endeavouring to come up with them on the other side; but they had struck off in several parties, some towards Gingee, others to the northward, spreading to collect cattle, and destroying whatsoever else belonged to the inhabitants, who, as their ground now supplied the English army with provisions, were every where considered by the French as armies. One of these parties went to Allamparvah, where they plundered the pettah, and took a Lieutenant, who was sick, and chancing to be taking the air, having shot him through the back as he was endeavouring to escape in his palakin; however the cannon of the fort drove the party away, and, as they were returning along the shore towards Pondicherry, they fell unawares across Eiser's detachment, by whom they were intirely routed, and 30 of their horse surrendered to him, with which he returned to the camp in the evening, where major Monson's division likewise rejoined the same day; for the whole cavalry of the camp had marched in these two divisions. 1760 July.

The last day of the month brought the welcome arrival of five of the Company's ships from England in the Road of Cuddalore: and two days after came in another, which had separated from them. There were on board of the six, 600 men drafted from regiments in England, to replace the deficiences which might have happened in Draper's and Coote's.

On the 3d of August, the free company of Frenchmen were sent to get in the rear of one of the enemy's advanced posts, which lay in August.

1760 August. in the Valdore road, about half a mile from the bound-hedge. They marched along the skirts of the Red-hill, and, coming by surprize, killed and wounded several, and drove the rest to the bound-hedge.

The Mysoreans, according to their contract, had delivered all the provisions they brought into the magazines of Pondicherry, where they were carefully stored for future need. The pursuit of Monson, and the success of Eiser, deterred them from going out again in large detachments, and although the English army could not cover the ground sufficiently to prevent small parties from getting back, with a few head of cattle or other provisions, yet all these supplies were unequal to the daily consumption of 10,000 mouths; for, with their followers, the Mysore army amounted to this multitude; and in a few days rice began to sell in their camp at the rate of two pounds for a rupee. This distress, the constant fatigue and risque necessary to redress it, and their convictions of the superiority of the English army, as well by the loss of Villenore, as the caution of the French to risque an engagement since that event, made them weary of their expedition and alliance; and their Sepoys, foreseeing less likelihood of retreating with safety than the horse, began to desert in numbers every day.

The garrison of Gingee had collected 2000 carriage bullocks, and rice to load on them, and, with various parties which had got out from Pondicherry, 150 Europeans of the infantry, and 100 of the cavalry, were waiting there to escort this train, expecting to be joined by the Mysore horse; who were by this time determined to go away to Thiagar, and return no more; on which, 50 more Europeans, with three companies of Sepoys, were detached from Pondicherry, to reinforce the convoy. Colonel Coote took measures to prevent its arrival. Some Sepoys patroled along the sea-shore, as far as Rangapillah's choultry; from Alamparvah, Martin, with the free company, four of Sepoys, and three field-pieces, marched on the 12th, to lie between Valdore and Permacoil, and were reinforced the next day by 30 hussars with Lieutenant Kircher. Whilst these parties were on the north and N. W. Ensign Turner marched from Cuddalore to Trivadi, with the seven companies of Sepoys

 belong-

belonging to that garrison, in which Major Monson remained with the troops just arrived from England: so that the outlets to the S. W. and S. were equally well guarded, and the main body of the army lying between Villenore and the Red-hill utterly precluded the passage to or from the west. The convoy from Gingee were expected to set out on the 12th, but did not until the evening of the 13th; intelligence of which was soon after brought to Colonel Coote, who went off at 11 at night, with all the black cavalry, 200 Europeans, the hundred Topasses from Bombay, and two field-pieces, and proceeded towards Killenore. The same night the greatest part of the Mysore horse decamped from the glacis of Pondicherry, and marching fast fell in when it was deep dark with Martin and Kircher, who, charging them unexpectedly met no resistance, killed 40, took 200 of their horse, and 900 bullocks laden with their baggage. At day-break Colonel Coote came up with his party, when all the Mysoreans were not yet out of sight; they were retreating in broken parties to the west-ward. Colonel Coote divided his force in pursuit of them, which returned the same day with many more bullocks and two European prisoners. One division of the Mysoreans escaped both the encounter and pursuit. They were at some distance in the rear, when the front was stopped, on which they immediately turned back, and passing as they had come at the back of the Red-hill, and by the sea shore, regained the bounds of Pondicherry.

1760 August.

Notwithstanding this rout, it was still considered as doubtful, whether the Mysoreans might not join and return with the convoy waiting at Gingee: and to prevent the continual fatigue of detachments marching from the camp on every report, to watch and intercept their approach, it was determined to post a force sufficient to cope with them separate from the main body of the army, which continued at Perimbé. The detachment which had accompanied the Nabob from Madrass, when it was supposed he intended to keep the field towards Trinomaly, advanced from Vandivash; and on the 19th encamped at Ratlagramon, a town under the hills to the east of Gingee, and ten miles north of Valdore; a station which the

1760 August. convoy could not avoid without much circuit and trouble. The detachment was immediately joined by another from the camp, when the whole amounted to 200 European foot, 50 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, 50 European horse, hussars, and 500 black horse; they were commanded by Captain Preston.

The 500 Mysoreans which had returned to Pondicherry were afraid to venture out again in a body, but in every of the succeeding nights sent off small parties, which passed undiscovered. To stop those which remained, two companies of Sepoys, with 100 of the black horse, where detached with Ensign Meredith, and took post at Rangapillah's choultry. Another detachment of Sepoys marched the same day from the camp in quest of a party of Europeans which had marched the night before from Pondicherry for Gingee, but only brought back four, whom they had picked up lagging on the road with fatigue. Early the next morning, a strong detachment from the bounds attacked the post at Rangapillah's choultry, and obliged the party there to retreat. On the first notice, two companies of Sepoys, and all the grand guard of cavalry, marched to sustain them, and the enemy retired on their appearance.

In two or three nights more, all the Mysoreans who had returned to Pondicherry were gone, and all their parties had escaped without interruption. News was received at this time that their main body which had assembled at Thiagar, were marched from thence to attack Trinomaly; it was therefore concluded, that they would make no farther efforts of consequence to succour Pondicherry with provisions; and in this persuasion, the Presidency rosumed the intention of blockading Pondicherry by sea and land; and the Governor Mr. Pigot came from Madrass to confer with Admiral Stevens and Colonel Coote on the means.

The ground between Villenore and Perimbé was the best on which the English army could continue, whilst the Mysoreans remained with the French; for it presented a narrow front, was of hazardous approach, afforded several strong posts, and was centrically situated for the expedition of detachments to interrupt any which might be sent from, or coming to the enemy's camp. But this situation did not

not fully answer the purpose of a blockade, which was to reduce the town by famine; for, being five miles distant, the army was not sufficient to form a chain of posts in a curve of 15 miles from the sea-shore on the north to the sea-shore on the south of the town, close, or in all parts strong enough, to intercept every thing. The bound-hedge of Pondicherry sweeps from the north to the S. E. of the town, where it ceases on the bank of the river of Ariancopang, which in two arms, with an island between them, supplies the rest of the barrier to the south of the town. The area included by the hedge with the arms of the river, comprizes nearly seven square miles. This ground afforded pasture for a number of cattle, which, if unmolested, might, whilst the English army remained at their present distance, supply the troops and inhabitants with porvisions for seveal months; and the daily consumption might be replaced by small convoys from without; so that the enemy could not be severely distressed, until pent within the bound-hedge, when its redoubts and other stations in possession of the English, would suffer nothing to remain abroad beyond the foot of the glacis, and even there not in quiet. These posts would likewise obstruct the introduction of supplies in the whole extent of the hedge, and the present stock would remain the principal reliance, until the French army should be sufficiently reinforced to recover them; but now that the Mysoreans were gone, no probabiltiy remained of any troops coming to the succour of the town, excepting from the sea. Nevertheless the English force was not yet sufficiently superior, even if in possession of the bound-hedge, to open trenches against the town; and if it had, the preparation, embarkation, and transport of the artillery and stores, which were all to come from Madrass, could not be accomplished before the setting-in of the monsoon, which at farthest might be expected in the middle of October. If the French fleet appeared before this time, the issue of the fight at sea would determine the future success of the siege; if not, their delay must arise from the want of force to cope with Mr. Stevens's squadron; and in this case, it was scarcely to be doubted that single ships, or more, would at any risque venture with relief

1760 August.

1760 in the height of the stormy weather, in expectation that the English squadron would have left the coast to avoid it, as they had done during every monsoon for the last five years. Thus it became necessary to get possession of the bound hedge and its redoubts without delay; and then that the squadron should continue in sight of Pondicherry through the monsoon, in order to intercept whatsoever ships might be coming either with troops or provisions: but, previous to the attack of the hedge, Colonel Coote thought it necessary to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, which standing on the south side of the river, almost opposite, although at some distance from the termination of the hedge on the other bank, commanded all the ground between, as well as in front down to the strand of the sea; so that from the garrison of the town on the one hand, and the fort on the other, this quarter of the circumvallation, supposing the hedge to be taken, could not be completed without more force than the army could spare from other parts; and even then the posts established on this side would be continually exposed to dangerous attacks; in the mean time, this extent of ground would remain open for the introduction of convoys; which, detachments from the fort of Ariancopang, if taken, might easily intercept. The force of the English army before the town, exclusive of garrisons and detachments, was 2000 Europeans, and 6000 natives, either horse or Sepoys. If Ariancopang were attacked by a detachment, the number requisite, of 800 Europeans, would leave the main body scarcely a match for the whole of the enemy's force, if collected to attack them, who doubtless would make the effort. If Ariancopang were invested by the whole army, they must move from the advantageous ground between Villenore and Perimbé, which would leave all to the north of Pondicherry open, and admit the French army then to detach a force, which, joined with the party already at Gingee, would be able to drive Preston from Rattlagrammon, and bring in, if not the whole, at least a considerable part of the convoy collected there. These grounds and circumstances Mr. Pigot represented in a memorial to Admiral Stevens, and, in consequence of them, requested that he would land all the marines of the

August.

the squadron, to enable the army to attack Ariancopang, and take possession of the bound-hedge; and that he would determine to remain on the coast with the whole squadron, through the monsoon. Mr. Stevens was very loth to deprive his ships of their marines during the expectation of an engagement with the enemy's squadron, but at length acquiesced to the necessity and importance of the service they might render on shore; and promised without hesitation that his squadron should not quit the coast until compelled by irresistible necessity. Accordingly, the marines were landed at Cuddalore on the 27th; they were, including officers, 422 Europeans. 1760 August.

The Mysoreans, as soon as they arrived before Trinomaly, made an attack on the pettah, in which they were repulsed with the loss of fifty or sixty men: but continued to invest the place. Captain Preston, on intelligence of their intention, sent off on the 22d two companies of Sepoys from Ratlagrammon, who, by bye ways in the mountain, got into the fort on the 26th; and the day after, the enemy in greater force than before made another assault, in which they were again beaten off, with the loss of sixty men, and an officer of distinction; the garrison sallied as they retreated, and obliged them to abandon two field-pieces, which they had brought up and used in the attack. The whole raised the siege immediately, and returned to Thiagar.

Two hundred Europeans, with some Sepoys, and two guns, marching round the Red-hill in the night of the 23d, escaped the interruption of the English guards, and arrived the next day at Gingee; from whence they set out again in different parties, escorting 2000 bullocks loaded with provisions; of which some were dispersed by Preston, as they were coming out of the hills; and 300 were taken, when advanced within a few miles of the English camp, by a detachment of Sepoys and black horse, sent out to look for them; and none got into Pondicherry: but as all that had been attacked had been met in the night, the escorts regained Gingee with very little loss. Three or four thousand more bullocks were ready to be substituted as the convoys sent might fail, and it was now determined to send the whole of this collection together, under the

strongest

1760 August. strongest escort that could be risqued abroad; accordingly Mr. Lally detached 100 of the French cavalry and several more companies of Sepoys from Pondicherry, to join the troops already at Gingee; so that one third of his whole force was now employed in this service; and he had by much solicitation, and by inducements of which we are ignorant, prevailed on the Mysoreans to send back 800 of their horse to Gingee, who were likewise to accompany the convoy; and this body of horse arrived there at the same time as the last detachment from Pondicherry. Intelligence was received on the 29th, that the convoy with the whole escort intended to set out from Gingee in the ensuing night; on which, dispositions were made to oppose their passage.

The whole of the Red-hill is intersected by winding dales, in which troops may march unperceived until met within them, or discovered from the rising grounds above: in the middle of the general plot of the Red-hill, stands one eminence higher than any of the others, and called from the trees it bears, the Tamarind grove: this hillock has dales on each side of it, which join with others, leading from the plain of the country on the outside of the Red-hill to the N. W. at the farthest distance from the English camp, from the left of which shouldered under the extremity of the Red-hill at Perimbé, the Tamarind grove was two miles to the N. E. and it was three to the N. W. of Pondicherry. This situation being central for the interruption of troops marching through the dales of the Red-hill, either to or from Pondicherry, Colonel Coote, who, by his continual excursions, knew all the ground in the adjacencies of his camp, ordered a redoubt to be raised there, which was finished in the day. Lest the convoy should attempt to make their way to the south of the river of Ariancopang, the whole body of marines, which were still remaining at Cuddalore, were ordered to march some miles from thence along the river Paliar, and to advance six companies of Sepoys beyond them towards Trivadi; whilst scouts from the camp patroled between the two rivers: and, to watch the convoy if coming by the direct road from the west, several companies of Sepoys from Valdore proceeded along it towards Gingee. The convoy set out

out from hence on the 29th, the day appointed; but Captain Preston 1760
having two days before taken a mud fort, called Penamalee, situated August,
at the opening of the hills, posted a strong guard there, which the enemy mistaking for the whole of his force, retired again, and afterwards hearing of the dispositions made from the English camp, resolved to proceed as before in separate troops.

On the 2d of September arrived at Cuddalore three of the King's ships, convoying several of the company's from England. Of the men of war two were the America, and Medway, each of 60 guns, which compleated the squadron before Pondicherry to 17 sail of the line. In the Company's ships were part of a Highland regiment, supplied by the government, in addition to the troops it had already sent to India. These mighty aids witnessed in this quarter of the globe, as equal efforts, wheresoever necessary, in every other, the superior energy of that mind, who possessing equally the confidence of his sovereign and the nation, conducted the arduous and extensive war in which they were engaged against their great and only rival.

The same evening Colonel Coote ordered 400 men to march and invest the fort of Ariancopang; but Colonel Monson, the next in command, did not approve the operation, although it had been pleaded to Admiral Stevens, as the principal inducement to land the marines of the squadron: and Colonel Coote, not to disgust pertinacity, when concurrence was so necessary, countermanded the detachment.

Mr. Lally received information, that the detachment had been paraded, and suspected the service for which it had been intended. Such a proof of the opinion which the English army entertained of their own superiority, convinced him that it would soon be followed by some real blow of equal detriment, if they were not immediately convinced, that his own was capable of more than acting on the defensive. He resolved to attack their camp by surprize on the night of the 4th, and his dispositions were made with much skill and sagacity.

In the three ships at anchor before the town, were 150 European mariners; they were all landed, and Lascars sent on board. These Europeans,

1760 September Europeans, with some Sepoys, were allotted to guard the redoubts in the bound-hedge, that all the regular European military might serve in the intended attacks, excepting the artillery men, who were distributed on the ramparts of the town, and in the out-posts which mounted cannon. By the detachments lately sent abroad, the whole force that could march on the present service were 1100 European infantry, 100 European horse, and 900 Sepoys. The battalion of India and the volunteers of Bourbon, amounting to 300 rank and file, had for some days been encamped under the fort of Ariancopang; the Portugueze company, which was likewise called the company of Jesus, and had a Jesuit at their head, with some Sepoys, were quartered in the Company's gardens, situated within the bound-hedge in the road towards the Valdore redoubt; the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, 500 men, the marines of the squadron, 200, and 500 Sepoys, were in the town; the horse were distributed in different patroles. The gates of the town were shut early, and opened again at ten at night; and although Colonel Coote entertained spies and correspondents in the town, not one of them acquired the least surmise of Mr. Lally's intentions, or suspected any unusual operation.

The marines and Sepoys marched out of the town in two parties, told off in equal numbers of each. They proceeded to the Valdore redoubt, and in the way the Portugueze company, with the Sepoys at the garden, fell into the rear and formed the third subdivision of this line. Continuing in the avenues from the Valdore redoubt, the first party soon turned to the right, to gain the Red-hill, and proceed in it to the attack of the Tamarind redoubt; in which, if they succeeded, they were to march across to the left and join the second; which followed them, and quitting the avenue likewise, were to advance along the foot of the outward ridge of the Red-hill, until they had gained the flank of the English redoubt on the hillock in the plain, which they were then to bear down upon, and attack. The Portugueze and Sepoys, which were the third sub-division, were to proceed quite through the three

lines of the Valdore avenue, dispersing what patroles and out-guards might be in the way, and to take post at the junction of this avenue with that of Oulgarry, where they were to wait the orders of the officer who commanded the attack, which was to be made by the regiments of Lorrain and Lally. These troops, in two divisions, marched from the town, and through the bound-hedge, along the avenue of Oulgarry, until they came to the head of this village, where a deep water-course crossed the avenue, and had a bridge over it, which was defended by a retrenchment with guns. Here Lorrain halted, whilst Lally's regiment, quitting the avenue by the left, marched outwards in the fields to fall on the right flank of the English redoubt in this avenue; to which Lorrain was to advance straight along the avenue, and attack at the same time. When carried, the Portuguese company, with the Sepoys, which were the third sub-division of the attack to the right, were to join, and, with Lorrain's and Lally's, proceed across on the left to attack the retrenchment in the Villenore avenue which stood in the same parallel as that in the avenue of Oulgarry; but the Villenore retrenchment had on its left a large garden, called from its owner, Barthelmi's; in which were likewise posted a strong guard with some field-pieces. When this garden and retrenchment were carried, all the troops of this attack were to regulate themselves by the success of another attack on their left, which was to be made by the India Battalion and the volunteers of Bourbon. They were to march from the fort of Ariancopang, across the river, to the villages under the fort of Villenore; but were to leave two field-pieces on the plain in their way from the river, in order to secure their retreat. As soon as the firing became general, at the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the redoubt on the hillock, and the tamarind redoubt, these troops were to advance from the village in which they were halting, and proceed along a short road which would bring them to the termination of the Villenore avenue, and exactly in the rear of the right flank of the English encampment; on which they were to fall with the utmost vigour, in full confidence, that the other attacks would have thrown the whole camp into disorder,

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1760 September by the uncertainty and distraction of what and where succours were to be sent. Mr. Lally, with a guard of horse, remained at the bridge of Oulgarry. Calculation had been made, when all the troops would arrive within equal reach of their respective attacks, where they were to wait in silence for the signal of two sky-rockets, which were to be thrown up at Oulgarry, when all were to advance to the attacks allotted them.

The sky-rockets were shot off a little before midnight, and soon after the firing commenced nearly at the same time, at the tamarind redoubt, the hillock, and at the retrenchment in the avenue of Oulgarry. The attack at the tamarind redoubt was repulsed; but the redoubt on the hillock was carried; the lieutenant of the artillery and three gunners were made prisoners there, and the rest of the guard driven out, nor did they rally; which gave the enemy time to carry off a brass three-pounder, destroy the carriage of another gun, spike up a third, and burn down the battery. At the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the attack and defence were more fierce. Colonel Coote himself brought down troops to that in the Villenore avenue and Barthelmi's garden, and, instead of waiting to be attacked, advanced across to sustain the other redoubt; against which Lorrain and Lally's persisted until eight serjeants, besides common men, of Lally's, were killed; when the officers, hearing no signs of the main attack on the right and rear of the English camp, drew off. This division, by some unaccountable mistake, instead of advancing to the villages under the fort of Villenore, halted in another a mile to the south of it, not far from the river, and in a line with the village of Oulgarry. At this erroneous distance, they had not time, after the sky-rockets were fired, to reach the ground of their attack, before the three others were either repulsed or ceased. They were led by D'Harambure, who had always behaved hitherto with gallantry, and especially during the march of Mr. Law's reinforcement to Hyderabad in 1756; but Mr. Lally, with the usual severity of his prejudices, imputed the failure to a design, as the commander of the Company's troops, of frustrating the honour which would have redounded on himself, had the hardly effort

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he was making succeeded to his expectation. About twenty Sepoys were killed and wounded of the English troops, but fewer Europeans. Of the enemy, 30 Europeans were supposed to be killed, and most of them either in Lorrain or Lally's; four were made prisoners, with Mr. D'Autueil, the same officer we have seen opening the intestine war of the Carnatic at the battle of Amboor, in which the Nabob's father fell, and who afterwards surrendered to Clive at Volcondah. 1760 September

The ships last arrived from England brought commissions from the war-office appointing majors Brereton and Monson to the rank of lieutenant colonels, with prior date to Colonel Coote; but both were oredered not to assert their commissions whilst he remained on the coast. Colonel Coote nevertheless concluded that it was intended he should remove as soon as might be to his original and established command in Bengal, nor did Monson propose to continue serving under him, but offered to retire to Madrass; but Coote immediately delivered over to him the command of the army, and went thither himself, and requested to proceed with his whole regiment to Bengal. The Presidency remonstrated against the detriment, and Monson declared that the blockade of Pondicherry must be raised if these troops were taken away: on which Coote consented to leave them.

END *of the* TWELFTH BOOK.

BOOK XIII.

COLONEL Monson being now master of his own views, carried into execution an operation which he had proposed in the council of war a few days before, when Colonel Coote explained his intention of attacking the fort of Ariancopang. 1760 September

The bound-hedge of Pondicherry, besides its natural defence of trees and thorns, is strengthened by four redoubts; one on the north, opposite to the north-west angle of the town, another nearly west of this angle, a third nearly west of the south-west angle, and the fourth stands directly south-west of the same point. All took their names from their situations; the north was called the Madrass repoubt, the next the Valdore, the third the Villenore, and that to the south-west the Ariancopang redoubt. From the Villenore redoubt led the road and avenue, which passed through the center of the English camp at Perimbé and about a mile from the hedge this avenue leads through the village of Oulgarry, in which were several country-houses belonging to the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, and a church belonging to the Jesuits. The regiment of Lorrain and Lally, which at this time did not assemble both together more than 400 men, were remaining in this village since the late attack on the camp. The marines, 300 men, were within the hedge, to defend the redoubt of Valdore with the part of the hedge on each hand. The battalion of India, consisting of 500 men, were stationed at the Villenore and at the Ariancopang redoubts, and between them. The north side of the hedge, with the Madrass redoubt,

1760 September doubt, as being at the fartherst distance from the English camp, was trusted to the Sepoys. The horse, still only 100 riders, were dispersed in different posts round the limits. The rest of the army, which, exclusive of the garrison of Gingee and its out-posts, consisted of 500 European foot, 150 European horse, and 500 Sepoys, were abroad, most of them waiting to escort the provisions collected at Gingee.

At midnight the whole of the English army were under arms; a proportional number from each of the different bodies were left to defend the camp; and the main body appointed to march was divided into two brigades, of which the principal officers had the day before reconnoitered the ground of their respective attacks as near as the enemy's out-posts would admit. The regiments of Draper and Coote, comprizing both together 1000 men, 200 of the marines, the 150 highlanders, with 500 Sepoys, and four field-pieces, marched off their ground from the left of the camp at three in the morning, and entered into the Red-hill, in which they were to take a large circuit round the tamarind-grove, and, coming out where nearest, were to attack the Valdore redoubt, and the west side of the hedge adjoining. This brigade was formed into two divisions; the grenadiers of the two regiments led the first, under the command of major Robert Gordon; major William Gordon commanded the rear division, and colonel Monson the whole of this attack. The other brigade was composed of the Coromandel battalion 800, the two French companies 120, the Bombay detachment of 350 Europeans and Topasses, 600 Sepoys, and four field-pieces. They were to march from the right and attack the enemy's troops posted in Oulgarry, and after routing them, to proceed and seize the Villenore redoubt. Joseph Smith, who since the departure of Calliaud to Bengal was the first officer on the coast of the Companie's troops, and a few days before had been appointed by the Presidency of Madrass to the rank of major, commanded this brigade. The cavalry, black as well as white, were intended to appear before the Ariancopang redoubt during the two other attacks, in order to prevent the troops there from sending detachments to support them.

Major

Major Smith's brigade, having much less ground to go than Monson's, did not move until four in the morning. The enemy's entrenchment in front of the village of Oulgarry lay across the avenue, and they had an advanced post in a garden beyond, but a little to the right of the entrenchment. Smith, to avoid the immediate discovery of his brigade, as well as the direct fire of the entrenchment along the avenue of Oulgarry, marched down the Villenore, as far as Barthelme's garden, which lies on the left as you come down; the line then turned and passed through the garden, which brought them half the distance between the two avenues, when the brigade struck down through the intervals of some inclosures, which led to the left of the village of Oulgarry, from whence they might likewise take the entrenchment in reverse; but the two French companies were sent off immediately from the garden to cross the avenue of Oulgarry, and attack the enemy's advanced post on the other side of this avenue; but were not to begin their attack, before the firing commenced upon Oulgarry, which soon happened; for some black fellows belonging to the French troops, who were asleep in the streets of a ruined hamlet which stood opposite to the angle of the entrenchment, awakened at the wheels of the field-pieces which moved in front of the brigade, and fled with the alarm to the troops in Oulgarry, who immediately began to fire from the entrenchment, with six field-pieces in barbette, and with some aim, as the day had begun to dawn. The English field-pieces, which were of the same number and calibre, drew out of the village to answer them, and were supported by a part of the line; whilst the rest passed on to gain the flank of the village of Oulgarry: when opposite to it, divisions were detached to attack the enclosures, which the enemy had lined with troops. In the meantime, the two French companies, led by captain Myers, stormed the advanced post on the other side of the road, and seized four pieces of cannon which were there, on which the party stationed with them retreated in much hurry to the main body at Oulgarry, who, dispirited by their rout, slackened insensibly the defence of the enclosures, and

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ceased

1760 September ceased firing the field-pieces in the intrenchment across the avenue. Major Smith perceived this wavering, signified it to his troops; and put himself at the head of the grenadiers. Wherever he commanded, affection to the man conspired with duty to the officer. The grenadiers rushed on without firing, forced their way over the enclosures, and fell amongst the enemy, dealing their arms with irresistible impetuosity, increased by the disadvantages they had surmounted: all the rest entered at other parts, driving the enemy before them across the road; but those at the intrenchment had time to spike up the cannon, and then followed the rest, who were running towards a rising ground on the other side of the road, but farther back towards the bound-hedge. The main body of the brigade took possession of Oulgarry, and were soon after joined by the division with captain Myers, which had killed some, and brought prisoners. During this, a body of Eurepeans were described advancing directly towards Oulgarry, in the plain between this and the Valdore avenue: their distinctions could not be perceived, and the sudden halt of the run-a-ways on the rising ground rendered their appearance very suspicious. Messengers after messengers were sent to discover whether they were friends or foes, but none returned before Major William Gordon himself came, and gave an account that the rear division of Colonel Monson's brigade, which he commanded, had separated from the van amongst the sand hills in the dark; and had continued wandering about until they heard the fire of the attack at Oulgarry, to which he had hastened to give assistance; but it was now too late; otherwise his error might have been retrieved by the important service of intercepting the regiments of Lorrain and Lally in the confusion of their flight out of Oulgarry, who, in this case, would in all probability have been destroyed to a man: during his report, strong firing was heard at the Valdore redoubt.

It was some time before the van of Colonel Monson's brigade discovered the separation of the rear, which by turning wrong had got into windings leading towards the plain; and Colonel Monson, apprehensive that the rejunction could not be made before the dawn of

of day, which was the time destined for the attack of the Valdore redoubt, judiciously determined to risque it with the van division of his brigade alone. They defiled out of the sand hill exactly right, whilst it was still dark, at an opening directly on a line with the western side of the bound-hedge and the redoubt, up to which, the road, when near, leads in a lane between two enclosures towards the flank of the redoubt. Two field-pieces were in the front of the line, followed by the grenadiers of the two regiments of Draper and Coote, after whom came the rest of the Europeans, and then the Sepoys of the division. Colonel Monson knew the ground, and intended that the line, instead of advancing through the lane between the enclosures, should pass through the enclosure on the right, which being a coco-nut garden, was surrounded by a ditch and hedge of little interruption; and the ground within was not only firm, but free from underwood, and the trees themselves have no branches. When past the garden, they were to proceed straight on to the Valdore avenue, which was not far distant, and, having crossed it, were to file down on the other side, to gain the left flank of the Valdore redoubt; where, if not discovered, they could not be expected, and the bound-hedge hereabouts was not so strong as on the other side. The redoubt had a dry ditch, with palisadoes at the bottom, and six embrasures, of which the parapet was fraized. The grenadiers were to rush on, and escalade the redoubt without firing, whilst the rest of the line were, part to support them, and part to spread along the bound-hedge, and to force their way through wherever they could find openings, or at least to continue the fire until they had driven away the enemy, who were expected to line and defend the other side; the two field-pieces were likewise to assist in this service after the grenadiers had passed them to the escalade. The day had begun to dawn, when the head of the line arrived at the two enclosures, and Major Robert Gordon, who, excepting Monson, only knew the course of march, and was to lead the grenadiers to the assault, was not present: and the grenadiers, wanting orders, naturally entered the lane which lay before them. Officers were sent

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1760 September sent back to Colonel Monson, to know what next they were to do. Monson, exasperated at this second mistake in the conduct of his brigade, ran forward to rectify it if possible, or to put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and lead the assault. Just as he reached them, the enemy discovered the line which had got to the end of the lane, within a hundred yards of the redoubt, which in this flank had a twenty-four pounder, double loaded with langrain. They fired it, and its execution was terrible, killing eleven men, and wounding 26; amongst them Colonel Monson fell, struck with a piece of iron, which broke both the bones of his leg. The grenadiers, instead of being dismayed, or now hesitating for want of order, of their own motion, rushed to the escalade; and the officers, of their own judgement, got the line as fast as they could cut of the enclosed way, and led them to the hedge, when the attack and defence soon became general and extensive; but the assault of the grenadiers stopped the firing of the cannon from the redoubt, which otherwise would have continued to enfilade the troops attacking the hedge. The grenadiers, although severely galled by musketry from above and in flank, persisted after several repulses, and at length forced their way through the embrasures of the redoubt, when the troops within quitted it, and ran out of the gorge; on which all defending the hedge abandoned their posts likewise, and the whole hurried in disorder to gain the glacis of the town.

The regiments of Lorrain and Lally continued some minutes on the rising ground, in as much uncertainty as Major Smith's brigade, who the troops of Major William Gordon's division might be; but remained firm until they heard the firing at the Valdore redoubt, when comprehending the whole disposition of the attack, they marched off in haste, regained the avenue, and retreated to the redoubt of Villenore. Major Smith immediately followed them with his brigade, pressing so close on their rear, that they passed through the winding of the hedge, without stopping to defend or reinforce the redoubt; this trepidation caught the guard, who, after discharging the guns of their loads upon the brigade as it was advancing

ing to the post, retired with the regiments to the glacis of the town. Major Smith immediately took possession of the redoubts, and was soon after joined by the Highlanders commanded by Major Scot, who belonging to Monson's attack had forced their way through the hedge between the Valdore and the Villenore redoubts. The battalion of India still continued at or about the Ariancopang redoubt, having entertained no notion of retreating; but were deterred from making any motion to support the other posts, in expectation of being attacked themselves: this however did not happen; for the cavalry of the army under the command of Vasserot, who were intended to make a feint attack upon this quarter, when the other two should commence, did not appear upon their ground until all was finished. There was a small opening in the hedge about a quarter of a mile from the Villenore redoubt, where a retrenchment had been thrown up, and the battalion of India kept a guard, who abandoned it on the appearance of a party which Major Smith detached along the inside of the hedge to attack them in the rear. The total loss sustained in the two attacks, were 115 Europeans killed and wounded, which fell nearly equal in both brigades, but in Monson's heaviest amongst the grenadiers, of whom, besides rank and file, a Lieutenant and an Ensign were killed. The Sepoys suffered much less, having been very little exposed. The French loss was not known; but they suffered most at the attacks of Oulgarry, where some were likewise made prisoners.

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The Bombay detachment of 350 men were stationed to guard the three posts in the hedge, and the body of the army assembled and encamped in the paddy-fields to the left of Oulgarry. The situation was ill chosen, being commanded by higher grounds, and liable to be swamped on the first rain; but the talents of Major Robert Gordon were inadequate to the general command, which devolved on him by the incapacity to which Colonel Monson was reduced by his wound. Major Joseph Smith advised that the whole of the Company's battalion, 1000 men, should remain in the village of Oulgarry to cover the three posts in the hedge; and that their gorges, which were open, should be retrenched,

 without

1760 September without delay, and sufficient day remained to accomplish the work; but Robert Gordon, from the false shame of ignorance, would not see the necessity: and in the ensuing night, the enemy made a vigorous attack on all the three posts, which they would have carried, had not the guards defended them, as dearly purchased, with the utmost resolution, until reinforced by the picquets from the camp, when the enemy retreated. Seventeen or eighteen Europeans of the Bombay detachment were killed in this defence; the enemy's loss was not known, but could not be less. Had they attacked with their whole force, the redoubt would have been retaken, for the guards, inferior in number, had no advantage of defences on the side towards the town, and the main body of the army, exhausted with fatigue, and dead with sleep, were at too great a distance to have come up in time to share the contest.

Two days after, the battalion of India retreated from their stations at the hedge near the Ariancopang redoubt; but the usual guard continued in the redoubt, and the usual garrison in the fort of Ariancopang on the other side of the river. But the enemy receiving intelligence that preparations were making in the camp to attack the fort, the garrison evacuated it on the 13th at noon, and as they were going off sprung a mine, which blew up the bastion to the east with part of the rampart, and laid the body of the place open. They retreated to the glacis of the town, were the main body of the army lay encamped, and had been reinforced by the arrival of several small escorts with provisions, which the removal of the English army from Perimbé had encouraged to venture round the Red Hill; the guard still continued at the redoubt of Ariancopang.

The troops which Mahomed Issoof appointed to attack the districts of Dindigul from Madura, were 300 horse, 1500 Sepoys, and 3000 Peons; but as most of them had first to march from Tinnivelly, it was the middle of July before they commenced hostilities, when passing by Sholavanden, they reduced several small posts, commanding defiles, but weakly garrisoned, until they arrived at a more considerable fort, called Battal Gunta, 12 miles to the S. E. of Dindigul, which made more resistance; and the troops of Madura having only small

small guns, with much difficulty made a kind of breach, which 1760
they stormed, and carried on the first day of August; and immediately began to repair and add better works, but had not compleated them before the troops of Dindigul were reinforced from Mysore, and taking the field encamped within sight of Battal Gunta, in which the troops of Madura had kept a garrison, but the main body lay without the walls. October.

The equipment and departure of the troops which accompanied the Nabob into the Carnatic, and the subsequent assistances sent to Karical, had left the government and garrison of Tritchinopoly so bare of men, money, and stores, that Captain R. Smith could not undertake the expedition he had proposed against the Mysoreans, until all these wants were supplied, which depended intirely on his own resources, for although the Presidency and Colonel Coote approved and recommended to him the most active exertions against the Mysore territory, he received no assistance either of money from the one nor of troops from the other; so that the preparations necessary for the expedition prevented him from taking the field until the 6th of August. His force was 50 Europeans, with two guns, and four cohorns, 700 Sepoys from the garrison of Tritchinopoly; 600 horse, and 1000 Peons armed with match-locks, mostly sent by Tondiman, a few belonging to the Nabob, the rest to Tanjore; and 3000 Colleries from the neighbouring Polygars, who were content to serve on very slight stipend, in expectation of ample plunder in the fertile districts they were going to invade. This army proceeded along the southern bank of the Caveri, and on the 13th came before Pudicotah, a mud fort, situated on the bank of this river, about 40 miles to the west of Tritchinopoly, which, with other districts, the Nabob had ceded to the Mysoreans, when his allies, in the war of 1753.

On their arrival, a report prevailed, that a large body of troops were marching from Seringapatam to Caroor. The garrison at Pudicotah, converting this news into hourly expectation of relief, stood on the defensive, and having three guns, obliged Captain Smith to raise a battery, which, having nothing but field-pieces to mount, would not have soon produced much effect: but, by the

1760 October. the time the battery opened, the garrison had lavished away all their powder, and capitulated. The loss sustained in the attack was only three men wounded. The next day Captain Smith, with 400 of the Sepoys, and two cohorns, passed the Caveri to reduce Iloor, a fort situated on the other bank, ten miles beyond Pudicotah; but the garrison evacuated it on his appearance. From hence he marched against Caroor, the principal object of his expedition.

Caroor is situated 50 miles west of Tritchinopoly, and stands on a plain five miles to the south of the Caveri, but near another river, which falls into the Caveri at that distance to the north. The river of Caroor was the ancient boundary between the dominions of Tritchinopoly and Mysore; and this conterminal situation, under the security of a strong fort, and its rule over a rich and extensive district, had formerly rendered it a place of great mercantile resort and opulence, and it still continued populous with some wealthy inhabitants. The river continues at the distance of 800 yards opposite to the south side of the fort, and 1000 yards beyond, turns short, and strikes directly north: along this part, after the turning, and close to the bank, extends the pettah, which likewise has the other course of the river on the south side; but not so near; the extent of the pettah along the river, from south to north, is 1000 yards, and recedes from it about 500, so that the esplanade between the pettah and the fort is 500 yards across. This ground is intersected by two water-courses derived from the river to the south, one of which passes close to the west side of the pettah, and turns along the north-side until it rejoins the river to the east, and thus serves as a ditch on the W. and N.; the other water-course lies midway between the fort and the pettah, and stretches to the north much farther out into the plain. The whole of the pettah is inclosed by a mud-wall with towers, but of little defence.

The fort is built of stone, and is nearly a square of 600 yards. It has square towers in the curtain, and bastions at the four angles, behind each of which stands a cavalier, or round tower of solid masonry, which rises ten feet higher than the bastion. The whole fort is surrounded by a dry ditch, of which the counterscarp is faced with

with stone; and on the other side is lined by the foot of the main wall of the curtain, without berm or faussebraye; excepting along that part of the rampart, which extends from the left of the great gateway in the middle of the eastern side to the bastion in the N. E. angle, and round it half-way along the northern wall; in which extent a slip of dry ground, 20 yards broad on the eastern side, and 40 on the northern, is left as a place of arms, and skirted with a parapet wall, with loop-holes for muskitry; and round this wall the ditch, leaving the body of the fort, continues. There was no glacis, but a clear esplanade of 400 yards round. The garrison consisted of 800 horse, 1000 Sepoys, 1000 matchlock-men, and a great multitude of Colleries which had been drawn from the hills towards Dindigul. Most of these troops were assembled in the pettah, and manned the walls on the appearance of Captain Smith's detachment, which came in sight on the 17th, in the morning, approaching from the eastward: the river, although it had no where more than three feet water, was three hundred yards in breadth. 1760 October.

The necessity of preserving the communication with Tritchinopoly required that the army should command the river during the attack of the fort; which if advancing from a different point of support, they might have attacked outright at once on the western face: and as the possession of the pettah would best secure the river, Captain Smith prudently made this his first object. If the pettah were attacked on the eastern side, the river was to be passed under the fire of this front: if on the north or south, the attack would be exposed to the additional fire in slant or flank from the fort; which outvailed the passage of the river, as the ground on the eastern shore was higher than the eastern face of the pettah, which defended the passage. Accordingly the attack was made on this side. The field pieces were posted in the higher ground. The troops were formed into three divisions. The cavalry composed the left; the auxiliary foot the right; the Sepoys and Europeans the center. All entered the river in this order, supported by a brisk fire from the artillery. The enemy seemed disposed to dispute the passage, and from

1760 October. from the rampart of the pettah kept up a constant but ill-directed fire against the center division; but the cannon-shot penetrating through their parapet did much execution, and seeing the columns to the right and left far advanced in the bed of the river, they became apprehensive that their retreat to the fort might be exposed to these bodies of horse and foot on each hand; and abandoned the defence, returning to the fort before either of the columns had crossed the river; but they had killed and wounded some Sepoys in the passage.

The plunder was given up to the troops without reserve; but they found little of any value, excepting grain, of which the whole crop of the country was in the town, but no merchants to buy it, nor had the troops means to send it away. The strength of the fort, and the small number of Europeans with Captain Smith, on whom, nevertheless, the success of the attack must depend, determined him to proceed with all the caution necessary to their preservation, by opening trenches; and more artillery was ordered from Tritchinopoly. The convenience of the pettah determined the point of attack against the south-east bastion, and as usual against its salient angle: the esplanade in this line was interrupted about half way between the pettah and the ditch by some staw huts, to which the enemy had set fire, but left the mud-walls standing. The next morning, which was the 20th, a party of Sepoys were posted there, but a strong sally of horse and foot obliged them to retire, and the enemy remained in the post: the field pieces advanced, and drove them from it, and it was again taken possession of by the Sepoys: in a few hours the enemy made a second attempt, but were beaten off with loss. The situation being exactly proper for the breaching-battery, an entrenchment was thrown round it, and a trench of communication continued to it from the pettah, to preserve the troops from the fire of the fort, which was incessant, as well from their cannon as small arms. On the 23d the artillery with much dispatch arrived from Tritchinopoly; they were one eighteen-pounder, two field twelve-pounders, one eight, and one nine-inch mortar, with five cohorns; and by the next morning the breaching-battery, was compleated and another in the rear to the right, to en-

filade the south curtain with ricochet. Both opened at sun-rise, the breaching with six guns, the mortars and cohorns; the ricochet with two field-pieces; the fort returned with firmness, and with much vivacity, and the advantage of a cross fire from the s. w. bastion and cavalier on the left, and from the mass of masonry of the gateway on the right. On the 26th the approaches were carried on to within forty yards of the ditch, when the fire of the enemy's musquetry growing strong and sure, Captain Smith ordered the remainder of the trenches to be conducted by double sap, which is with earth and gabions on each side. The small number of Europeans in the detachment, with the inexperience of most of them in carrying on trenches, and the continual fire of the fort by night, as well as by day, rendered the progress of the double sap extremely tedious, insomuch, that seven days were employed in carrying it, although not more than 200 yards of work, to embrace the angle of the counterscarp, and to spring a mine, which blew it into the ditch. 1760 October.

It was perhaps the first time that the Mysoreans had ever seen an enemy advancing under cover to the foot of their walls, and notwithstanding the novelty of the attack, they suspected, which was true, that the fort might be entered by the same means; this apprehension, with the ruin that had been committed in a large tract of country round Caroor by the matchlock-men and horse of Tondiman and Tanjore, and the whole body of colleries, who had every day been making excursions, prompted the governor to propose terms for the cessation of hostilities. He began by disavowing any participation of the King with the body of troops which had joined the French in the Carnatic, and declared Hyder Ally, whom he stiled a rebel, the author of that alliance and expedition; in consequence, he wanted a temporary and conditional surrender. Several messages passed, in the intervals of which the attack and defence was renewed; at length the eighteen-pounder, the only piece of effectual battery, burst, and the breach was not yet practicable, which induced Captain Smith to agree to the following conditions: "That "an English serjeant, and sixty Sepoys, should immediately be put

1760 October. "in possession of the bastion attacked, and the English colours "hoisted in the fort. That the English army should remain in the "pettah, or any where else out of the fort, keeping guards at the "counterscarp of the ditch, for twenty days; during which, if no "orders arrived from Madrass to deliver the fort again to the gover-"nor, it was to be evacuated by the garrison, who, in consideration "of their gallant defence, were to carry away their arms and horses; "but all provisions and stores belonging to the government of "Mysore were to be left in the fort. If in this interval an army ap-"proached from Mysore, the garrison were in like manner to evacuate "the fort to the English troops: four hostages were to be given by "the garrison, until the conditions were ultimately decided, and an "European deserter was to be surrendered." This capitulation was signed on the 2d of September, and the English Sepoys immediately took possession of the bastion attacked.

Captain Smith in his interview with Boniapah, the governor of the fort, was convinced that the king of Mysore had no concert in the assistance which Hyder Ally had sent to the government of Pondicherry; and Boniapah having no doubt from the articles of capitulation that Caroor would be restored to the king, proffered to withdraw the garrison to Namcull, a fort 20 miles to the north, and there wait the orders of Seringapatam, and Fort St. George; to which Captain Smith consented under the restriction, that none of the garrison should act against the English until the fate of Caroor was determined at Fort St. George. Accordingly all the Mysore troops evacuated the place the same day. The acquisition was valuable and important; for, besides that its revenues amounted to 44,000l. a year, it highly aggravated the resentment of the ministry of Mysore against Hyder Ally, as the author of the loss.

Hostilities had continued in this arrival between the Mysoreans of Dindigul, and the troops of Madura. The Mysoreans continued the attack of Battle Gunta for six days, and having driven away the troops which supported it without, carried the fort itself by assault; but the defence had been maintained with resolution, for in the course of it 30 Sepoys and 20 horsemen had been killed and wounded; and

of the Peons 50 wounded, and 40, with an officer of note, killed. The Madura troops retired to a fort three miles distant, called Gadamcotah, one of those which they had taken from the Mysoreans, and were there joined by a reinforcement from Madura, which had marched to relieve Battle Gunta, but came too late; this addition rendered the whole body equal to the Mysoreans, against whom they marched, beat up their camp, took their artillery, recovered possession of Battle Gunta, and advanced to reduce the other posts towards Dindigul.

1760 September

The capitulation of Caroor arrived at Madrass on the 13th of September. On the same day intelligence was received from Captain Preston, that the body of Mysoreans, which had continued with the French troops at Gingee, had moved from thence with all their baggage; and on the 11th the French troops followed, both proceeding in the road to Thiagar. The presidency were by this time convinced that the king of Mysore and Hyder Ally were at utter variance; but considered, that either they might reconcile their differences, or that Hyder, as was most probable, would predominate; and in either of these cases, other schemes might be formed by the Mysore state to balance, as formerly, the contest between the two European nations, against which Caroor in their own hands would be the best indemnity. They therefore ordered Captain Smith to keep possession, still with profession of amity to the king, but neither to give any assistance, nor oppose any force which the king might send against Hyder Ally, but rather to employ his detachment separately against the troops of Hyder Ally, if the opportunity should occur.

Colonel Coote was not embarked for Bengal, when the news of the success against the bound-hedge arrived at Madrass, and with it Colonel Monson represented the incapacity in which he was likely to remain for several months of acting in the field, and requested that Colonel Coote might resume the command of the army. The Presidency seconding the request, he consented, and arrived in the camp on the night of the 20th; where he found the army in the greatest discontent, especially the black troops, for the want of provisions, owing to the avarice of the renters appointed by the Nabob in the conquered countries, who, foreseeing that the

1760 price of grain would rise, suffered none to be brought to the camp. September Sickness likewise prevailed, and with the wounded there were 600 Europeans in the hospital.

The next day Colonel Coote caused the gorges of the redoubts in the bound-hedge to be fortified, and fixed posts in proper stations in the higher ground round the camp: from whence on the 23d, a detachment of 200 rank and file, with the company of pioneers, a great number of cooleys and carpenters, marched to a hillock of sand, which stood half a mile from the sea, and at the distance of a mile directly opposite to the Madrass redoubt in the north side of the bound-hedge. Here they were to remain, and raise a large redoubt on the table of the hill, capable of containing five hundred men. On the 27th in the forenoon, Colonel Coote advanced, with his usual escort of three companies of Sepoys, and 300 black horse, towards the Ariancopang redoubt, at which the guard took panic, and firing off the guns before the party were within point-blank-shot, abandoned the post, of which Colonel Coote took possession, and leaving the Sepoys in it, returned in the afternoon with workmen to retrench the gorge; on whose appearance the town cannonaded and threw shells, but without effect, and the gorge was completed the next night. Early in the morning of the 29th, 400 of the enemy's Europeans, with two field-pieces, marched from the glacis to recover the redoubt, and made various attempts, in all of which they were repulsed, until they perceived two companies of Sepoys marching on their right to gain their rear, whom Colonel Coote, who was always early abroad, had sent from the Valdore redoubt; on which the enemy retreated, but as they were going off received the fire of the Sepoys, who were themselves exposed to a strong, but distant fire from the town. The enemy had two officers and seven privates killed, and the adjutant of the Lorrain regiment with 18 wounded. None were killed in the redoubt, and only one Sepoy in the plain. Fifty Europeans were appointed to be the guard in future, as sufficient for the sudden defence, until reinforced; and more would have

been

been unnecessarily exposed to the fire of shot and shells, which continued and reached from the town. 1760 September

In that part of the limits, which is immediately behind the Madrass redoubt, was a regular village of several streets, called, from its intention, the Blancherie, in which all the cloths purchased for the French company at Pondicherry were bleached, and warehouses were built in the village to receive them. As these buildings would not only afford shelter but convenience to the English troops, the enemy resolved to destroy them, and to strengthen the Madrass redoubt, with the ground about it. They began to demolish on the 30th of September, of which Colonel Coote received intelligence, and saw the intention. He went the next day, with his usual escort of October. Sepoys and black horse, as if he only meant to review the progress of the redoubt he had ordered to be raised to the north of the hedge, in which Major Joseph Smith commanded for the week. After dinner, both officers mounted their horses, and proceeded with the escort along the strand of the sea, towards the limits of Pondicherry, as if they only meant to reconnoitre. The bound-hedge ceaseth at some distance from the water-mark, and left an opening on the sand, which the enemy had neglected to close or obstruct. As soon as near this opening, Colonel Coote ordered the Sepoys to form in three parties, and the horse to divide equally with them ; but the Sepoys having entertained no suspicion that they were led to such an attack, boggled ; on which he ordered the horse to cut down whoever refused to advance, or attempted to run away ; and the Sepoys, ashamed of their backwardness, recovered their spirit. Two of the divisions went off to the right, one to force through the bound-hedge, 500 yards beyond the Madrass redoubt on its left, the other to attack the redoubt itself, whilst Colonel Coote with Joseph Smith remained along the sea-shore, ready to push, and gain the rear of the hedge, and all the three attacks were to be made at the same time. There were some small pieces of cannon in the redoubt, and several guards of Sepoys along the inside of the hedge, all of which kept up a constant fire, but at too great a distance, whilst the two parties sent to the right were advancing

to

1760 October. to the ground opposite their respective attacks. All bore down properly, as it had been concerted. Colonel Coote's division easily pushed round, and that on the right through the hedge; and as soon as within both advanced, driving the guards before them, to gain the rear of the redoubt, against which the division which attacked it had not succeeded, having more difficulties and resistance to encounter; but as soon as the guard saw the danger approaching from either hand within the hedge, they abandoned the redoubt, and retreated hastily into the warehouses of the bleaching town, which stood within 200 yards inclosed with a high wall. Five Sepoys were killed, and the same number wounded in the different attacks. All the three companies, with an Ensign, were left at the redoubt; Colonel Coote and Major Smith returned, the Major to his post, the Colonel to the camp, from whence he sent off a party of pioneers with gabions and fascines under the command of Ensign Macmahon, to close and retrench the gorge of the redoubt; but they were first to proceed to Major Smith's post, from whence they were to be accompained by a detachment of European soldiers: but Macmahon, mistaking his orders, did not call for this necessary reinforcement. In war more than in all the other occupations of man, neglect rarely fails to bring on is own punishment.

At midnight, whilst the pioneers were at work, they were suddenly attacked by 400 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys, detached from the town. The Ensign, a Dane, who commanded the Sepoys in the redoubt, abandoned it on the first onset, in which Ensign Macmahon was killed; and the pioneers, surprized and defenceless, escaped as they could; what Sepoys were within the redoubt jumped out; but the greatest part, who were stationed round, encouraged by a Subahdar named Coven Naig, kept with him, and gained the plain at some distance without fright, where they formed, under his direction, and followed him to recover the post. They mounted the outside of the rampart, gained footing on the inside, kept it, and continued a hot fire on the area below, especially towards the gorge. The enemy imputed this resolution to much greater numbers than they expected, and than really were at the

the post, and in this supposition retreated to the bleaching-house. 1760
Soon after came up a strong party of Europeans detached on the first October.
firing by Major Smith from his post to the north. In the different actions from the first assault, three private Europeans, besides ensign Macmahon, were killed, and 30 Sepoys killed and wounded. The enemy the next morning erected a battery of four pieces of cannon at the end of a lane, which joined the street of the Blancherie, leading as well as that in a straight line to the rear of the redoubt, on which they continued firing two days without killing any of the guard, and then having other occupations they desisted; some musketry still continued in the bleaching-house, but were driven out the next day, and abandoned the village.

The acquisition of the Madrass redoubt completed the entire possession of the bound-hedge from the sea-shore to the north, as far as the river of Ariancopang to the S. E.; and turned against the town, with every advantage, the line of circumvallation intended for its defence. But the ground to the south along the course of the river, from the redoubt of Ariancopang to the sea, was still open, and the river spreading over sheets of sand, which were often dry, was all times, excepting in the rainy season, fordable; and to secure the passage, Mr. Lally had some months before erected a redoubt, which he called St. Thomas, in a small island of sand in the river, opposite to the center of this face of the town, and about 500 yards from the walls. The rains were now approaching, and the redoubt, if immediately taken possession of, could not be maintained by the English army after the river should fill, and as usual overflow the country; for which reason Colonel Coote deferred the reduction of it, until the rains were passed. In the mean time efforts were still to be apprehended to bring provisions into the town; for the French troops, which had followed the last division of the Mysoreans to Thiagar, continued there; and although the main body of the Mysoreans had left Thiagar, no intelligence was yet received of their departure to their own country.

The French force which had marched to Thiagar, was 400 European foot, 250 European horse, and 1000 Sepoys. The

little

1760 October. little army of observation, under the command of Captain Preston, was not equal to an open encounter with this force; he, however, with his usual activity, determined to give them all the interruption in his power, and ordered Captain Martin, who, with the free company of 50 Frenchmen, was abroad with the Polygar of Ventivalum in the hills to the south of Gingee, to hang in the rear of the enemy's march; and moved himself with the main body of his division from Ratlagrammon, to watch their motions at Vicravandi, lest they should turn, and lay waste the recovered districts between this place and Verdachilum. Martin knowing the country, and using the night, picked up twelve Europeans of the French troops. They reached the Panar just as it was swelled by a sudden flood; and persisting nevertheless to cross it, some of them were carried away and drowned in the stream, which the Mysoreans had passed with ease before the freshes came down. As soon as Preston was arrived at Vicravandi, the garrison remaining at Gingee marched and assaulted Ratlagrammon, in which had been left only two companies of Sepoys, who defended the post with resolution, and obliged the enemy to retire, after they had lost fourteen Europeans killed in the attack, and leaving an officer and three wounded, who were made prisoners. Preston receiving intelligence, that the French troops and the Mysoreans were assembled at Thiagar, returned from Vicravandi to Ratlagrammon, lest they should return suddenly during his absence, and attempt to move to Pondicherry with the convoy of bullocks which still continued at Gingee.

By this time the presidency knew the cause of the departure of the last body of Mysoreans from Gingee to Thiagar, but were not able to account for the march of the French troops so far to the westward, at a time when their utmost efforts became every day more necessary to escort the provisions they had collected, into Pondicherry.

In the beginning of the year, Balagerow, the general and regent of the Morattoes, sent an army of 8000 horse, and the same number of foot, with cannon, under the command of an officer of service, named

named Vizvazypunt, which crossed the Kristna in the month of February, and advancing to the southward stopped frequently to exact contributions from forts and strong holds in the way; several of which, on denial, they took. In the beginning of June they halted and encamped at Chinabalabaram, on the confines of Mysore to the N. E. and not far from the hills to the N. W. of the Carnatic, from whence Vizvazypunt sent letters, signifying expectations of money, but proffering assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ally; and others to the king of Mysore, demanding with more authority the arrears of the chout, or tribute, to which the Morattoe nation pretends a right from all the countries in the peninsula. At this time Hyder Ally, at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, had, as if in disgust, resigned his employments of general and minister: he had some time before concluded his treaty with M. Lally, and sent off the body of 4000 Mysoreans, which came to Pondicherry under the command of his brother-in-law Muctoon Saheb; relying on this alliance, and his own courage, he was so assured of his importance and safety, that he abided at a town within three miles of Seringapatam, with all his family of women, attended only by 300 horsemen, who were of proved fidelity and resolution. Agents accompanied the letters of Vizvazypunt, with whom the king concerted, that their master should move with his army to Seringapatam, as if to hasten by intimidation the levy of a large contribution, which the king had privately consented to pay. Hyder Ally supposed, that their approach would reinstate him in the command of the king's forces to oppose them, and discovered when near, that the Morattoes had engaged to seize his person; on which he mounted in the dead of night, accompanied by some of his horsemen, and left his whole family behind. Some Morattoes followed them, whom he out-stripped, and the next day arrived at Bangalore, a strong city 60 miles to the north of Seringapatam. Being the bringer of his own errand, he had time, and found means to engage some of the officers, who prevailed on the rest to declare they would abide by his fortunes; and in consequence they shut the gates. From this retreat he immediately sent orders to his brother-in-law, to quit the

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1760 October. Carnatic with all the troops under his command, and to march, avoiding the Morattoes, to Bengalore. Muctoon Saheb had received the letters, when he moved from Pondicherry on the 16th of August; but concluding Hyder Ally to be in safety for a while at Bengalore, and believing either that a reconciliation would take place between him and the King, after the retreat of the Morattoes; or otherwise, that Hyder Ally might think it most expedient to come himself, and join the French, for the sake of the cessions stipulated in the treaty; he determined, although not to return to Pondicherry, to cotinue in the Carnatic, and in consequence employed, as we have seen, his troops against Trinomaly, and other places in that part of the country, until he received, in the beginning of September, farther intelligence from Hyder Ally, which left no alternative to his departure; on which he recalled the 800 horse which were at Gingee, and without solicitation, with an integrity rare in the politics of India, requested the French force to accompany them in order to receive back the possession of the fort of Thiagar, which he without stipulation tendered of his own accord. On their arrival there on the 13th of September, he fulfilled his word, claiming only on occasion their future assistance, and three days after marched away with his whole force to join his brother. The French left 200 European foot, and five companies of Sepoys in Thiagar, and the rest, being the same number of foot, 150 European horse, and three companies of Sepoys, returned to Gingee.

The restitution of Thiagar, and the departure of the Mysore troops out of the province, confirmed the veracity of the king's disavowal of any participation in that expedition, and the Presidency repeated their orders to Captain Smith and the troops of Madura to cease hostilities in the Mysore districts. Previous to the receipt of these orders, Captain Smith had sent a detachment from Caroor, against a fort called Pudicotah, different from that he had taken in his approach. It stands nine miles to the N. E. of Caroor on the south bank of the Caveri. The garrison evacuated it on the appearance of the detachment, who left a party to hold it, and returned to Caroor. The want of money prevented any farther operations; for, although the

the revenues of the country reduced exceeded 300,000 rupees a year, the devastation of the auxiliary horse and foot which could not be restrained, left no contributions to raise. Captain Smith, therefore, returned with a part of his command to Tritchinopoly, and on the way sent off a detachment to reinstate two polygars, who had been driven out of their pollams by the troops of Dindigul, from whom the detachment met no resistance, as the governor of Dindigul had received orders, in consequence of the capitulation of Caroor, to cease hostilities against the possessions of the Nabob. By this time the troops of Madura had taken five other forts between Batal Gunta and Dindigul, in all seven, and continued to keep possession of them until farther orders, encamping their main body at Batal Gunta, and keeping slight guards in the others. Captain Smith arrived in the beginning of October at Madrass, to give an account of his expedition, and the state of the conquered country; and soon after returned to his command in Tritchinopoly. 1760 October.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Mysoreans had quitted the province, Colonel Coote, to save the heavy expence of the black cavalry, discharged 500 of them, mostly those brought by Maphuze Khan, which reduced the number to 800, of which 500 were with Preston, and the rest with himself in the camp. A party, with some bullocks, advancing from Gingee, arrived on the 2d of October at Malamoodi, a village twelve miles from Pondicherry between the river of Ariancopang and the Panar, intending to push into the town in the night under the protection of St. Thomas redoubt. On intelligence of their approach, Colonel Coote detached all the cavalry in the camp, which, besides the black, were one of the two troops of Europeans, to lie in their way: of which the party got intelligence, and, leaving their bullocks, returned during the night, and in their return three officers, who lagged behind in their palankins, were taken by some black horse and Sepoys, which Captain Preston had detached to harass the party from Ratalgrammon.

The army had hitherto continued on the ground between Oulgarry and the river of Ariancopang, where they had encamped immediately after the success of the bound-hedge. This ground is always

 overflowed

1760 October. overflowed in the rainy season, of which the signs encreased every day; and on the 6th the whole army marched off by the left, and encamped on the ridge of the Red-hill, a mile and half nearer the bound-hedge than their first encampment at Perimbé, but to the left of that ground. The heighth and sandy soil of this situation drained and dried the wet as fast as it fell, and secured at least the troops from this inclemency under foot, and large caserns of mat and bamboo were built to shelter them from the other.

At one the next morning, firing of cannon and musketry was heard in the road of Pondicherry. Besides smaller craft, three French ships, the Hermione, the Baleine, and the Compagnie des Indes were at anchor before the town, as near the surf as prudence permitted, and under the command of 100 guns, mounted along the works on this side, and the strand, to protect the road. These ships were intended to wait until the stormy weather, and then sail to ports to the southward, and return with provisions, of which the prevention would in that season become precarious, even should the English squadron be able to continue in sight of Pondicherry. Mr. Stevens had for some time determined to cut them out of the road. His squadron always continued at anchor before Cuddalore. A fortnight before the present, a night had been fixed; but the ships beginning to hoist out their boats before it was dark, they were perceived by telescopes from Pondicherry; and men were immediately sent from the shore to reinforce the French ships; which was likewise discovered by the squadron, and obliged Mr. Stevens to defer the design, until the enemy's suspicions should have ceased. In the mean time the Tyger of 60 guns was sent to continue near Pondicherry, and anchored a little to the south, two miles from the shore. On the night of the 6th, the enterprize was resumed. The boats, six and twenty, were hoisted out after dark, and manned with 400 sailors, mostly volunteers, and sailed to the Tyger, where all assembled at 12. Soon after they perceived the lights in the great cabin of the nearest ship, the Hermione, extinguished, and concluding that the officers were gone to rest, set off for the attack. The boats moved in two divisions, one allotted to the Hermione, the other to the next ship, the Baleine;

Baleine; the attack of the Compagnie des Indes was to depend on the success of these. To prevent deviation, the boats of each division moved in a line, holding to one another by ropes. The niches of the oars were covered with fresh sheep-skin, to prevent creaking. The watch-word by which the men were to know one another in the attack, was Cathchart, a sound which few Frenchmen can pronounce. It lightened continually, as usual in the nights before the change of the monsoon; nevertheless, the division to the Hermione got within pistol-shot of her stern, before they were discovered; when the boats separating, ranged up equally on each side of the ship, and two went forward to the bows to cut the cables. During this approach, all hands in the ships were up, and firing musketry on the boats, and shot came from the guns of the Compagnie des Indes, which lay to command both the other ships. The Hermione was boarded in as many parts as there were boats round her. The crew, which were 70 Europeans, behaved well, defending themselves and the ship with pikes and pistols, when the attack came hand to hand. The man who first attempted to cut the cable had his head cut off by an officer standing to guard it in the bows; nevertheless numbers prevailed, and the crew were all driven or tumbled down the hatch-ways; for no concert of surrender could take place, or be trusted. As soon as they were all down, the hatches were closed and centinels fixed over them, and then the mizen topsail, the only sail bent, was set to carry off the ship, which several boats were likewise ready to tow: but by this time, the shore, which had waited until the firing of the attack had ceased in the ship, began a violent cannonade, of which the lightning directed the aim; and shot continually struck: one destroyed the wheel of the rudder, killed the two men who were steering, and cut the tiller rope. The prisoners confined below deterred every one from going down into the gun-room to fix another rope to the rudder, and the single sail was not sufficient to steer the ship; the boats remained the only means of carrying her off, and they tugged with such violence, that they continually snapt the towing-ropes. Mean while the fire continued from the shore. At length, some imagined that

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1760 October. that the ship had no motion, and resisted by a cable and anchor concealed under her keel; on which the officer who commanded the attack, resolved to leave her. The prisoners below were told, that it was determined to set her on fire, on which they came up readily to be carried off in the boats, which rowed away with them to the Tyger. When arrived on board, the Captain, Digby Dent, said he should send his own men, if the division did not immediately return to bring off the ship. This spirited rebuke prevailed, all the boats set off again and met the ship half a mile nearer; for the land-wind had sprung up and was driving her out.

The dispositions for the attack of the Baleine, were the same, and succeeded more easily. The crew made little resistance; only two men were killed before they surrendered. The rudder of the ship was ashore, but several sails were bent to the yards which sufficed to move and steer her, and she was brought, and anchored near the Tyger, before the Baleine came up. No attempt was made on the Compagnie des Indes.

By this time the want of provisions pressed so hard, that Mr. Lally assembled a general council, and proposed the immediate expulsion of the black inhabitants, who represented that their fidelity alone to those who might condemn them to this severe calamity had left it in their power to inflict it: by their removal, likewise, all the Europeans would be deprived of their domestics: and from these considerations the assembly broke up without decisions: but some from fear of the other inconveniences of the blockade during the stormy weather, requested permission of Colonel Coote to send away their families either to the Danish or Dutch settlements on the coast, which were neutral in the war; and passports were granted.

Intelligence was received on the 11th, that the garrison intended to march out a detachment of 400 men, to storm the Madrass redoubt in the bound-hedge, and then push on to attack the large redoubt, which the English army had raised to the north of it; on which the picquets of the camp marched, and took post half-way, in order to fall on the rear of the detachment: being discovered, the enemy

enemy made no motion, but the next day the town fired hotly, but without execution, on the Ariancopang redoubt. 1760 October.

The winds had for some days veered and strengthened; and on the 22d and 23d, the two Admirals sailed out of the road of Cuddalore with all the ships, excepting four, which two days after, on suspicion of stormy weather, went away likewise. Their departure was unexpected, because contrary to Mr. Steven's declaration, that he would not quit the coast until compelled by the utmost necessity, which had not yet come. As soon as they disappeared, the Compagnie des Indes, and a sloop which was in the road, prepared as had been foreseen to put to sea. The ship sailed on the 30th to bring provisions from Tranquebar, and the sloop armed with several guns was intended to cruize in the offing for the grain-boats, which at this season of the year come with the wind and current from the northern to the southern parts of the coast, and generally sail in sight of the shore. The four men of war which left Cuddalore on the 23d, anchored on the 1st of November off Alamparvah, from whence they fell down on the 4th to the road of Pondicherry, and gave information, that Mr. Stevens was gone with the other 12 ships of the squadron to refit them in the bay of Trincomaly.

Captain Preston, on the 18th of October, detached some black horse and Sepoys from his post at Ratlagrammon, who came back with 400 head of cattle of those collected by the French, which were grazing in the country round the pettah of Gingee: The detachment was neither opposed or pursued, although a considerable party of the French troops was then in the pettah ready to march. This party moved on the 21st; they were 200 Europeans and Coffrees, 400 Sepoys, 100 European and as many black horse. They crossed the river Panar on its decline, and on their arrival at Thiagar, a detachment larger than their number was formed, and marched away, to attack the fort of Chandamungalum, which stands half-way towards Trinomallee: the fort was garrisoned by four or five companies of Sepoys, with a few Europeans from Chittapet, who repulsed the assault with uncommon ability, having killed ten Europeans and 40 Sepoys, and wounded 50 Sepoys and 20 horses;

1760 October. horses; after which the French party attempted nothing more, but returned to Thiagar.

Captain Preston, on the first intelligence of their motion from Gingee, set out, as before, to follow them with the greatest part of his force from Ratlagrammon, but when arrived on the 24th near Villaporum, found the river swelled, and continued on the bank, in expecta-
November tion of its fall; and on the 1st of November, the garrison of Gingee, being stronger than the force he had left at Ratlagrammon, again detached a party of 25 European horse and 20 foot with three companies of Sepoys and some black cavalry, to drive away all the cattle about this place, which by the late captures and purchases made for the camp were many herds. Captain Robert Fletcher, who commanded during the absence of Preston at Ratlagrammon, waited until the enemy began to retreat with the cattle they had gathered, when he appeared with 50 black horse, and three companies of Sepoys in their rear, and followed them six miles, but as if cautious of coming too close to their fire; which continually drew it from them; when, perceiving that they had almost expended their ammunition, he approached nearer, and engaged them regularly, which they scarcely sustained, and soon broke, and all their Sepoys flung down their arms. Fifteen of them were killed, and 30 with a Subadar or Captain made prisoners: of the Europeans, six were killed, or fell wounded, and 150 muskets were collected. The next day, Fletcher, with a stronger force, marched again from Ratlagrammon, and contriving his time, arrived at night, and entered the pettah of Gingee, which has but a slight wall, by surprize, set fire to it in every part, and met no resistance, excepting the uncertain fire of the cannon from the hills above, and on his return he drove off a greater number of their cattle than the enemy had taken the day before.

The frequent, although slender attempts and enterprizes, which had been made by the body of French troops in the field, in order either to supply Pondicherry with provisions, to gain plunder, or to create diversions of the English force, had in the whole expended more than three hundred Europeans; most of the rest were now at

Thiagar,

Thiagar, and from the force remaining at Gingee, including what the garrison might on occasion spare, no attempt of convoys to Pondicherry beyond the provisions of a few days were to be apprehended. They had lost, if ever it lay open, the opportunity, when they were in full force. Nevertheless the number of troops remaining at Pondicherry, with the defences and ammunition, still secured the town from every danger, excepting famine; and Mr. Lally not imprudently preferred that the troops he had detached, should remain abroad where they might do some service, and would subsist themselves, rather than return to consume in Pondicherry the slender stock of provisions, of which they had supplied so little. He now wished even to add more to their number for another purpose, on which ill fortune and necessity obliged him to rely as the likeliest means that remained of relieving the distresses of Pondicherry. 1760 November

The French squadron, which had left the coast on the 1st of October of the preceding year, arrived on the 15th of November at the isle of France. This island never furnished provisions sufficient for the settled inhabitants, and had been so much exhausted of the stores collected from abroad, by victualling the squadron at their departure for the coast, that little remained to afford them on their return; and this scarcity had been injudiciously encreased by the equipment of two vessels, which had been sent to attack the English factories in the gulph of Persia. In this distress, it was resolved to follow the example of the preceding year, and to send three ships of burthen, under the convoy of the Centaur of 74 guns, belonging to the French Company, to purchase provisions at the Cape of Good Hope. But Mr. D'Aché proposed to give the command of the Centaur to the captain of the King's ship the Actif; on which all the captains of the Company's ships of war protested against this preference, as derogatory to their own rights; and whilst the tedious disputations usual on such occasions were carrying on in writing, with much acerbity and little public zeal, the the annual tempest of the elements in this climate arose in the night of the 27th of January, and lasted without intermission, and with the utmost excess, for 36 hours. Thirty-two vessels in the port of Mauritius were torn from their anchors;

1760 November anchors; but all, excepting one of 30 guns, were stopped by the ooze of the bay from driving on the rocks which fraize the shore; on which all the smaller craft were stranded and wrecked. The ruin was greater on the land. All the vegetation of provisions above the surface was destroyed. The cattle and fowls were washed away by the torrents, or perished by the inclemency, and of the magazines of grain, which are all built of wood, some were overthrown, and the rest opened by the wind to the rain. Three months were employed in repairing the damages of the marine and shore. In this interval, some few provisions were brought by some trading vessels of the Colony from Madagascar, and the surplus of the island of Bourbon. On the 26th of May it was determined to send four ships of war, as fast as they could be equipped, in order to subsist at Foul-point in Madagascar. On the 8th of June, arrived a vessel from France, apprising, that an armament was fitting out in England to attack the two islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; in consequence of which, the French government had sent the regiment of Cambray, of 700 men, to reinforce them; and the squadron, if at Mauritius, was ordered to continue there; and, if gone to the coast, to be immediately recalled. These orders determined Mr. D'Aché to remain with the greatest part of his ships for the defence of the island, but to send away those before allotted to Madagascar; which, to save the consumption of victuals, were not to return to the isle of France until the 20th of August: if at this time they received no directions how to act, the council of war might proceed to the execution of any service, of which the condition of the ships might be deemed capable: meaning to intimate, that they might, if they chose it, go to the coast of Coromandel. The Centaur sailed for Madagascar on the 16th of June, but the other three not in less than a month after, by which time the regiment of Cambray was arrived in several of the Company's ships from France. The news of the storm was brought to Pondicherry by the Hermione and Baleine in July, but by detaining the sailors for a while on board, the report was keqt secret, until others properly fabricated and given out, persuaded the colony, and the enemy at their

 gates,

gates, that the squadron strongly reinforced from France might be every day expected on the coast. In the middle of October, letters dispatched from Mauritius to Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, arrived from hence, with information of the departure of the four ships to Madagascar, and dubious assurances of their intention to come at all events to Pondicherry. Mr. Lally had always regarded the operations of the squadron as so unzealous and indecisive, that he was convinced these ships would not make the effort. He, however, concealed this opinion, and the intelligence concerning the supposed attack of Mauritius from England; but gave out that the ships gone to Madagascar, and more, might be expected at Pondicherry with the regiment of Cambray on board. But, despairing of the relief he pretended, he persuaded the Council to conclude a treaty for the assistance of the body of Morattoes under the command of Vizvazypunt, which had lately returned from Seringapatam in Mysore to the confines of the Carnatic.

1760 November

Vizvazypunt, on his first approach from the Kristna, had in April sent letters to Pondicherry, tendering the same assistance to the French as he was offering to the Nabob and the English: a vague correspondence had continued in consequence of these overtures; but, on his nearer approach, Mr. Lally sent two agents to his camp. The Morattoe required a sum of ready money in hand, and the cession of the fortress of Gingee, which, besides the influence it would give Balagerow in the province of Arcot, was the wish of a national point of honour, since Gingee had, until the beginning of the present century, been the capital of a race of Morattoe kings, whose dominion extended from the Coleroon to the Paliar. The Council empowered the agents to agree that Gingee should be delivered to him as soon as the English army retreated from Pondicherry, and that 500,000 rupees should be paid him when his own appeared in sight of the town. All the French troops abroad were to join the Morattoes as soon as they passed the hills, and entered the province. If these terms were not readily accepted, the agents were to insinuate that, although the distresses of Hyder Ally had broke any farther expectations of assistance from him, the king of Mysore him-

1760 self would be glad to obtain Gingee on the same terms; when the Morattoes would be precluded from the probability of gaining any advantage by their expedition to the Carnatic.

November

But as the negociation might be protracted, and provisions, even for a few days, were become of great importance, Mr. Lally ordered the troops abroad to make what effort they could before the rains ceased; and as Gingee was so closely watched by Preston's command, he directed the main body to continue and act from Thiagar, from whence, by the distance, and the nature of the country between, their motions would be less liable to be ascertained and interrupted. In the mean time, as well to save the consumption in the town, as to convince the Morattoes that the troops in garrison were more than sufficient to defend it, he resolved to send out more to join those already in the field. Accordingly, on the night of the 1st of November, 100 Europeans crossed the river of Ariancopang in boats, and were proceeding along the sea-shore, from whence they intended to turn inland, and gain their way to the west between the two rivers, expecting no interruption, as the rains were almost continual, and had drenched the plain: but in the close of the evening, a guard of Sepoys had been advanced from the fort of Ariancopang, and took post on the strand of the sea; they fired on the first alarm upon the French party, who, imagining their force greater, and that it had been stationed on purpose to intercept them, hurried back to their boats, and regained the town: only one of the Sepoys was killed; the enemy's loss was not known, but was supposed to be more.

Excessive rain stopped any farther operations between the English camp and the French troops for several days, during which, both continued intent only on the sea. To oppose the armed boats of the town, some were equipped in the like manner at Cuddalore, which on the 7th took a boat coming with paddy from Tranquebar, and another going thither with effects of value; and intelligence being received that the ship la Compagnie des Indes, with a schooner and several smaller vessels, were taking in provisions there, Commodore Haldan detached two of the men of war with orders to

to seize them, and every other vessel which had more than the 1760
provisions of their own diet on board. They came into the road November
on the 8th, where they found the Salisbury of 50 guns arrived from Triconomaly, which had anchored close to the Compagnie des Indes, and kept her under command, waiting orders from the Commodore. The Compagnie des Indes struck on the first summons; and the schooner, which was loaded with 400 bags of wheat, and some barrels of salted meat, ran ashore. The smaller vessels in the road escaped to the southward; and the Salisbury sailed away with the prize to rejoin Admiral Stevens at Triconomaly. The news of this loss was received in Pondicherry with as much concern as a disaster in the field. The Danish government sent deputies to Colonel Coote, with a protest against the infraction of the neutrality of their port; but were shewn intercepted letters, which proved their assistance to the French agents, and silenced their remonstrances.

On the 9th of the month, a ricochet battery of four eighteen-pounders was finished in a ruined village, 1400 yards to the north, between the sea-side and the bleaching town: the shot plunged along the east face of the town, and were answered very hotly by twelve pieces of cannon, which as well from the distance, as the parapet of the battery, by which the guns were entirely concealed, could do no mischief.

On the 12th, Colonel Coote received information, that a convoy was advancing from Thiagar; they were 24 European and 100 black horse, escorting 100 bullocks, laden with salted beef, and each of the horsemen likewise carried a parcel of it at the croup of his saddle. They crossed the Panar on the 13th, at some distance above Trivadi, and proceeded between this and the river of Ariancopang; but imprudently lost time in driving 300 bullocks more, which they had taken up in the way. At four in the morning they came up near the fort of Ariancopang, and were immediately surrounded by a detachment of 100 European foot, 40 European and 150 black horse, which were waiting to intercept them. The officer with one of the troopers was killed, and ten, with more than half the black horse, surrendered; but the other 12 of the European

horse

1760 November

horse pushed to the river, and were ferried over to the town under the guns of St. Thomas' redoubt. To prevent such attempts in future, 50 Europeans, with a company of Sepoys, were stationed and retrenched on the ship of sand on the sea-shore, opposite to the bar of the river.

By this time the waters of the Panar were run off, and, as the troops at Ratlagramon with Captain Fletcher were deemed sufficient to oppose what the enemy had at Gingee, Captain Preston, with the main body of his command, marched away from Villaporum to attack Elavanasore, to which the officer at Thiagar sent a reinforcement, chiefly of black troops; but after Elavanasore was invested did not advance to its relief. The only guns fit for battery with Preston's division, were two field twelve-pounders, which are too slight against strong defences; but, as the last thing which is done in country forts is to repair them, a breach was easily made, and the garrison capitulated at discretion, although they were 11 Europeans, 19 Topasses, and 400 Sepoys, with three field-pieces besides the guns of the fort.

Preparations had for some time been making at Madrass to convert the blockade of Pondicherry into a regular attack; and on the 16th, the Admiral Watson, a ship of 500 tons, laden with all kinds of stores, arrived, and anchored off the north redoubt, and the massoolas of Cuddalore repaired thither to unload her. On the 18th, Mr. Call, the chief engineer, arrived in the camp, to conduct the trenches.

There were remaining in Pondicherry about 50 horses belonging to the cavalry, for which no forage could be procured either within or without the walls; and, as the grain they consumed was so much taken from the sustenance of the garrison, Mr. Lally resolved to send them with the best riders to Thiagar. Colonel Coote received intelligence of the intention, but not of the time. At two o'clock in the morning of the 21st, 200 grenadiers, with the horsemen, passed the river on rafts, near the bar, opposite to the retrenched guard on the spit of sand, from which the Europeans had been withdrawn, and only the Sepoys were remaining; on whom the

French

French grenadiers immediately advanced, and gave their fire, whilst the horsemen went off as fast as they could over the plain, taking the road to Trivadi. On the alarm, the pickets of horse in the camp mounted, and crossing the river, which chanced to be fordable at Villenore, went in pursuit, and took thirteen, whose horses were too feeble to keep pace with the others. 1760 November

Major Preston, following his success, marched from Elavanasore, against a fort called Rishavandum, which stands 15 miles to the N. E. of that place: it surrendered to him, after little resistance, on the 22d: the garrison consisted of 200 Sepoys, and five Europeans. From hence he marched against Chacrapollam, a mud fort, 15 miles north of Thiagar; which surrendered to him without making any defence; for the garrison was only a company of Sepoys, with a serjeant. In the mean while, the French troops remaining at Gingee, exclusive of the garrison there, went against Chittamoor, a fort 10 miles to the S. E. and were repulsed, with the loss of 20 Sepoys and four Europeans, killed and wounded.

The landing of the stores from the Admiral Watson had been impeded by the desertion of the boatmen, who ran away, because they had not been regularly paid; but the blockade continued with the utmost vigilance, and nothing, since the last convoy, had attempted to get in by land; several boats coming from the southward, with salt provisions and arrack, were intercepted by armed boats equipped at Devicotah. The encreasing distress determined Mr. Lally to consult nothing any longer but necessity; and on the 27th, he turned out of the gates all the blacks remaining in the town, excepting a few who were domestics to the principal inhabitants. The number expelled were 1400, of both sexes, and every age. They wandered in families and companies towards all parts of the limits, hoping the mercy of being suffered to pass away; but they were every where stopped by the advanced Sepoys, and ordered to go back; on which they retired, and assembled round the foot of the glacis, begging admittance, and many of them attempting to pass over into the covered-way, were fired upon by the musketry and cannon, and some were killed. At night they were quiet; but the next day, and for six

1760 November December six more, they repeated the same importunities to the town and the English post, and received the same repulses. Examples of this severity rarely occur; and in civilized war is never exercised but with the utmost reluctance. At length Colonel Coote, finding Mr. Lally inflexible, let the whole multitude pass. Their only sustenance, excepting the little they had brought out of the town, secreted about their persons, had for eight days been the roots of grass they picked up in the fields, in which they lay. They were all extenuated by famine, and few had homes or friends to go to; nevertheless their thanks were inexpressible, even for this chance of preservation.

The Nabob was present at this act of mercy, and concurred in it. He left Arcot on the 15th of November, and went to Madrass to confer a few hours with Mr. Pigot, from whence he arrived in the camp on the 3d of December. On the 2d and 3d, two vessels, a sloop, and a pinnace remaining at Pondicherry, sailed away for Tranquebar, but the pinnace was taken by the boats of Devicotah.

Four ricochet batteries, which were first to open against the town, were finished on the 8th. We have already given some description of Pondicherry, when attacked by Mr. Boscawen in 1748. All the bastions remained in their first form, which, for a town of this size, was very confined; but counter-guards had been made before three of them, and ravelins raised before the three gates to the land; a rampart of earth had been added to the curtains, which before were only walls of brick five feet thick. A wet ditch had been compleated on the three sides to the land, excepting in an extent of 200 yards on the south side towards the sea, where the ground rising higher required a deeper excavation, which for this reason, as being more laborious and expensive, had not yet been dug; to the extremity of this higher ground where the ditch ceased, came a large creek from the river of Ariancopang, which supplied the ditch all round with water. The berm within the ditch was 25 feet broad; the covered-way was narrow, and the glacis not sufficiently raised. The face to the east being within a few yards of the surf, and exposed only to an escalade by surprize, had no ditch, but its curtain was flanked by projecting batteries, which likewise commanded the road. The citadel

tadel was a pentagon with five bastions, but too small to endure bombardment; two of its bastions over-looked the east curtain, and added to the fire on the sea. The town was very commodiously laid out in straight streets which traversed it entirely in both directions. 1760 December

The ricochet battery of four guns, which had opened on the 10th of November, had for some time been quitted, and the guns removed to the north redoubt beyond the bound-hedge; because their effect was not equal either to the expence of ammunition, or the fatigue and risque of the guards. The four batteries which were now opened were thus situated. One stood near the beach to the north, 200 yards in front of that which had been abandoned and about 1200 from the walls; it mounted four 18 pounders, and enfiladed the east front of the town. Another of two 24 and two 18 pounders, with three mortars of 13, 10, and 8 inches, was raised on the other side of the morass, which spreads to the west; it was 1400 yards from the walls, and bore, but a little to the left, upon the west flank of the bastion in the north-west angle, which mounted 10 guns, and had before it, within the ditch, a strong and extensive counter-guard, mounting 25 guns. The two other batteries were to the south. One on the edge of a large island, formed by the river of Ariancopang; this battery mounted only two guns, of which, one bore on the bastion next to that in the S. W. angle of the town, the other on St. Thomas redoubt, which stood on the opposite bank of the river lower down; the other battery was raised in a smaller island below the Coco-nut, from which it is separated on one hand, and on the other from the spit of sand, which forms the strand of the sea from the bar of the river. This is called the Sand Island; the battery bore upon St. Thomas redoubt, and on the curtain of the town between the two bastions on this side nearest the sea.

All the four batteries were only intended to harrass the garrison by a cross fire of ricochet shot along the streets or ramparts;

1760 December for none of them were on the perpendiculars on which the breaching batteries were intended to be erected. They opened at midnight, between the 8th and 9th, firing all of them at the same time, and in vollies, on the signal of a shell. A little before the first volley, Colonel Coote, with two or three officers, approached towards the glacis of the north front, in order to observe what effect the firing would produce upon the garrison. They beat to arms, but without confusion, and seemed to have every thing in proper order on their bastions; they raised blue lights in different parts of the town, but did not fire a shot. Captain Fletcher, who was with the Colonel, very imprudently quitted him without notice, and went to the foot of the glacis, where he fell in with the centinel of an advanced guard of Sepoys, whom he seized and disarmed, and was bringing off; when the guard, hearing the struggle, ran into the covered-way, from whence immediately came a hot fire of musketry upon Colonel Coote's party; but Fletcher brought off the Sepoy, who gave no intelligence that was not better known before.

The batteries ceased before day-break, and the guns were kept masked until the afternoon, when they recommenced, and the town returned with great vivacity, but the firing ceased on both sides in two hours. The two batteries to the south prevented the enemy from launching a large boat which they had fitted on the shore near the bar, and drove them likewise from their guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, which were only mounted in barbette.

The firing was variously renewed in the six following days, but diminished much on the 18th from want of powder; but the purpose of wasting the garrison with fatigue, which their scanty allowance of provisions rendered them little able to endure. On the 19th, a party of pioneers appeared at work with great eagerness, to raise and convert the barbette of St. Thomas's redoubt into a parapet with embrasures. The battery on the sand island fired to interrupt them by night as well as by day, but they persevered. On the 20th, some powder arrived in a vessel from Madrass,

drass, and the enfilade and bombardment recommenced from all the batteries as before; and was constantly answered with the same vivacity from the town. On the 23d, the ship Duke, of 500 tons, arrived from Madrass, laden with 17 pieces of battering cannon and their shot, with all kinds of stores for the siege; but so few of the boatmen had returned to their massoolas, that very little could be landed until others were assembled from the neighbouring ports on the coast, and even from Madrass: this delay, however, appeared of less detriment, because the materials for the trenches, and for the batteries which were to dismantle the defences and breach the body of the place, were not yet collected, and the engineers reported, that they should not be ready to open this fire before the third of January; but the batteries already constructed continued theirs. On the 26th, Admiral Stevens in the Norfolk, with three other ships of the line and the Protector fire-ship, returned into the road from Trinconomaly.

1760 December

The French troops assembled at Thiagar were so much superior to the little forts around, that they became the terror of the country, and their smallest parties brought in provisions in plenty, and without risque. Major Preston, having no longer any apprehensions that the troops at Gingee would either be able to push any convoys through the circumvallation of the English army, or even to distress the posts under the protection of Captain Fletcher at Ratlagrammon, resolved, by cutting off the daily supplies of Thiagar, to oblige the troops there to employ large escorts, which he hoped to intercept. He marched from Rashivandum on the 1st of December, and encamped in the evening three miles to the N. W. of Thiagar. On the night of the 3d, all the French cavalry, amounting to 200, led by Major Allen, an officer of Mr. Lally's regiment, pushed out of the pettah, and went to the west of Trinomalee. Being sure of provisions abroad, they intended to remain in the hills, waiting the event of the negociation, which Mr. Lally was carrying on with the Morattoe Vizvazipunt, whose troops, if it succeeded, they intended to accompany to Pondicherry. A few days

1760 December days afterwards, they were joined by a party of 100 European infantry, whom, to alleviate the consumption of provisions, Mr. Lally had sent out of Pondicherry in the two vessels which sailed on the 2d and 3d of the month, and escaped to Tranquebar ; from whence, headed by the bishop of Hallicarnassus, they marched to escort him to the camp of Vizvazipunt at Cudapanatam, with whom the bishop was empowered to conclude the negociation. They proceeded to Combaconum, by the same road as the Nabob and Major Joseph Smith had come to Karical, and received no molestation in their journey through the country of Tanjore. From Combaconum, they crossed the Coleroon, and then passed between Volcondah and Thiagar, out of the reach of Preston's troops ; but 10 or 12 of them deserted, and travelled to Tritchinopoly, where they offered to serve, but were not enlisted ; because Captain Smith had at this time discovered a conspiracy of the French prisoners to rise and overpower the garrison ; in which the number of Europeans did not exceed 100, and most of them were invalids or foreigners ; whereas the prisoners were 500 ; being the collection of all that had been taken at Karical, Chillambrum, and Verdachilum, by Colonel Monson, and in the different actions at Seringham and its districts, by the two Smiths from Tritchinopoly.

The King of Mysore, not thoroughly convinced that his protestations of good-will to the English would induce them to restore Caroor, sent a large body of troops to the confines of its territory, in order to second the terms of his negociation by the appearance of renewing hostilities, if not accommodated ; and other troops proceeded to reinforce those at Dindigul ; from whence the governor on their arrival marched, with 1000 horse, 2000 Sepoys, as many common peons, and some cannon, against Agarpatty, the nearest and last of the forts, which the troops of Madura had taken, but having left it only 40 Sepoys, it surrendered on the 4th day of the attack. From hence the Mysoreans marched against Narasingapore, another of the forts, six miles farther, which they likewise battered for four days, when they were attacked themselves by a strong body detached from

Madura, who beat them off the ground, and drove them back to Dindigul, with the loss of 50 men killed and wounded. The colleries of Nattam, encouraged by this renewal of hostilities, made incursions into the northern districts of Madura, and stopped the whole road of the pass with trees, which they felled on either side, and with much labour dragged and laid them across the road with so much contrivance, that a single person could not pass without continual difficulty. 1760 December

No events of great importance had happened during the course of this year, in the country of Tinivelly. The commandant, Mahomed Issoof, after the repulse before Washinelore in the end of the preceding year, was from the want of battering cannon, no longer in a condition to attack the stronger holds of the polygars; and contented himself, until supplied, with posting the greatest part of his army in stations to check the Pulitaver and the eastern polygars; but remained himself with the rest at Tinivelly, watching Catabominaigue and the Western. The departure of Maphuze Khan from Nellitangaville in the month of January, left the Pulitaver and his allies no longer the pretext of opposing the authority of the Nabob in support of the rights of his elder brother; and they debated whether they should treat with Mahomed Issoof, or wait the event of Maphuze Khan's journey, who they supposed would return to them, if not received on his own terms by the Nabob. In this uncertainty, they formed no vigorous designs, and employed their colleries in night robberies, wherever they could elude the stations of Mahomed Issoof; but attempted nothing in the open field or day. Nevertheless, their depredations were so ruinous to the cultivation, that Mahomed Issoof thought it worth the expence, to draw off some of their dependants and entertain them in the Company's service, as best able to retaliate the same mischief on those by whom they had been employed; and towards the end of April, several of these petty leaders, with their followers, amounting in the whole to 2000 colleries, joined him at Tinivelly, and faithfully entered on the duties for which they had engaged. Nothing, however, like regular fighting happened until the end of May, when Catabominaigue appeared at the head of two or three thousand men, near Etia-

1760 Etiaporum, and stood the attack of seven companies of Sepoys, drawn from the limits towards Nellitangaville, by whom they were dispersed, but with little loss. In May Mahomed Issoof received intelligence of the hostilities commenced by the Mysoreans from Dindigul, and the orders of the Presidency to oppose them; in consequence of which he sent the detachment we have mentioned of 1500 Sepoys, 300 horse, and 3000 peons. They were scarcely gone, when a new and unexpected alarm arose in the Tinivelly country. The Dutch government at the island of Ceylon had received a large reinforcement of European troops from Batavia, which assembled at the port of Columbo, opposite to Cape Comorin, from whence a part of them arrived in the beginning of June at Tutacorin, a Dutch fort on the continent, 40 miles east of Tinivelly. Two hundred Europeans, with equipments, tents, and field-pieces, immediately encamped, giving out that they should shortly be reinforced by more than their own number, and that 400 other Europeans had left Batavia at the same time with themselves, and were gone to Cochin on the Malabar coast, in order to join the king of Travancore. The natives were frightened, and pretended to have discovered, that the force they saw was intended to assist the polygars in driving the English out of the country of Tinivelly, and to begin by attacking the town. Mahomed Issoof immediately sent to the Dutch chief at Tutacorin, to demand an explanation; who answered, that he should give none. A few days after the troops advanced inland, and halted at Alvar Tinivelly, a town in a very fertile district, situated 20 miles S. E of Tinivelly, and the same distance S. W. of Tutacorin; and at the same time, another body of 200 Europeans landed from Columbo at Manapar, 20 miles to the S. E. of Alwar Tinivelly. Mahomed Issoof had previously drawn troops from the eastern stations, and marching with 4000 Sepoys, and some horse, appeared in sight of the Dutch troops at Alavar Trinevelly in the evening of the 18th of June; who, in the ensuing night, decamped in strict silence, and marched back to Tutacorin; those at Manapar went away thither likewise in the same embarkations which brought them; and no more was heard of this alarm.

December

The

The depredations of the Polygars continued; but, deprived of Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, they ventured nothing more: the Pulitaver's colleries were as usual the most active in the robberies; and to repress them, Mahomed Issoof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville, which in December encamped at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Issoof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars sent to him the year before from Anjengo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Tritchinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, sallying, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell; but they killed ten of Mahomed Issoof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses. 1760 December

At this time the Mysoreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

1760 December found in them was brought to the citadel, from whence they were distributed equally to the military and inhabitants. Two colonels lately arrived from France, men of family, deemed the search in their apartments an affront, and sent word to Mr. Lally, that they would no longer act as officers; but on every occasion as Volunteers. But the event justified the severity; for by the end of December, notwithstanding some supply from the sea, the public stock did not exceed the consumption of three days; and Mr. Lally, guided by certain information, determined another search; on which father Lavaur, the superior of the Jesuits, who knew all the secrets of the town, prevailed on him to defer it, promising to produce a sufficiency for fifteen days more, but gave no expectation of further supply; but the French agents with Vizvazypunt sent hopes of succeeding in their negociation; and on the last day of the year intelligence was received in the English camp, and somewhat credited, that a large body of Morattoes, with all the French horse, were arrived from Cudapanatam at Trinomalee, and were going to Thiagar, from whence they intended, at all events, to push with provisions to Pondicherry.

The rains had ceased for some days, and the weather was restored to its usual temperance; the sky bright, although the winds sometimes strong, which always, at this season, blow from the north, and near the coast in the day from the sea, and at night from the land: but on the 30th of December, although the weather continued fair, a large swell came from the S. E. and the surf beat so hollow and heavy, that no boats could pass; which encreased in the night. The next morning the wind freshened, and the sky was close and dusky, but without that wild irregularity which prognosticates a storm; and this aspect did not change till noon, nor the wind encrease until eight at night. There were in the road eight sail of the line, two frigates, the fire-ship, and the ship with stores from Madrass, in all 12 sail. From eight o'clock the wind blew in squalls, every one stronger than the last, until 10, when the Admiral's ship, Norfolk, cut her cable, and fired the signal for the other ships to do

do so too; but the signal guns were not heard, and the ships, 1761
in obedience to the discipline of the navy, rode until their cables Januray.
parted with the strain, when they with much difficulty got before the wind, none able to set more than a single sail, and none without splitting several. Every minute increased the storm until twelve, by which time the wind had veered from the N. W. where it began, to the N. E.: when it suddenly fell stark calm with thick haze all round. In a few minutes the wind flew up from the south-east, and came at once in full strength with much greater fury than it had blown from the other quarter.

By the delay of not getting early under sail whilst the storm was from the north, most of the ships lost the opportunity of gaining sufficient sea-room before it came on from the south-east. The first gust of this wind laid the Panther on her beams, and the sea breaking over her, Captain Affleck cut away the mizen; and this not answering, the main-mast likewise, which broke below the upper deck, tore it up, and continued some time encumbering over the side of the ship without going clear off into the sea, until the shock of a wave sent it away. The ship then righted, the reefed foresail stood, and brought her back into fourteen fathom water, when she dropped the sheet anchor; but not bringing up, which means turning to ride with her head to the anchor, they cut away the fore-mast, which carried away the bowsprit, when the ship came round; and thus rode out the storm. The America, Medway, and Falmouth, cutting away all their masts on the different necessities with the same prudence, rode it out likewise, after they had anchored again nearly in the same soundings as the Panther.

The Newcastle, the Queenboroug frigate, and the Protector fire-ship, returning with the S. E. storm, mistook their soundings, and drove towards the shore, without knowing where they were, or attempting to anchor. The roaring of the surf was not to be distinguished in the general tumult of the elements; and the danger was not discovered until it was too late, and the three ships came ashore about two miles to the south of Pondicherry;

1761 January. cherry; but only seven in all the crews perished, who were knocked overboard by the shock of striking aground.

The Duke of Aquitain, the Sunderland, and the Duke storeship, unfortunately preserved all their masts through both the storms, until they were driven back to the necessity of anchoring; and in bringing up with them standing, all the three either broached to, or overset, and went to the bottom. Eleven hundred Europeans perished in these ships ;only seven, and seven lascars, were saved out of the crews, who were picked up the next day, floating on pieces of wreck.

The difference of the element prevented the destruction from being equal at land; but the ravage in proportion was not less. All the tents and temporary caserns of the camp on the Red-hill, and its out-posts, were blown to pieces. The ammunition abroad for immediate service was ruined. Nothing remained undamaged that was not under the shelter of masonary, either at the redoubts of the bound-hedge, in the buildings at Oulgarrey, or in the fort of Villenore, where the main stock of gun-powder was deposited. The soldiers, unable to carry off their muskets, and resist the storm, had left them to the ground, and were driven to seek shelter for their own persons wheresoever it was to be found. Many of the black attendants of the camp, from the natural feebleness of their constitution, perished by the inclemency of the hour. The sea had every where broken over the beach, and overflowed the country as far as the bound-hedge: and all the batteries and redoubts which the army had raised were intirely ruined. But these detriments might be repaired. The great anxiety remained for the other ships of the squadron, whose fortune was not yet known.

The town of Pondicherry beheld the storm and its effects as a deliverance sent from heaven. The sun rose clear, and shewed the havock spread around. It was proposed by some to march out immediately, and attack the English army; but this operation was impracticable; because no artillery could move through the inundation nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry; otherwise three hundred men, properly armed, would not, for

three

three hours after day-light, have met with 100 together in a condition to resist them. The wish of every one then turned to expectation that the ships from Madagascar might arrive in the interval before the English ships in the road were repaired, or others joined them from the sea : but the excellence of the opportunity did not alter Mr. Lally's mistrust of the resource ; and letters were immediately dispatched to the agents at Puliacate, Tranquebar, and Negapatam, ordering them to send away provisions with instant expedition, at every risque, on any kind of embarkation. 1761 January.

The anxiety for the missing ships continued until sun-set of the next day, when the Norfolk with Admiral Steven's flag was discovered in the offing. The ship, prepared at all points, before the south-east storm arose, scudded before it with a stay-sail, without losing a mast, and without being obliged to anchor until the wind fell, when in the morning they discovered Sadrass. The apprehension of more bad weather made the Admiral put out again to sea ; when he met the Liverpool, entirely dismasted. This ship, having parted her cable, and got under sail before the others, had gained more sea-room than any of them ; but the south-east storm had carried away all her masts ; soon after they were joined by the Grafton, who gave the welcome information that she had left, on the 28th of December, the Lenox, Admiral Cornish, with the York, and Weymouth, 30 leagues off the land : they were all returning together from Trincomaly : the Grafton, after parting with them, met hard weather during the hours in which the storm was raging near the coast. The Admiral, leaving her to take care of the Liverpool, anchored in the road of Pondicherry the next morning, and they in the afternoon. The other three ships came in the next day. On the 7th came in the Salisbury, with the prize la Compagnie des Indes, likewise from Trincomaly, and the Tyger from Madrass, where the violence of the storm had not reached. No more were to be expected ; for the Elizabeth and the Southsea-castle, wanting the dock, were sailed for Bombay, with the two other prizes, the Hermione and Baleine. But by this time, the four dismasted ships, although not quite refitted, were again in a condition to

1761 January. act on necessity; and thus in a week after the storm, which had raised such hopes of deliverance in the garrison of Pondicherry, they saw their road again blockaded by eleven sail of the line, and although three of them were only of 50 guns, all were manned above their complements by the addition of the crews which had been saved from the three stranded ships. Their boats continually cruizing, intercepted, or drove away whatsoever embarkations came towards the road with provisions; but several boats which were launched from the town in the three nights immediately after the storm, favoured by the wind, the current, and the darkness, escaped to the southward. In one of them Mr. Lally sent away Rajahsaheb, the son of Chundasaheb, who, ever since the defeat of Vandiwash, had resided with his family in Pondicherry; he landed at Negapatam, and from thence passed to Ceylon in the character of an elephant-merchant.

Every diligence was exerted to restore the works and stations of the army to the condition from which they had been dismantled by the storm. Reports of the Morattoes continued, and the advantages of the present opportunity increased the apprehensions of their attempts to throw provisions into the town. The bound-hedge and its redoubts remained as before a sufficient defence as far as they extended; but the south side of the blockade along the river of Ariancopang was laid open by the ruin of the two batteries on the coco-nut and sand island, and of the star redoubt on the spit of sand over against the bar; which could not he restored in ten days; and the torrent of the river prevented the immediate transport of men and materials to set about the work. Colonel Coote therefore determined, as soon as the river subsided, to surprize St. Thoma's redoubt, which, whilst it remained as at present without opposition on the other shore, would protect the passage of what convoys the garrison might expect; but if taken, would preclude their approach even more efficaciously than the posts on this side the blockade which the storm had ruined. The waters fell sufficiently on the 5th, and the detachment intended for the attack, having previously assembled at the Ariancopang redoubt, which stood above at the extremity of the

the bound-hedge, and on the same side of the river, marched down 1761
after it was dark under the bank, which was steep and skirted by a January.
sand. The redoubt stood at the opening, but on the farther side, of a channel, which strikes to the north from the main body of the river, and carries water into the ditches of the town. A French officer, with three troopers of his nation, who had taken service in the English army, crossed first, whilst Colonel Coote himself, with the rest of the detachment, halted on the nether side of the channel. The officer was challenged, and answered that he came from the town with a party, which Mr. Lally had sent off in haste, on intelligence that the English intended to attack the redoubt this very night. He was believed, and admitted; and Colonel Coote hearing no bustle or firing, immediately sent over the front of his party, who, as soon as their numbers were sufficient, declared themselves, and threatened to put the whole guard to death, if a single man made the least noise, or attempted to escape. All obeyed, excepting one Caffre, who stole away unperceived. They consisted of a serjeant, five gunners, five Caffres, and some Sepoys. The chief engineer, Mr. Call, followed with the pioneer company of 50 Europeans, and 100 Lascars, carrying gabions, fascines, and tools, with which they immediately set to work to close and ratrench the gorge; over which it was intended when necessary to turn the guns against the town. At one in the morning blue lights appeared over the ramparts along the south front, as if the garrison apprehended some attack on their walls. Soon after they began to fire single shot upon the redoubt, which came with such good aim, that the party at work threw the guns out of their carriages on the ground, to preserve them. At two, every thing was quiet in the town, and the work forward, when Colonel Coote went away to get rest at his head quarters at Oulgarry, leaving a Lieutenant, of artillery, with the 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, in the redoubt, which the officer was ordered to defend to the last extremity. The workmen had finished, and were withdrawn at four o'clok. At five, the redoubt was attacked by the four companies of grenadiers from the garrison: they assaulted on every side

1761 January. side at once, few fired, and all pushed with fixed bayonets through the ditch over the parapet. The resistance was not equal either to the strength of the post, for it was closed on all sides; or to the number of the guard, which were, including the Sepoys, 170 men. Some escaped by jumping over the parapet; a few were killed, and the greatest part, with the officer, surrendered themselves prisoners. At noon, Mr. Lally sent back all who had been taken, to the English camp, for want of provisions to feed them; but on condition, that they should not act again. This discovery of the distress of the garrison could only be required or warranted by the utmost necessity. However, Mr. Lally might suppose, that the prisoners had not time to learn the worst of what the town was enduring, and that they could not tell so much as deserters.

On the failure of this attempt, a large portion of the working parties was allotted to complete the redoubt on the spit of sand, which was to replace that which had been washed away. It was raised for the advantage of higher ground, three hundred yards in the rear of the former; its scale sufficient to contain 400 men, and to mount 16 guns in different directions. Equal attention was given to repair and complete the Hanover battery, where, from the lowness of the situation, much labour was requisite to clear the water, which had filled the trench that communicated with it from some inclosures in the rear. The only fire from the town was to interrupt the workmen here, but with little effect. On the 7th, the Company's ship Falmouth arrived from Madrass, laden with battering cannon, ammunition, and stores, to replace what had foundered in the Duke: and on the 9th another ship brought Mr. Pigot the governor, with Mr. Dupré, one of the council, and captain Robert Barker, who had been to Madrass to superintend the embarkation of the stores and artillery, which Captain Hislop and he were now to direct against the town.

At this time the Nabob received intelligence that his agents had concluded a negotiation with the Morattoe general Vizvazypunt. Allen, and the bishop of Halicarnassus, had added the offer of Thiagar to

to Gingee, and the payment of 500,000 rupees for their assistance, and proffered substantial shroffs as security; how this wary tribe of money-changers were induced to this venture, when there was not so much in Pondicherry, nor likely to come, remains unaccountable. Either Vizvazipunt himself must have encouraged them to stand forth in appearance, that he might obtain the highest terms from the Nabob; or some secret enemy of the Nabob, who was to gain advantage by the march of the Morattoes into the Carnatic, and the supprt of Pondicherry, must have proved to the shroffs the certainty of producing the money before the payment should fall upon their security; in this case we see no one but Hyderally to conjecture. The Nabob's agents were so perplexed by the fact, that they rose by degrees from the same sum of 500,000 rupees with which they had began, and concluded for two millions, of which one was to be paid in 20 days, and the other in nine months; on which Vizvazipunt told the French representatives, that they had no assistance to expect from him; and Allen and the Bishop went away with their troops, who were 200 Europeans mounted, and 100 on foot, to Hyderally in Bengalore, which is five days from Cudapanatam. The Nabob, on this important occasion, as indeed on all others ever since he was convinced of the probability of taking Pondicherry, enlarged himself with more decision and spirit than he had ever exerted since his government, and first connexion with the English nation; and as the smallest undissembled excesses of the mind tell more than the whole composure of political reason, he never failed to ask Colonel Coote every day, whether he was sure, and when, Pondicherry would surrender. Advices were at the same time received from Captain Preston, that he had attacked the pettah of Thiagar, which stands on the plain, and after some resistance carried both the mud-walls; on which the French troops who defended it ran to the rock, and saved themselves in the fortifications above, which could only be assaulted by surprize, or reduced by famine or bombardment: he had already begun to throw shells from two howitzers, and was waiting

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1761 ing for mortars from Madrass. These advices removed any farther apprehensions of succours getting into Pondicherry from the land.

January.

By the morning of the 10th, the Hanover battery was completed; but before it opened, Colonel Coote, with several officers, advanced from the Villenore redoubt, to reconnoitre the bastions of the town. As they were standing about 800 yards from the walls, a flag appeared approaching. Colonel Coote sent forward his aid-de-camp lieutenant Duespe, (not the officer we have mentioned at Vandivash) to receive his message or letters. Two other officers accompanied Duespe, and went on in the avenue leading from the Villenore redoubt to the glacis, until they were challenged by the centries, and ordered to retire; but not obeying, a shot was fired from a six-pounder on the Villenore gate, which missed them, but unfortunately struck and killed Duespe, as he was talking to the messenger. Colonel Coote sent to demand satisfaction for the outrage, supposing it unprovoked. Mr. Lally confined the officers on duty at the gate, and the next day sent his aid-de-camp to explain the mischance, for which he expressed much concern.

A few hours after Duespe was killed, the Hanover battery opened with ten guns, six were twenty-four, and four eighteen-pounders, and with three mortars, two of thirteen and one of ten inches. The six guns on the left fired upon the west face of the N. W. bastion, and of the counter-guard before it. The two next upon the next bastion on the left, which was small, and mounted only three guns: it was called St. Joseph. The two other guns on the right battered the two projecting towers standing on each side of the Valdore gate, which had a good ravelin in front between them. The mortars fired variously. The fire of the cannon ceased in three hours, but the mortars continued at intervals throughout the day. The garrison returned very sparingly. The next day, the 11th, the battery, having been damaged by its own use, fired less, and the town more, with the addition of shells from two mortars in the Valdore ravelin, which several times fell in and near the Hanover battery; which nevertheless opened again the next morning quite repaired, and with

great

great vivacity: but the enemy neither in this nor the preceding night had given any repair to the N W. bastion, and its counter-guard; which, in consequence of this neglect, had very little fire to return, nor did much come from the bastion of St. Joseph, or the works of the Valdore gate. Many deserters came over in these two nights, and their accounts agreed of the dismal distress of the garrison. The English army, on the contrary, received the confirmation of a report, that more forces from England (sent by the same spirit as the others) were arrived at Anjengo, on the coast of Malabar. Six hundred men, the remainder of the Highland regiment, had embarked in the month of May in five of the company's ships and two men of war of the line. Three of the company's and one of the men of war arrived at Anjengo on the 15th of December, and the others were daily expected there. 1761 January.

The redoubt on the spit of sand to the south was completed by the night of the 12th, and the workmen and tools recalled, to serve at the opening of the trenches, for which all the materials were by this time collected. The Hanover battery fired little through the 13th, and received only a few shells. In the beginning of the night, all appointed for the trenches were assembled at the bleaching town. They were 700 Europeans draughted from the rank and file, 400 lascars, the pioneer company of 70 Europeans, and 200 coolies: there were likewise 400 oxen, with their drivers, one to three. The ground was opened, under cover, just within the skirt of the bleaching town, in the part nearest the beach. After three short returns, the trench was brought to the outside of the houses, and from hence pushed on obliquely in one straight line, until it passed cross the high road leading from the Madrass gate, on the other side of which road, the intended battery was to be erected. This oblique trench was 480 yards long, and from its termination was continued another of 280 yards, parallel to the defences of the town. Two short trenches continued, one from each end of this parallel, and fell in with the two ends of the intended battery, which was to be constructed 40 yards in front; and the parallel in the rear was to be the station of the main guard for the

1761 January. the support of the battery, if attacked. All this work, comprehending 800 yards, sheltered on the left by gabions, fascines, and sand-bags, was executed by the European soldiery, divided into companies, all working at the same time according to the trace, on the different ground allotted to each division; whilst the 400 lascars, and the 200 coolies, were employed in bringing the materials, not only to them, but to the battery, where the pioneers were at work, as requiring more knowledge and exactness; who before morning had finished six embrasures in the battery; to which, likewise, the oxen had brought the cannon from the artillery-park, which had been formed near the sea-shore, just without the bound-hedge. It was scarcely possible for the same number of hands to have done more work in the same time. Colonel Coote, and the principal officers, passed the night in the trenches, and were accompanied by Mr. Pigot and Mr. Dupré. The town, to their great surprize, although blue lights often appeared on the walls, did not fire a single shot to interrupt the work Care had been taken to lessen the usual noise, by not driving the picquets of the gabions into the earth with the entrenching tools; nevertheless, so many persons continually busy, the sound of the carriages and oxen, and the call of their drivers could scarcely remain unheard; as the battery was within 450 yards of the walls. Just before day-light all the workmen were withdrawn, and 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, were posted in the parallel, and another party of the same number in the cover of the village at the tail of the trenches, in order to support the foremost guard. The embrasures that were finished were left masked; because there had not been time to lay down the platforms for the guns. Nevertheless, it was expected, that the garrison would fire hotly the ensuing day, were it only to damage the parapet of the battery.

They were doubtless astonished at the work they saw done; but only fired now and then, and only single shot at a time; observing which, the chief engineer sent carpenters, who laid down the platforms, without receiving any hurt. The Hanover battery fired throughout the day, with all its artillery and redoubled vivacity, which

which before night silenced all the guns against which it opened; on the N. W. bastion and its counter-guard, on St. Joseph's, on the two demi-bastions, and on the ravelin of the Valdore gate. 1761 January.

At night the pioneers, with 300 Lascars, went to work again at the royal battery; and the town, having well marked the aim, kept up a smart fire of shot, grape, and musketry, which killed or dangerously wounded twelve men in the battery. Several showers of rain fell in the night, which gave apprehension that the enemy would sally; but they refrained, and before day-light the battery was completed. It was called the royal, and contained 11 twenty-four pounders, and on the left three heavy mortars. It opened early in the morning, and, seconded by the cross and enfilading fire of the Hanover battery with 10 guns, soon silenced all the defences which bore upon it; excepting a gun or two on the bastion next the beach. Inactivity joined necessity in this unaccountable abandon of defence; which was so great, that, what rarely happens until all commanding works are entirely demolished, men were set, and continued at work throughout the day, along the whole line of the trenches, fixing more securely the gabions, ramming down the earth, and smoothing the tops of the parapet, that the troops, if sallied upon in the ensuing night, might fire over them with certainty and safety. A party was draughted to begin, as soon as it was dark, another battery of six guns, 300 yards nearer to the beach, and 150 nearer the walls: it was intended to destroy the flanks of the several bastions, which the royal battery could only take in reverse.

As the sun was setting, Colonel Coote coming, as was his custom, to supervise the batteries, saw a flag advancing in the Villenore avenue; who, being challenged, announced the approach of a deputation. They came on foot, the town having neither horses or palankin bearers to carry them, and Colonel Coote received them at his head-quarters at Oulgarry. The deputies were Colonel Durre, commandant of the king's artillery, father Lavaur, superior of the Jesuits, Moracin and Courtin, members of the council, with Tobin serving as interpreter.

1761 January. Colonel Durre delivered a memorial signed by Mr. Lally of the following purport: "That the English had taken Chandernagore "against the faith of the treaties of neutrality which had always "subsisted between the European nations in Bengal, and especially "between the English and French; and this at a time, when that "settlement had just rendered the English the most signal services, "as well by refusing to join the Nabob Surajah Dowlah in the "attack of Calcutta, as by receiving and succouring the inhabi-"tants of this colony, after their defeat and dispersion; by which "protection they were enabled to remain in the province, and by "this continuance to recover their settlements; as Mr. Pigot had "acknowledged in a letter to the government of Pondicherry.—" That "the government of Madrass had refused to fulfil the con-"ditions of a cartel concluded between the two crowns, although "Mr. Pigot had at first accepted the cartel, and commissioners had "been appointed on both sides to meet at Sadrass, in order to settle "amicably whatsoever difficulties might occur in the execution."—"This conduct of the English (Mr. Lally goes on) puts it out of "his power, as responsible to the court of France, to propose any "capitulation for the city of Pondicherry."—"The troops of the "king and company surrender themselves, for want of provi-"sions, prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, conformably "to the terms of the cartel, which Mr. Lally claims for the "civil inhabitants and citizens, and for the exercise of the Ro-"man religion, the religious houses, hospitals, chaplains, surgeons, "domesticks, &c. referring to the two courts to decide a propor-"tional reparation for the violations of treaties so solemnly esta-"blished."—"In consequence, Mr. Coote may to-morrow morn-"ing at eight o'clock take possession of the Villenore gate, and on "the same hour the next day, of the gates of the citadel (Fort Louis); "and as he has the force in his own hands, he may dictate such far-"ther dispositions as he may think proper."—"From a principle of "justice and humanity alone I demand (these are Mr. Lally's words) "that the mother and sisters of Rajahsaheb be permitted to seek an "asylum wheresoever they shall think proper, or that they re-

"main

"main prisoners with the English, and be not delivered into the 1761
"hands of Mahomed Ally Cawn, still tinged with the blood of the January.
"father and husband, which he shed, to the shame indeed of those "who delivered up Chundasaheb to him, but to the shame likewise "of the commander of the English army, who ought not to have suf-"fered such a barbarity to have been committed in his camp."—"Being himself confined by the cartel in the declaration which he "is now making to Mr. Coote, Mr. Lally consents that the mem-"bers of the council of Pondicherry make their own representations, "on what may more immediately concern their particular interests, "and those of the colony."

Father Lavaur and the other deputies presented another memorial, from the governor and council of Pondicherry. "That no "hurt should be done to the inhabitants; their houses be perserved, "their effects and mercantile goods left to their own disposal: that "all who chose might remain in their habitations, and were to be "considered as British subjects, and enjoy their former possessions "and advantages. In their favour the Roman Catholic religion "was to be maintained; the churches, the houses ef the ecclesias-"tics, and the religious orders, whether within or without the city, "to be preserved with every thing belonging to them; the mis-"sionaries free to go and come, and receive under the English flag "the same protection as they had under the French." "No build-"ings or edifices, and no part of the fortifications, were to be de-"molished, until the decision of the respective sovereigns."—"The "records in the register-office, on which the fortunes of indivi-"duals depend, were to remain under the care of the present de-"positaries, and be sent to France, at their discretion."—"Not "only the inhabitants who were French, but of whatsoever other "nation established at Pondicherry for their commerce, were to "participate of these conditions."—"The natives of Bourbon and "Mauritius, in number 41, having served only as volunteers, to "return home by the first opportunity."—"Safeguards were to "be

1761 "be furnished to prevent disorders." "And all these conditions "were to be executed with good faith."

January.

Colonel Coote, in answer to Mr. Lally's memorial, said, that "the particulars of the capture of Chandernagore were before "his Britannic Majesty, which precluded any discussion on this "subject, neither had it any relation to the surrender of Pondi-"cherry." "That the dispute concerning the cartel remaining "undecided, precluded his consent that the troops in Pondicherry "should be deemed prisoners on the terms of that cartel; but "that they must surrender prisoners of war, to be treated at his "discretion, which should not be deficient in humanity." "That "the gates of the town and citadel should be taken possession "of by the English troops at the hours proposed by Mr. Lally." "That the mother and sisters of Rajahsaheb should be escorted "to Madrass, where proper care should be taken for their safety, "and that they should not on any account be delivered into the "hands of the Nabob Mahomedally." To the other deputies Colonel Coote only said, that their propositions were answered in his answer to Mr. Lally: they returned into the town at mid-night.

The next morning, it was the 16th of January, the grenadiers of Coote's regiment marched from the camp, and took possession of the Villenore gate. Colonel Coote dined with Mr. Lally; who, apprehensive of tumult or disorders, consented that the citadel should be delivered up in the evening, that the soldiers might be put under confinement before night. Accordingly more troops marched in from the camp; and in the afternoon the garrison drew up under arms on the parade before the citadel, and the English troops facing them; Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, which, exclusive of commissioned officers, invalids, and others who had hid themselves, amounted to 1100, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, or disease. The grenadiers of Lorrain and Lally, once the ablest bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service; and it was recollected, that from their first

 landing,

landing, throughout all the services of the field, and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours. The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse) to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own. The French troops, after they were reviewed, marched into the citadel, where they deposited their arms in heaps, and were then conducted to their prisons. 1761 January,

The next morning the English flag was hoisted in the town, and its display was received by the salute of a thousand pieces of cannon, from every gun of every ship in the road, in all the English posts and batteries, the field-artillery of the line, and on the ramparts and defences of Pondicherry.

The surrender was inevitable, for at the scanty rate of the wretched provisions, to which the garrison had for some time been reduced, there did not remain sufficient to supply them two days more. Nevertheless the detestation against Mr. Lally, if possible, increased, as the sole author of the calamity, and, no longer restrained by his authority, broke out in the most vindictive expressions of menace and reproach. The third day after the surrender was appointed for his departure to Madrass. In the forenoon of this day a troop of officers, mostly of the French company's battalion, went up the steps of the government house, towards his apartments, where they were met by his aid de camp, whom they insulted; and were dispersed by the guard, which came up on the quarrel. This troop then assembled and waited below at the gate of the citadel until one o'clock. Mr. Lally did not move until the close of the day; his escort was 15 English hussars, and four troopers of his own guard; he came out in his palankin, and at the gate were gathered a hundred persons, mostly officers, with them the counsellors Moracin and Courtin. As soon as Mr. Lally appeared, a hue was set up by the whole assembly, hisses, pointing, threats, and every abusive name; but the escort prevented violence. Mr. Dubois, the king's commissary, who was to proceed with Mr. Lally, came out of the fort an hour after, but on foot; the same assembly had continued on the parade, and showered the same abuses. Dubois stopt,

1761 January. stopt, and said he would answer any one. One Defer stept out, they drew, and the second pass laid Dubois dead, who was 60 years of age, short-sighted, and always wore spectacles. No one would assist his servants to remove and bury the corpse; and his death, violent and iniquitous as it was, was treated as a meritorious act: his papers were immediately taken possession of by the register. It was known, that he had, ever since his arrival at Pondicherry, composed protests on the part of the king against all the disorders and irregularities which came to his knowledge in any of the departments of the government, and the collection was very voluminous; but none of his papers have ever appeared.

The total number of the European military taken in the town, including services attached to the troops, was 2072; the civil inhabitants were 381; the artillery fit for service were 500 pieces of cannon, and 100 mortars and howits. The ammunition, arms, weapons, and military stores, were in equal abundance.

On the 4th day after the surrender, Mr. Pigot demanded of Colonel Coote, that Pondicherry should be delivered over to the Presidency of Madrass, as having become the property of the English East India Company. A council of war, composed of the two admirals, and four post-captains of the squadron, Colonel Coote and three Majors of the kinge's troops, assembled to deliberate on this demand; and required the authority on which it was made. Mr. Pigot insisted on the king's patent, dated the 14th of January 1758, which regulates the Company's share and title to captures. The council of war deemed the patent incompetent to the pretension. Mr. Pigot, as the shortest way, declared, that if Pondicherry were not delivered, the Presidency of Madrass would not furnish money either for the subsistence of the king's troops, or the French prisoners. This conclusion barred all farther argument, for neither the Admiral, nor the commander of the king's troops, were authorized to draw bills on the government in England for such a contingency. The council of war, therefore, submitted to the requisition, but protested against the insult it conveyed against the King's prerogative, and declared the Presidency responsible for the consequences.

During

During this discussion, Colonel Coote detached eight companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Stephen Smith, to invest the forts of Gingee; and a convoy of military stores were sent from the camp to Major Preston, who was continuing the blockade of Thiagar. 1761 January.

The Nabob requested and expected that the army, after the necessary repose, would accompany him aginst such chiefs and feudatories, whom he wished or had pretensions to call to account, either for contempts of his authority, or for tributes unsettled, or withheld. He had not forgiven the rebellion of his half-brother Nazeabulla of Nelore. His indignation had never ceased against Mortizally, the Kellidar of Velore, who, as well as the three greater Polygars to the north, and of Arielore, and Woriorepollam to the south, were suspected of hidden treasures; still more the greater and lesser Moravars; and the king of Tanjore, wealthier than all, scarcely considered the Nabob as his superior.

But the Presidency had other attentios to regard; their treasury and credit was exhausted in the reduction of Pondicherry; the care of 2500 French prisoners required strong guards and no little expence. Bengal was engaged in hostilities, wanted troops, and could send no money. Bombay had extended its military concerns by the acquisition of the castle of Surat in the beginning of the year 1759, which had induced the necessity of other important attentions in that part of the continent; and they were at this time earnestly requesting the return of all the troops they had sent to Coromandel. The factory at Tellichery likewise advised, that they intended to stop the troops which were just arrived and expected in the ships from England, and waited only the orders of their superiors at Bombay to attack the French settlement at Mahé, in which service they requested what assistance could be spared from Coromandel. It was still uncertain what was become of the French squadron; the English squadron wanted their marines, and were enjoined a secret service from England, in which Madrass was to assist. These views and considerations appeared to the Presidency of more immediate importance than the indulgence of the triumphal notions which swelled

1761 January. the mind of the Nabob, whose joy at the reduction of Pondicherry, although the arsenal which had forged all the anxieties of his life, was immediately imbittered by this interruption to the future conquests he had so near at heart: and, unwilling to continue in the Carnatic without the entire predominance of his authority, he retired as it were in disgust with victory to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of February.

February. Four hundred of the French prisoners were sent to Madrass, and the Highlanders, six companies, with some artillery-men, and four cmpanies of Sepoys, marched thither to reinforce the garrison; 200 were sent to Tritchinopoly under the escort of 100 Europeans, and some Sepoys. The rest of the prisoners remained in the dungeons of Pondicherry, until they could be otherwise disposed of; and 300 Europeans, including the pioneer company, and 50 artillery-men, with the troop of European horse, and four companies of Sepoys, were appointed to garrison the town. The troops from Bombay, being 120 of the king's artillery, and 190 common infantry, belonging to that Presidency, embarked in two ships to return thither; the marines were restored to the squadron; the rest of the army went into cantonments at Cuddalore.

The court of France had instructed Mr. Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English nation in India, which might fall to their arms. These instructions had been intercepted; and, in consequence of them, the court of Directors of the English East-India Company had ordered their Presidencies to retaliate the same measure on the French settlements, whenever in their power. Accordingly Mr. Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madrass, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry; and as Mr. Stevens signified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay, in order to refit his squadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, lest a French armament should arrive during their absence, and recover the town, whilst the fortifications remained in a condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.

Mr. Stevens sailed on the 23d of February, with all the ships, eleven of the line, and two frgates. They took away 400 of the prisioners in

in Pondicherry, all of the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, to be confined at Bombay, or sent to Europe as opportunities should offer. As Mr. Stevens intended to aid, if necessary, in the attack of Mahé, the Presidency sent 50 of the company's artillery, and three of their engineers in the squadron. 1761 February.

Mahé is situated four miles to the south of Tellicherry. The fort and town stand not far from the beach of the sea, along the south side of a river, which admits small vessels. Several hills rise near the town, and on the two nearest on the same side of the river are built two small forts, and a much larger, called St. George, on a hill on the other side. The settlement presides over all belonging to the French company on this side of the peninsula, excepting their factory at Surat. These dependencies are five forts to the north of Tellicherry, and a factory house at Calicut.

The five ships from England had landed the troops at Tellicherry by the 5th of January; but from the length of the passage to and fro, the permission from Bombay to attack Mahé did not arrive before the beginning of February; and with it the Presidency sent one of their cruizers, and a bomb-ketch to assist; as none of the ships had been detained. The delay had given Mr. Louet, the governor of Mahé, time to make treaties for assistance with several of the neighbouring chiefs of the country, with whom the settlement had long been in commerce; and they promised and swore to assist efficaciously as against a common enemy. The aid was much wanted, for the European military, on whom the stress of the defence was to rest, did not exceed 100, and even they, from the general necessity of the French company's affairs, had not received their pay for several months, and missed no opportunity of deserting. The black troops belonging to the company, were a thousand.

The troops at Tellicherry marched out and encamped on the 8th of February on the limits of Mahé. Their numbers, for the garrison took the field, amounted to 900 Europeans, and 700 natives; they were commanded by major Hector Monro, who determined to direct his first attack against Fort St. George, on the hither side of the river.

1761 February. All the solicitations of Mr. Louet were of no avail, when his allies saw the English troops taking the field, and were apprized of their numbers; they did not send a man; and before day-break the next morning, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Hodges, the chief of Tellicherry, proposing terms of capitulation, on which Major Monro was ordered not to commence hostilities. Agents sent to explain doubts and objections, continued going to and fro until the morning of the 13th, when the capitulation was signed. It was agreed, that all the European military should be transported at the expence of the English, either to the island of Bourbon, or to Europe, and when landed there, to be free. The effects, artillery, and military stores, belonging to the French company, were to be surrendered, but the effects and possessions of individuals were to be preserved to them entire, without molestation in the use. The free exercise of the Roman religion was to be permitted as before the surrender; the priests on no account were to be vexed, nor the churches or religious edifices impaired. The forts to the northward of Tellicherry were to be given up on the same conditions as Mahé, and the factory at Calicut was to continue unmolested under the usual neutrality of that town: ample honours of war were allowed to the garrison. Five hundred men under the commad of Major Peers marched into Mahé at noon; and soon after, the garrison were escorted with their honours to Tellicherry. A detachment was then prepared under the command of Major Monro, to take in the forts to the northward, which it was suspected might dispute the terms of capitulation provided for them. The news of the surrender of Mahé arrived at Madrass on the 3d of March.

Captain Stephen Smith, as soon as encamped before Gingee, summoned Macgregor, the commanding officer, who answered, that if he had brought one hundred thousand men, the forts would not be reduced in three years. The troops encamped to the east opposite to the outward pettah on the plain, which, although it had a mud wall, was of much less defence than the inward town, which stands on higher ground, nearly in the center of the triangular valley, extending between the three mountains. The valley is

is enclosed on the three sides by a strong wall with towers of stone, 1761
which have a ditch before them, excepting in such parts where the February.
rocks render it unnecessary; but the wall continues up the mountains, and surrounds the three forts, connecting them with each other. Besides this exterior enclosure, the interior and higher defences run double round the two forts to the east; and the great mountain to the west, which is the principal fortification, has four enclosures, one below another towards the town in the valley, but off different spaces and elevations; and the highest is a steep rock in the north-west part of the third enclosure above the valley; this far overtops all the mountains, and in the fort on its summit, although small, is a continual spring of water. The extent of wall in all fortifications measures more than 12000 yards; to defend which the French had only 150 Europeans, topasses, or coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1000 natives of the adjoining hills, whom they called Colleries. But they supposed the forts on the mountains to be impregnable, and that the town below would not be attempted, because, if taken, the troops which were to maintain it, would be continually subject to the fire of the defences above.

The wall on the east side of the valley extends 1200 yards from the mountain of St. George on the right, to the English mountain on the left, and nearly in the middle passeth along the side of a heap of rocks on which the French had raised a work, which they called the royal battery; under which on the right towards the mountain of St. George stood a gateway opposite to the outward pettah in the plain: but the pettah extended only from this mountain to the rocks of the battery.

Observation and deserters (of whom several came every day) apprized Captain Smith of the state of the garrison and defences, and that the garrison remained in perfect security as well in the town below, as in the forts above. On the night between the 2d and third of February, he marched from his camp with 600 Sepoys, in two divisions, of which the foremost, 200, carried a sufficient number of scaling ladders, and the others were to support when called for. They left the north wall of the pettah on the left, but passed through

1761 February. through the intervals of some houses, which adjoined to it and brought them opposite to the middle of that part of the wall of the valley which extends between the royal battery and the English mountain. They crossed the ditch, placed their ladders, and got over the wall unchallenged: the object was now to get possession of the gate on the other side of the royal battery; but the rocks on which it stood extended backwards to the first houses of the town, and it was necessary to go through the first street leading across, in order to pass beyond the rear of the rocks and gain an avenue of trees, which led down to the gateway: they proceeded even quite through the street unperceived; but, as they were coming down the avenue, were challenged and discovered by the guard of the gateway, who fired; which alarmed the other stations in the town, but with so much confusion, that Captain Smith gave no attention to it, but hastened to the gateway, from which he dispersed the guard at the push of bayonet, and opening the gate let in the other division of 400 Sepoys, who were halting not far off in the nearest shelter, and with them took possession of the royal battery. It was now three in the morning, and Smith waited for day light to drive the enemy out of the town, who retired before; some to St. George's, others to the English mountain, but most of them into the enclosure next the town towards the great mountain, where they continued firing from the adjacent rampart throughout the next day upon the guards which were advanced and stationed in the houses of the town and cannon from all the hills continually plunged down, wheresoever they saw or suspected any of the English troops; but with little effect. In the ensuing night the enemy's troops, who had retired to the second enclosure, left it, and retreated to the higher defences of the great mountain.

On intelligence of this success 1000 more Sepoys were sent to Smith, who as the town was very unhealthy, continued more than one half of his force in the encampment on the plain. The desertion continued, and amongst them came a very experienced Jemautdar of the Sepoys, who proffered to lead a party by a path he knew to surprize the forts on St. George's mountain: he was trusted, and the

the next night 200 Sepoys marched under his guidance. We are not apprized of their track, but suppose they proceeded from the camp and went up on the outside of the mountain to the south, to the enclosure of the outward rock which is 80 feet higher than those beneath. They fixed their ladders, and got over the wall before they were discovered, and seized 8 Europeans, but the rest of the guard escaped to the enclosures below; where all continued very alert until day-light, when an officer came down to capitulate, and demanded very liberal terms; but captain Smith knowing that they were at any time in his power, by sending more men up to the rock above them, refused to accept the surrender, excepting at discretion; to which they consented. They were 42 Europeans, of whom six were officers, and 70 Sepoys. A large stock of provisions was found in the forts of this mountain, by which it was concluded, that those in the two others were equally as well provided; and no enquiry gave hopes that either of these fortresses could be taken by surprize, and still less by open attack. It therefore remained to try if time might produce the success which was not to be expected either from force or fortune. 1761 February.

The same day that the mountain of St. George surrendered to captain Smith, the important fortress of Thiagar capitulated to Major Preston, after a blockade and bombardment of 65 days, during which, above 40 Europeans had deserted to him from the rock, 20 had been killed or died, 25 lay wounded in the hospital, and 114 rank and file, with twelve officers, were in a condition to march, so that the whole number of Europeans which had been shut up were upwards of 200, with 300 Sepoys, and 100 Coffrees; they had provisions for two months longer; and the water, which gave the principal value to the fort, continued as usual in plenty, and of a good quality. Nevertheless, the commanding officer only stipulated that the garrison should receive the same treatment as the troops taken in Pondicherry; according to which the officers were to be sent to Europe upon parole, not to serve again during the present war, and the Europeans of rank and file were to be treated at discretion; and they were sent to be confined with those already in the prisons of

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1761 February. Tritchinopoly; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's service.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tellicherry was prosecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahé. The first is called Fort Delhi, situated on the strand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliserum, which, descending from the mountains to the east, turns short many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the sea, from which it is no where a mile asunder; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, stands Ramatilly, which is a small fort; on the same side, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which stands strong on a rocky eminence; seven miles farther, on the N. side of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neliserum, which is much larger; and six miles up this river, to the east, and on its left shore, stands the fifth fort, which is small, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliserum and Ramatilly were garrisoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compensated; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no service, if the two continued in hostility. Delhi and Ramatilly surrendered on the first summons, but at Mattalavy were assembled a large body of Naires, whose bravery is always desperate. The two ships from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coast of Malabar, and had passed beyond the river of Neliserum; and Major Monro, finding more resistance than he expected in his expedition, sent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected against Mattalavy: but the settlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in possession of Matalavy and Veramally, who consented to surrender them on codition of receiving an annual fine, which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As soon as these

forts

forts were delivered, the French garrison at Neliserum, which did not exceed 20 Europeans, submitted without resistance. 1761 April.

On the 5th of April, Captain Stephen Smith received a proposal from Captain Macgregor, who commanded in the great mountain of Gingee, that he would capitulate, if his garrison were allowed the honours of war, the rank and file to be sent to Europe by the first opportunity as prisoners liable to exchange, but the officers permitted to retire, with their arms, baggage and effects, to any of the neutral settlements on the coast, where they were to be subsisted according to their ranks at the expence of the English company, who were likewise to defray their passage to Europe. Three hundred of the English Sepoys had already died in the town, and in the mountain of St. George, from the peculiar inclemency of the air, which has always been deemd the most unhealthy in the Carnatic, insomuch that the French, who never until lately kept more than 100 Europeans here, had lost 1200 in the ten years during which it had been in their possession. Captain Smith, therefore, very readily accepted the terms, and in the afternoon the garrisons marched out of the two mountains. They were 12 officers, and 100 rank and file, Europeans, Coffrees, and Topasses, and 40 Lascars for the artillery, which were 30 pieces of cannon and some mortars. A passport and safeguard was allowed to a Moor of distinction, who had long resided in the great mountain.

This day terminated the long contested hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Mysore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. In Bengal they had not a single agent or representative, and their factories at Surat and Calicut were mere trading houses on sufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of Delabourdonnais against Madrass in 1746, and had continued from that time with scarcely the intermission of one year, was retaliated the same measure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably pursued, by the French councils against the English commerce and power: for such, as is

1761 April. avowed in the French memoirs on the events we have related, was the object of Delabourdonnais' expedition, of the whole government and ambition of Dupleix, and of the great armament of naval and land forces, which accompanied Mr. Lally to India, who constantly declared, that he had but one point, which was, not to leave an Englishman in the peninsula. To retard as much as possible the facility of their re-establishment in Coromandel, if restorations should be made at the conclusion of a general peace, Mr. Pigot laid a reperesentation before the council of Madrass, which determined them to destroy all the interior buildings, as well as the fortifications of Pondicherry, of which the demolition was by this time nearly completed: and in a few months more, not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city.

For two years before, the fortune of France had been declining in every other part of the world; they had lost their settlements on the coast of Africa, half their West India islands, the whole region of Canada; their naval force was utterly ruined, and their armies were struggling under defeats in Germany. The loss of India, as a last hope, excited the public indignation more than any of the former disasters, which was so far from producing any reconciliation amongst the amenable, that it only sharpened their vengeance against each other. Mr. Lally, on his arrival, formally accused Mr. De Leyrit, Mr. Bussy, Mr. Moracin and Courtin, of having wilfully conspired the ruin of the French affairs from their aversion to himself, as appointed by the King to investigate and correct the abuses of the government of Pondicherry. Of 200 persons who were either arrived or returning from hence, not more than 20 were in habits or connections with Mr. Lally; all the others, revolted by the excesses of his temper, or the severity of his authority, bore him either secret grudge, or avowed hatred; all these became voluntary partizans with Mr. De Leyrit and the council, whose resolutions were conducted at Paris as they had been at Pondicherry, by the Jesuit Lavaur. Their first step in public was to present a mainfest to the comptroller-general, in exculpation of themselves, and accusing Mr. Lally of misconduct under nine different heads, which, as they said, proved more than

than incapacity ; and in August 1762, they petitioned the King to vindicate themselves juridically from the accusations of Mr. Lally ; who some months after was confined in the Bastile. In June 1763, father Lavaur died ; this Jesuit had composed in India two memoirs, the one a justification and panegyrick, the other a defamatory impeachment of every part of Mr. Lally's conduct. Arguments taken from this piece were occasionally supplied to propagate the public antipathy, but it had never been authentically published. As Lavaur was rated as an evidence, his papers were taken possession of by the officers of justice, and amongst them this libel was found. Lavaur, as if ruined by the loss of Pondicherry, had petitioned the government for a small pension of subsistence ; and it was discovered that he died possessed of 60,000 pounds in gold, diamonds, and bills of exchange. This hypocrisy, with the frauds of another Jesuit, who managed the western missions, conduced not a little to the expulsion of the order ; but full attention was given to the memoir of Lavaur, and from its documents the attorney general inserted the charge of high treason, which deprived Mr. Lally of the assistance of council. After he had been confined 18 months, the deponents in the process were brought before him, and he permitted to interrogate them before the recorder. The number of facts deposed against him amounted to one hundred and sixty, for every violent or unguarded expression during the course of his government and ill success was admitted. The number of witnesses must likewise have been many, for Mr. Lally opposed strong reproaches of incompetency to thirty-four of them. The recorder was the same who had given the most sanguinary judgment ever pronounced in France against a young man of family ; and Mr. Lally, with his usual indiscretion and intemperance, aggravated the severity of his character, by treating him with haughtiness and contempt during the discharge of his office. Eighteen months passed in the confrontation and interrogatories, when the final decision was to be made by the whole parliament of Paris, which is composed of 120 members. It must be left to conjecture, how many of them went regularly through the immense volume

1761 April.

of

1761 April. of records from which they were to form their judgments, and how few persevered in comparing and combining this multitude of depositions with one another, in a subject so new to them, whether as military operations by land and sea, or as transactions in a strange land, of which they were now to learn the customs, manners, climate, and geography. Nevertheless, with due attention, much of this knowledge, and of the cause itself, might be acquired from the memoirs published not long before the decision, by Mr. D'Aché, Soupires, Bussy, and of Mr. Deleyrit, who was dead, but published by his heirs, with several others of lesser note and importance; and from the more copious justifications of Mr. Lally, written by himself, with the same unconquered spirit of invective against his enemies, as had brought on him the combination of accusations on which the jurisprudence of his country was now to pronounce. But none of these publications alleged, nor did any evidence assert any fact, to warrant the sentence of his judges, who must therefore have been led by the report of the recorder to condemn him to be beheaded, as duly attainted and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the King, the state, and the East India company; of abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions, upon the subjects of the King, and strangers resident in Pondicherry. Before the sentence was made known, he had been divested in the presence of the court of his military orders, and declared degraded of his military rank, in consequence of which he was removed from the Bastile, as a more honourable cofinement, to the common prison of criminals. Here in the morning of the 9th of May, 1766, his sentence was read to him; he threw up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, Is this the reward of 45 years service! and snatching a pair of compasses, which lay with maps on his table, struck it to his breast, but it did not pierce to his heart; he then gave loose to every execration against his judges and accusers. His scaffold was prepared, and his execution appointed for the same afternoon: to prevent him from speaking to the spectators, a large gag was put into his mouth before he was taken out of prison, when he was carried in a common cart, and beheaded on the Greve. He perished in the 65th year of his age.

If abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions, are not capital in the jurisprudence of France, they ought not to have been inserted, as efficacious, in the sentence of death. The betraying of interests required that the intention of ruining them should be proved by incontestable facts; but Mr. Lally neither gave intelligence to the English, of which they could take advantage, nor led or commanded his troops to services of destruction without the probability of advantage from their efforts, nor received bribes to influence the general plan of his conduct. The invective of his declaration to Colonel Coote, when offering to surrender, shews how little favour he expected from the English government; and he had personally offended Mr. Pigot in his correspondence. Nevertheless, the imputation of having sold Pondicherry, opened the cry against him in France. Mr. D'Estaign, and Crillon deposed honourably of him. Nor was the sentence of his judges unanimous. Mr. Siguier, admired for his eloquence, and Mr. Pellot, for his application and the clearness of his understanding, declared their conviction of his innocence; another of his judges acknowledged, that he was not condemned on any particular fact, but on the whole together. Mr. Voltaire, who had well considered the cause, has not scrupled to call his death a murder committed with the sword of Justice. 1761 April.

Mr. Lally constantly claimed the right of having his military conduct tried by a board of general officers. They would have seen his errors with discernment, and weighed them with impartiality. That the recall of Mr. Bussy from Salabadjing, and the substituting the insufficient abilities of Mr. Conflans, produced the loss of Masulipatam and the northern provinces. That the siege of Madrass was wrong in the intention, and equally defective in the execution; but that Mr. Lally expected no abler resistance here than he had met at Fort St. David. That the separation of the army, by the large detachment sent to Seringham, which enabled the English to extend their barrier to the south of the Paliar by the acquisition of Vandivash and Carangoly, was contrary to the sound principles of war; but that the motive was, the hope of relieving the want of money,

1761 April. money, and the distress for provisions. That the attempt to retake Vandivash, reduced Mr. Lally to the necessity of receiving battle, which as the English were seeking, he ought to have avoided; but that he had reason to expect greater industry and spirit in the artillery, officers, and engineers, who might have breached the place in half the time. Whether, after this battle, Pondicherry might have been better stored, or whether the provisions collected were injudiciously disposed of, would, after all witnesses, have remained a decision of doubt.

The troops which arrived with Colonel Coote in November 1759, with his immediate activity in the reduction of Vandivash and Carangoly, brought the war nearly to an equality; which justified him in risquing the battle for the relief of Vandivash, although he fought, it with the inexplicit disapprobation of the Presidency in his pocket; but his dispositions had secured resources against mischance. Before this important success, the views of no one had extended to the reduction of Pondicherry: but instantly after, all were impressed with the firmest persuasion of this termination of the war. This fortunate confidence led to the most vigorous counsels. Nothing, it was reasoned, if all advantages are taken, can save Pondicherry, excepting the arrival of their squadron in force sufficient to cope with the English; or the lucky introduction of troops and money by divisions of their ships, if the whole do not venture: whatsoever is gained in the mean time will require so much effort to recover, should the enemy be reinforced; and if they are not, will be so much accomplished towards the ultimate object. The enterprizing sagacity of Colonel Coote lost no time in discovering and taking every advantage. The Presidency seconded his operations by the expedition to Karical, and in supplies to the field; the garrison of Trichinopoly by their activity; the detachment to the westward by its vigilance; the army by their zeal on all occasions. Colonel Coote, by constantly exposing his own person with the Sepoys, had brought them to sustain dangerous services, from which the Europeans were preserved. By this œconomy, and the reinforcements from England and Bombay, if the armament so much announced had arrived, and landed a greater

greater force than France had ever before sent to India, the English on the day of the surrender of Pondicherry, were in a condition to have given them battle, if they had chosen it, under their very walls. 1761 April.

Colonel Coote embarked on the 13th of March, leaving his regiment to follow; and with him, our narrative returns to the affairs of Bengal.

END *of the* THIRTEENTH BOOK,

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OF
GEOGRAPHICAL AND PROPER NAMES
MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME,

FROM A COPY PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR, FOR AN INDEX.

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